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ROBERT FINCH, M.A.,
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THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

V O L. III.



L O N D O N,

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MDCCLXXX.



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M O D E R N P A R T
O F
Universal History.

C H A P. IV.

*The History of the Arabs from the Elevation of
the Family of Abbâs to the Throne of the
Moslems, to the Taking of Baghdâd by the
Tartars.*

S E C T. VIII.

*From the Accession of Al Kayem Beamri'llah to the
Khalifat, to the Accession of Al Moktadi Beamri'llah.*

ABU Jaafar Abd'allah Ebn Al Kâder was created *Al Kayem Beamri'llah is saluted khalif.* khalif, under the title or surname of Al Kayem Beamri'llah, on Monday, the 12th of Dhu'lhajja, in the year of the Hejra 422, being the day on which his father died. At his accession, Abu Câlijâr Ebn Soltâno'ddawla, who had meditated the reduction of Baghdâd, penetrated into Irâk; but was defeated by Jalâlo'ddawla Ebn Bahao'ddawla, whom the new khalif afterwards confirmed in the post of emir al omra, and forced to fly with the utmost precipitation to Ahwâz. When Al Kayem put on Jalâlo'ddawla the imperial robe, he gave him the title of Shâhenshâh or Shâhinshaw, and ordered his name to be mentioned in the public prayers. About the same time,
MOD. VOL. III. B the

the Greeks took Al Rohâ or Edeffa, which then belonged to Abu Nafr Ahmed Ebn Merwân, called Nasro'ddawla Ebn Merwân by Abu'l-Faraj; and sultân Mas'ûd Ebn Mahmûd Ebn Sabektekîn, the sovereign of the Persian Irâk, extinguished a rebellion in the city of Esfahân. Those who had been the most active in the revolt he punished, left a strong garrison in the place, and then advanced at the head of a body of troops towards the frontiers of Khorasân; intending, as he asserted, only to pay sultân Mohammed, his brother, a friendly visit. Mohammed, having received advice of Mas'ûd's march, refused to make him any proposals for an accommodation, as some of his courtiers would have persuaded him to do, and detached Yusef Ebn Sabektekîn, his uncle, to observe Mas'ûd's motions. In the mean time, that prince pursued his march with great celerity, advanced to Tangarabat, where Mohammed was then keeping the fast of Ramadân, and formed the siege of that place. Yusef Ebn Sabektekîn, who had been sent by sultân Mohammed to reconnoitre the enemy, and emir Ali, another of his generals, both went over to Mas'ûd, and even at last found means to deliver up Mohammed into his hands. However, they received the reward due to their perfidy and treason; the former of them was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and the latter hanged, by Mas'ûd's order. Mohammed had his eyes put out, and was conducted as a prisoner to Gazna, which Mas'ûd gained without opposition, and obliged the inhabitants of that capital to take the oath of allegiance to him. Having now assumed the sovereignty of all his father's extensive dominions, he conferred upon Abu Salem Al Hamadâni the government of the Persian Irâk, and constituted Alâo'ddawla Abu Jaafar Ebn Căcawiyah, who had founded a kind of principality at Hamadân, in the year of the Hejra 414, the commandant of Esfahân. Ahmed Ebn Al Hasen he advanced to the post of wazîr, and commanded Abu Salem Al Hămadâni and Alâo'ddawla Abu Jaafar Ebn Căcawiyah to act in concert on all occasions. The last of these was of the house of Buiya, and nearly related to Majdo'ddawla, of whom we have spoken already. He had been deprived of his territories by Mahmûd Gazni, but was restored to them by sultân Mas'ûd. The latter of those princes, if we believe Abu'l-Faraj, reduced to his obedience the province of Kermân, before the close of the present year^a.

In

^a Greg. Abu'l Faraj. ubi sup. p. 341. Al Makîn, ubi sup. p. 266. Mirkhond, apud Teixeir. p. 290, 291, 292. Khondemir, D'Herbel. Biblioth.

In the 423d year of the Hejra, Ali Takîn, according to Mirkhond, rebelled against sultân Mas'ûd, and reduced the cities of Bokhâra and Samarkand. Mas'ûd, receiving advice of this rebellion, sent a powerful army, under the command of Altûn Tash, the governor of Khowârazm, to attack the rebels, before they became too formidable to his subjects. Altûn Tash, in pursuance of his orders, advanced with all possible expedition to Samarkand, where Ali Takîn, at the head of his troops, waited for him. The two armies had no sooner faced each other, than a general action ensued. As Altûn Tash was drawn into an ambuscade, his men gave way in the beginning of the engagement; but he presently rallied them, led them on again to the charge, and at last entirely defeated the rebels. However, as he was mortally wounded in the action, he granted Ali Takîn such terms as he thought it his interest to accept, and died, to the great regret of sultân Mas'ûd; the next day. After his death, that prince conferred upon his son, Harûn Ebn Altûn Tash, the government of Khowârazm, and consequently the command of all the forces in that great province.

The principal events of the year 423.

In the following year, being the 424th of the Hejra, Ahmed Ebn Al Hasan, surnamed Al Meimendi, sultân Mas'ûd's wazîr, who had been deprived by his father Mahmûd of the high dignity of presiding over his councils, departed this life. The person who succeeded him is named by Mirkhond Abu Nafr Ahmed, and Ahmed Ebn Abd'alfamed by M. D'Herbelot. He had been, if we believe the former of those writers, wazîr to Altûn Tash in Khowârazm, where he at this time resided. It seems to appear from the author of the Lebtârîkh and Khondemir, who have been followed by M. D'Herbelot, that Altûn Tash, the governor of Khowârazm, was not killed, whatever may have been advanced to the contrary by Mirkhond, before the present year. That great commander, according to those historians, having made an irruption into the country beyond the Jihûn, was slain by an arrow, that pierced one of his eyes, when he was upon the point of engaging the enemy; upon which both armies retired, without coming to a battle. Altûn Tash, continue they, died, the next day, of the wound he had received, and his son Harûn took upon him the government of the province of Khowârazm.

Al Meimendi, Mas'ûd's wazîr, dies.

Biblioth. Orient. art. Caiem Bemrillah, p. 240. & art. Mass'ûd Fils de Mahmoud, &c. p. 562.

*The Seljûks
make an
irruption
into Khaw-
ârazm.*

In the same year, the Seljûks, or Seljûkian Turks, who had already rendered themselves formidable in Persia, passed the Amû, or Jihûn, and took up their quarters in Khowârazm, near the cities of Nefâ, or rather Nefes, and Abiwerd. Here they settled, and in a short time began to make incursions into, and pillage the neighbouring provinces. Several of the cities in India, reduced by sultân Mahmûd, rebelled against Mas'ûd, as did also Al Ray and other places in the Persian Irâk.

*The most
memorable
transac-
tions of the
year 425.*

Next year, being the 425th of the Hejra, a bloody war broke out between Nûro'ddawla Dobais and his brother Abu Kawâm Thâbet, which was however soon followed by a peace. Al Bafâsîri, Thâbet's ally, having received advice of the conclusion of this treaty, returned to Baghdâd. These three commanders were emirs of the Arabs, distinguished by the denomination of Bani Asad and Bani Khafâjah.

*Mas'ûd
carries his
arms into
India.*

In the 426th year of the Hejra, sultân Mas'ûd, having proposed not only to recover, but even to extend, his father's conquests in India, carried his arms into that country, where they were attended with the usual success. This project was, however, carried into execution at this juncture, contrary to the sentiments of the wisest part of his ministers, who advised him to drive the Seljûks out of his dominions before he undertook the Indian expedition: but he rejecting this salutary advice, Mohammed and Dawd, the grandsons of Seljûk, known afterwards by the names of Togrol Bek and Jaaser Bek, began to make incursions through Khôrâsân, and, before Mas'ûd returned out of India, in the year 428, had conquered a great part of that province, together with the Persian Irâk, and driven both Alâo'ddawla Abu Jaafar Ebn Câcawiyah and Abu Salem Al Hamadâni from their governments. A letter was received, this year, from sultân Mas'ûd in India; wherein he gave an account of his having killed fifty thousand infidels, taken seventy thousand prisoners, and acquired a booty amounting to above a million of dinârs.

*The trans-
actions in
Sicily dur-
ing the
year 426.*

In the course of this year, the Sicilian Moslems, according to Al Kâdi Shahabo'ddîn Ebn Abildam Al Hamawî, being dissatisfied with Ahmed Ebn Yusef Al Akhali Tayedo'ddawla's administration, sent a deputation to the khalif of Egypt, to complain of his oppressive and tyrannical conduct. That prince, continues this author, excited by their just complaints, sent an army into Sicily, to oblige the emir to redress all their grievances, and govern them for the future in a more equitable manner. Al Akhali, be-
ing

ing besieged by the khalif's forces in the castle of Al Khalza at Palermo, for some time defended himself with astonishing bravery; but being at last killed, those troops imagined themselves to have executed their master's orders. The Sicilians, however, who enabled them to carry their point, soon after attacked the Africans, put above eight hundred to the sword, and forced the rest to abandon the island with the utmost precipitation. They then proceeded to the election of a new emir, and unanimously chose Al Hasan Samfamo'ddawla, the brother of the last emir, to preside over the Moslem conquests in Sicily; during whose government those territories were so harassed by civil dissensions, that a way was paved in a short time to the reduction of the whole island by the Franks. These particulars we learn from Abu Mohammed Abd'alaziz Ebn Sheddâd Tamim Al Sanhâji, author of the Akhbâr Kairwân, or History of Kairwân; though, if Abu'lfeda, who cites him, may be depended upon, he seems to have placed the events here mentioned in the following year. It appears from some of the Christian writers, that the emperor Michael Paphlagon sent an ambassador to this emir, to make proposals for an accommodation, and that a treaty of peace was concluded between these princes to their mutual satisfaction; which, as the emir in all points conformed himself to the will of the emperor, so exasperated the Sicilian Moslems, especially the lower class of people, that they resolved to depose him. His brother Abu Caab, taking advantage of the ferment occasioned by this disposition, endeavoured to seize upon the office of emir: but being defeated in a general action, to which Samfamo'ddawla had forced him, he applied to the khalif of Egypt for assistance; which having obtained, he reduced his brother to such difficulties, that he found himself obliged to quit the island, and fly to Constantinople, in order to implore the protection of the emperor. That prince, who imagined he had now a fine prospect of recovering Sicily, treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and promised to support him in all his pretensions, against both his African and Sicilian enemies, to the utmost of his power^b.

The 427th year of the Hejra produced several memorable events. The Seljûks continued their progress in the re-

^b Al Kadi Shahabo'ddin Ebn Abildam Al Hamawi, in lib. Asnodf. ubi sup. Joan. Curôpalat. & Georg. Cedren. in Mich. Paph. Iſm. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 336. & ad an. Hej. 426. Joan. Baptist. Caruf. Saracenicar. Rer. Epit. p. 106, 107. Pagnormi, 1720.

*The principal
events of
the year
427.*

duction of the provinces of Khorasân and the Persian Irâk, whilst sultân Mas'ûd was employed in the Indian war. The emperor Michael not being expeditious enough in supplying Al Hafan Samsâmô'ddawla with a body of troops to reinstate him in the government of the Moslem part of Sicily, Leo Opus, the prefect of Italy, with a view of driving the infidels out of that island, attended him with all the forces he could in a short time assemble; and, being joined by Al Hafan's adherents, overthrew Abu Caab with very great slaughter. This obliged that emir to fly into Egypt, and solicit succours of the Fâtemite khalîf; who, being apprehensive that the civil dissensions in Sicily might prove fatal to the Moslem interest, by his interposition, effected a reconciliation between the two contending brothers. This obliged Leo to abandon the island, and retire to the continent of Italy. The emperor afterwards sent a large fleet, under the conduct of Stephen, his admiral, with a strong body of land forces on board, commanded by George Maniaces, to the coast of Italy, in order to invade Sicily. Maniaces, who had raised his reputation by the victories he had gained over the Infidels in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, and was one of the greatest captains of the age, being joined by Ducianus, Leo's successor, resolved, notwithstanding what had lately happened, to make a descent in that island. Having, therefore, been reinforced by the Lombard and Norman troops, then in the service of the princes of Campania, and a select body under the command of Michael the patrician, surnamed Sphrondylus, he set sail for Sicily, and arrived in that island, about this period. At first he met with an uninterrupted course of success, took Messina and Syracuse, chiefly by the bravery of the Norman troops, and gave the Infidels a most signal defeat, in which they lost so many men, that the water of the Remata, near the banks of which river the battle was fought, was stained with the blood of the slain: but the Normans and Lombards, who were the flower of the Christian forces, having been afterwards disgusted by Maniaces, things took an unexpected turn. However, this victory put no less than thirteen places of strength into the conqueror's hands, and would have been followed by the surrender of all the other towns, had not the divisions in the Christian army hindered the production of so salutary an effect. This year, in the month of Shaabân, died at Al Kâhirah, Al Thâher, the sâheb or lord of Syria and Egypt, and the fourth of the Fâtemite khalîfs, after he had reigned fifteen years and some

some months. He was succeeded by Abu Tamim Ma'bad, his son, who assumed the title or surname of Al Mos-tanser Bi'llah, and sat on the Fâtemite throne about sixty years. He was born at Al Kâhirah, the 24th of Dhu'l-hajja, in the year of the Hejra 420, and consequently was not seven years old, at the time of his father's death. He has been represented as a prince who had a taste for poetry, who governed his subjects with uncommon prudence and moderation, and who was enabled by his sagacity and address to crush many conspiracies that had been formed against him.

In the following year, being the 428th of the Hejra, soltân Masûd returned from his Indian expedition to Gazna; but found the Seljûks grown so powerful by the acquisition of Khorasân and the Persian Irâk, that he had reason to repent his not having adopted the advice given him by his ministers before he undertook that expedition. He was therefore obliged to raise a considerable army in order to march against the Turks, who were now become formidable. About the same time the Norman and Lombard troops in Sicily having been refused their share of the spoil, which fell into the hands of the Christians, after the late victory gained over the infidels near the banks of the Remata, by Maniaces, the imperial general, they deputed Aldoinus, a Lombard officer, to carry their complaints to that general; but no regard being paid to these remonstrances, they desired leave to retire, which being granted, they returned to the continent of Italy, seized upon Melfi, or Amalfi, and several of the neighbouring towns. Not content with these, they ravaged the country in a dreadful manner, of which outrages Maniaces having received advice, he crossed the streights of Reggio with a select body of his forces, to chastise the deserters, as he called these injured troops, and make them pay dear for their temerity and presumption; but, contrary to his expectation, he suffered a defeat, which obliged him to leave them in possession of all the territory they had conquered, and make the best of his way to Sicily to prevent the Moslems, who had received a reinforcement from Africa, from over-running that whole island. We must

*The chief
tran-
sac-
tions of the
year 428.*

c Mirkhond, apud Teixeira. p. 292, 293. Khondemir, Lobh Al Tawarikh, Curopalat. & Cedren. ubi sup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 562. 633. Joan. Baptist. Carus. ubi sup. p. 107, 108. Al Makn, ubi sup. p. 266, 267. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 427. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. Al Makrizi, Euseb. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 417, 418.

not forget to remark, that great confusion at this time reigned amongst the Moslems, who still were agitated by civil dissensions in Spain. Mirkhond writes, that Abu'l Ganjar, or Abu'l Câlîjâr, reduced to his obedience, in the present year, the large province of Tabrestân, which had so lately been subdued by soltân Mas'ûd.

*The famous
Ebn Sînâ,
or Avicen
na, dies in
the year of
the Hejra,
428.*

The same year died at Hamadân, in the Persian Irâk, the famous Abu Ali Al Hosein Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Sînâ, called generally by the Moslems Ebn Sînâ, by the Jews Aben Sina, and by the Christians corruptly Avicenna. This celebrated physician and philosopher was born in the city of Bokhâra, or rather the village of Affhana, at a small distance from that place, in the year of the Hejra 370; though his father, according to his own relation, was a native of Balkh. By the time he was ten years old he had learned the Koran by heart, made a great progress in the belles lettres, and studied Euclid and Ptolemy's Almagest. After he had completed his tenth year, his father sent him to a gardener to learn arithmetic, according to the Indian method of computing; the Indian figures, or arithmetical characters, beginning at this time to be in use amongst the Arabs. He was afterwards instructed in the rudiments of logic at Bokhâra, by Abu Abd'allah Al Nâbeli, whom his father took into his house for that purpose. He then applied himself to the study of physic, and soon attained to a surprising skill in that science; insomuch that he had read many physical writers, and performed a great number of cures when he was but sixteen years of age. The next year and a half he spent entirely in reading. When any abstruse and intricate point, that puzzled him, occurred, he went directly to the mosque, and never ceased offering up his prayers to God till the subject was cleared up to him. He both read and wrote much in the night-time, with a lamp before him; and when his spirits began to flag, he drank a glass of wine, which greatly revived him. Many problems that had distracted him in his waking hours, were solved to him in his dreams. When he had in a manner finished his studies in physic, logic, natural philosophy, and mathematics, he proceeded to metaphysics and theology. In the former of which sciences he perused, with great attention, one of the best authors then extant; but found him absolutely unintelligible, before some light was thrown upon him by an excellent piece of the famous Abu Nafr Al Fârâbi, whose writings he greatly admired. In short, this prodigy of learning had made himself master of every branch of useful

ful literature, every noble science, cultivated in that age, when he entered upon his nineteenth year. His father then dying, he travelled into Jorjân and Dahestân; in the latter of which provinces he had a severe fit of sickness. After his recovery he returned to Jorjân, and composed, according to Abu Obeidah Al Jüzjâni, the first book of his *Al Kânûn*, his abridgment of the *Almagest*, and other pieces held in great esteem. From thence he went to Kazwîn, and afterwards to Hamadân, where Codbana-wiya, or Corbanawiya, the sâheb or prince of that city, advanced him to the dignity of wazîr; but the soldiery being afraid of him, at last plundered his palace, dragged him to prison, and endeavoured to prevail upon Shamso'ddawla to put him to death. He was, however, afterwards reinstated in the office of wazîr, though he declined accepting of that post, when it was offered to him by Shamso'ddawla's son. He then shut himself up in the house of Abu Galeb, an apothecary, where he finished the system of metaphysics and natural philosophy contained in the *Kitâb Al Shefâ*, except the two books treating of vegetables and animals. He afterwards wrote privately to Alao'ddawla, and desired he might be permitted to live with him; but being discovered, he was conducted as a prisoner to the castle of Berdawân, under a guard. Here he remained, in a state of confinement, about four months, after the expiration of which term he was brought back to Hamadân; from whence he found means to escape to Esfahân in the habit of a sûfi. Here he met with a reception from Alao'ddawla worthy of his superior merit, and put the last hand to several of his learned works. He had naturally an excellent constitution, but impaired it by wine and venery, to which he was extremely addicted. Having a most acute fit of the colic, in order to accelerate the cure of the disorder, he had eight clysters injected into his bowels in one day, which occasioned an ulceration of the intestines, from whence proceeded an excoriation that was followed by an epilepsy. This disorder so weakened him, that for some time he could not rise, though at last, by the application of medicines, which he ordered for himself, he was able to walk. However, he was never afterwards thoroughly well. Not long after this attack he accompanied Alao'ddawla to Hamadân, but was seized upon the road with the same distemper, and continued very ill till he arrived at that city. There he languished several days, during which he took no physic, finding his strength not sufficient to struggle with the disease,

ease, and then expired. Both Ebn Sîna and Al Farabi, his master, have been accused by Al Ghazali of impiety, as they paid a higher regard to the sentiments of the philosophers than to the principles and decisions of the Koran. Nevertheless, if we believe Ebn Shohnah, many of the Moslem doctors maintained that Ebn Sîna was sensible of his error, and returned to a right way of thinking a little before his death. The author of the Nighiariistan relates, that soltân Mahmûd Gazni having been informed that the court of Mamûn, king of Khwarazm, was adorned with a number of learned men, who had distinguished themselves by their knowledge in the sciences, amongst whom was Ebn Sîna, had the curiosity to desire to see them. He therefore dispatched several couriers to Mamûn, to beg that he would give them leave to come to his residence in Khorasan. Most of these doctors, by Mamûn's permission, resolved to wait upon soltân Mahmûd; but Ebn Sîna constantly refused to accompany them. However, being obliged to leave the court of Khwarazm, instead of taking the road to Khorasan, he made the best of his way to Jorjân; a circumstance which so exasperated soltân Mahmûd, that he sent portraits into all parts in order to discover him, and have him put under arrest, but without effect; for he escaped to Jorjân, where he performed many wonderful cures. He had not been long there before Kabûs, king of the country, having heard of his fame, ordered him to attend a nephew of his, who was afflicted with a malady which none of the court physicians could comprehend. Ebn Sîna had no sooner felt his pulse and examined his urine, than he judged his disorder to proceed from love, and to be the effect of a violent passion for some lady which he had concealed from the king his uncle. In order to be satisfied in this point, he desired to see the keeper of the palace, and begged, that whilst he was studying the pulse of his patient, he would name all the rooms and apartments of that fine house. The keeper readily complied with this request, and amongst others named one particular apartment, the mention of which occasioned an extraordinary emotion in the young prince. This being perceived by Ebn Sîna, he asked the names of the persons who lodged in it; and when one of them, who was a lady, came to be repeated, observed the pulse he was feeling to beat so violently, that he entertained not the least doubt, but the love of that amiable object had reduced his patient to the extremity in which he found him. He then publicly declared, that there was

no

no other cure for him than the possession of the person he so tenderly loved. Kabûs having been informed of this discovery, had the curiosity to see his nephew's physician; and as he had one of the portraits dispersed by Mahmûd over all the neighbouring provinces, he presently knew him to be the celebrated Ebn Sina. He then greatly caressed him, and made him many valuable presents, without obliging him to return to soltân Mahmûd's court. The same writer has likewise told us, that the learned men of the city of Shîraz, in the province of Fârs, having read Ebn Sina's logical and metaphysical work, intituled *Kitab Al Manthaki*, with the utmost attention, drew up a list of the objections they had to offer to the doctrine therein maintained, and sent it by Abu'l Kašem Al Kermani to Esfahân, where Ebn Sînâ then resided. Al Kermani having spent the best part of the night in conversation with Ebn Sînâ, upon his arrival at Esfahân, retired; and Ebn Sînâ, instead of going to bed, went into his study, and set about an answer to those objections with so much application, that he finished it, and put it into the hands of Al Kermani, very early the next morning, who immediately posted away with it to Shîrâz. The doctors were so charmed with this answer, and so surprised at Ebn Sînâ's wonderful diligence and unparalleled quickness of parts, that their former high idea of his merit was thereby greatly heightened. This answer is not to be found in the compilation of Ebn Sînâ's works printed at Rome; nor is the treatise of logic in that collection any thing more than an abridgment of a larger work which he had composed. He is said to have written his own life, though this has been performed in a much more ample and copious manner by Abu Obeidah Al Jûzjani, whom we have already had occasion to cite. He observes, that Ebn Sînâ was first physician, and afterwards wazîr to Majo'ddawla, a soltân of the house of Bûiya; but that he was dispossessed of his office on account of his attachment to wine and women. He was very unfortunate, according to this author, in the latter part of his life, having been frequently obliged to change the place of his abode for the safety of his person. He laboured under a complication of distempers, which induced a certain poet, who made his epitaph, to say, that neither his books of wisdom or philosophy could teach him morality, nor his treatises in physic the art of preserving his own health. The principal of Ebn Sînâ's works was his *Al Kanûn*, which has been abridged and explained by Sa'id Ebn Hebatallah, by Razi, and by another Arab author.

thor. His tutor, or instructor, in the art of physic was Abu Sahl, a Christian, famous for a treatise or system he published, intituled, *Miyah Kitab*, that is, *A Hundred Books*. He was extremely well versed in logic as well as physic, and every other branch of ancient literature. He was held in the highest veneration amongst the people of Khorasân, and died when he was about forty years of age. To what has been said, in relation to Ebn Sinâ, we shall only add, that he had also a taste for poetry, and wrote a poem during his confinement in the castle of Berdawân; a distich of which, as well as some short memoirs of his life, said to be penned by himself, has been preserved by Abu'l-Faraj^d.

*The Seljûks
reduce Tûs
and Nisâ-
bûr.*

In the 429th year of the Hejra, soltân Mas'ûd marched at the head of a powerful army against the Seljûks, who had possessed themselves of so considerable a part of his dominions. Mikâyel, Mikhâyel, or Mikael, Ebn Seljûk, the prince or leader of these Turks, dying a little before this period, they put themselves under the command of his son Abu Tâleb Mohammed, surnamed Togrol Beg or Togrûl Bek, the Tangrolipax or rather Tangrolipex of the Greek writers. This prince receiving advice of Mas'ûd's approach, led his troops against the soltân, in order to give him battle; whom he attacked with so much bravery, that he entirely defeated him, and pursued him to Tûs. He then laid siege to that place and took it. Tûs being the first city that fell into the hands of the Seljûks, Togrol Bek assembled all his forces, and fortified the place. He afterwards advanced to Nisâbûr, about twelve parasangs from Tûs, a place, according to Hamdallah, of great antiquity, and one of the principal cities of Khorasân; which, as no enemy appeared to oppose him, he easily reduced. This blow obliged soltân Mas'ûd, who has the prænemon of Abu Sa'id given him by Al Makin, to retire to Gazna, and abandon the most considerable part of Khorasân to the Seljûkian Turks; who thereupon proclaimed Togrol Bek sovereign of the tract he had conquered, at Nisâbûr.

*They extend their
conquests;*

After Togrol Bek's authority had been recognized at Nisâbûr, he sent his brother, Jaafar Bek, to subdue the city and districts of Herât or Heri, the Aria of the ancients,

^d Al Juzjani, apud Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 352, 353. Not. MS. ad Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 350. apud Joan. Swintonum, A. M. Oxoniens. ut & ipse Abu'l-Faraj, ibid. p. 349—355. Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'aljaafar Al Kazwini, in Nighiarist. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Sina, p. 812, 813.

situated

situated in a salubrious part of Khorasân, to the south-west of Balkh; which purpose being soon effected, Togrol Bek placed one of his uncles over the new conquests, in order to govern them. In the mean time, he himself advanced with another body of troops to Merû, which he made himself master of, and there established his royal seat. This step was followed by some regulations, which suppressed all the disorders that had for a long time reigned in Khorasân. We should remark, That Togrol Beg is called Rucno'ddin or Rocno'ddin Abu Taleb Togrol Bek Mohammed Ebn Mikâyyel Ebn Seljûk by Abu'l Faraj. The districts or prefectures of Herât, as we are informed by Abulfeda, were the towns of Karûkh, or Crokh, Mâsin, Kharjerd, and Bûshekh, with their dependencies; all which were reduced to the obedience of Togrol Beg or Bek, by his brother, Jaafar Bek, in the course of this campaign *.

In the same year, soltân Mas'ûd Ebn Mahmûd Ebn Sabektekin assembled all his forces to drive the Seljûks out of his dominions; but the two brothers, Togrol Bek and Jaafar Bek, having also collected their troops, after an exceeding bloody battle, gained so complete a victory, that Mas'ûd found he had no farther employment in Khorasân. Jaafar Bek is called Jakar Bek Dawd by Al Makin, and that Jakar is only a corruption of Jaafar.

and over-throw Mas'ûd.

About this time, the Sicilian Moslems, having been reinforced by a body of fresh troops from Africa, took the field with an army of a hundred thousand men. Maniaces, the imperial general, not intimidated by their great numbers, drew up his forces in order of battle, and made the necessary dispositions for an engagement. Omar, an African emir, who commanded the Moslems, had ordered caltrops to be thrown upon the spot between the two camps, in order to annoy the enemy's horse: but Maniaces, by covering the horses' hoofs with iron plates, rendered his design abortive. The Christian and Moslem armies had not long been in sight of each other before a general action ensued, in which the latter, notwithstanding their vast superiority in point of numbers, were vanquished with incredible slaughter; the field of battle, and all the ground near the scene of action, being strewed with their dead bodies. In short, this victory seemed to Maniaces so important, that he looked upon himself as master of Sicily, and now so sure of destroying all the Moslems in the

What happened now in Sicily.

* D'Herbel, Biblioth. Orient. art. Thogrul Beg, p. 1027. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi. sup. p. 343. Golii. Not. ad Afragan. p. 179.

island,

island, that he most earnestly desired Stephen, the imperial admiral, not to suffer any of them to escape in their ships. But soon after, to his unspeakable grief, he received certain advice, that Omar, the African general, was safe on board one of his own ships, and the Moslem fleet stationed in a place where one of the Christian vessels could annoy them. Maniaces, on this occasion, expostulated with Stephen in very severe terms; which that admiral highly resented, and accused Maniaces to the emperor, to whom he was nearly related, of a design to arrogate to himself the sovereignty of the whole island he was at that time endeavouring to wrest out of the hands of the infidels. This accusation produced the desired effect: the emperor ordered Maniaces to be deprived of his command, put under arrest, and sent to Constantinople as a criminal. Stephen himself was appointed to succeed him, though he was neither remarkable for his bravery nor conduct. After him succeeded Basilus, an eunuch, entirely void of military skill, but indolent, cowardly, proud, and covetous, to the last degree. At length Michael, the governor of Apulia, was sent to act at the head of the imperial forces in Sicily against the infidels; under whose inauspicious conduct, all Maniaces's conquests were lost, except Messina, which bravely defended itself against the combined army of the Sicilian Christians, the Sicilian Moslems, and the Africans^f.

*Mas'ûd is
defeated a-
gain by the
Seljûks.*

Next year, being the 430th of the Hejra, soltân Mas'ûd, who, after his late defeat, had retired to Gazna, marched to Jorjân with a body of troops. On his route, he was informed that a robber, who had committed many outrages in that neighbourhood, had taken post in a castle at a small distance from him, with a hundred men. Mas'ûd, finding the fortress capable of sustaining a siege, promised them a pardon, and the secure possession of all their properties and effects, if they would surrender. To this proposal the gang and their leader readily listened; but Mas'ûd, having gotten them into his hands, ordered them all to be hanged, alledging that no faith was to be kept with such enormous and abandoned malefactors. He had not proceeded much farther before he was met by deputies from several towns, sent to complain of the tyranny of Nûr Takîn, the governor of Balkh. Mas'ûd, being irritated at his oppressive and iniquitous administration, moved towards him, though in a hard frost; but, when advanced

^f Curopalat. & Cedren. Joan. Baptist. Carus, ubi sup. p. 108, 109.
about

about half way, turned back against Dawd Seljûk, or rather Dawd Al Seljûki, a Turkish commander, then on his way to Balkh, with considerable forces to assist Nûr Takîn. Of which circumstance the latter of these generals being apprised, he led all the troops he could assemble against the soltân, attacked his rear, and took most of his baggage. But, notwithstanding this check, Mas'ûd continued his march till he came up with Dawd Al Seljûki, whom he charged with great vigour, though very indifferent success. For, being repulsed, he fled to Gazna; where he put to death many of the Turks who served under him, because they had misbehaved in the battle. He afterwards levied another army, and gave the command of it to Mawdûd his son; whom he ordered to advance on the side of Balkh, not only to chastise Nûr Takîn, but likewise to defend that frontier, which seemed to be threatened with a visit from the Turks. Mawdâd was attended by Abu Naîr Ahmed, Mas'ûd's wazîr, in this expedition. The soltân having formed a plan of operations for Mawdûd; and settled every thing to his entire satisfaction at Gazna, released Mohammed his brother, whom he had deprived of sight, out of prison, and took him, as well as his whole family, with him into India, where he proposed to extend the conquests that had been formerly made. But, the following winter, he found himself obliged to quit that vast region, and turn off towards the city of Balkh, in order to defend himself against the Seljûks, who grew stronger every day in the neighbourhood of that place. Being arrived upon the banks of the Sind, called Pang Ab by the Persians, or the Indus, he passed that river, with his favourites, and left his equipage and treasures, together with Mohammed, his brother, under the direction of Mûs Takîn, or, as he is denominated by M. D'Herbelot, Yusef Ebn Pûs Takîn, one of his generals, on the other side. Mûs Takîn, considering this as a favourable opportunity of aggrandizing himself, seized upon those treasures, and divided the better part of them amongst the troops attached to his interest. The revolted, having committed this insolence, proclaimed Mohammed for their soltân; upon which, Mas'ûd fled, to avoid falling into their hands. But he was so closely pursued, that he found it impossible to escape. Being, therefore, made a prisoner, he was conducted to Mohammed; who, at his own request, confined him, together with the principal officers that could not be prevailed upon to desert him, in the fortress of Kobra Kibir. Thither he was sent under a strong guard, and supplied

plied him with what necessities he wanted. His brother, however, when this unfortunate prince took his leave of him, and desired some money, could not be induced to give him more than five hundred dirhems; though the person who brought from Mohammed that trifling sum, commiserating his unhappy condition, made him a present, according to Mirkhond, of one thousand five hundred dinârs².

*The Seljûk
dynasty
commences
this year,
according
to Al Ma-
kin.*

The commencement of the Seljûkian dynasty is placed by Al Makin at this period. He makes Togrol Bek to have been the first sultân of this dynasty; though his grandfather, Seljûk Ebn Dakâk, was the founder of this house. Dakâk, Seljûk's father, according to this author, being a person of great wisdom and valour, was consulted by the king of the Turks on all emergent occasions, and accompanied with him in the wars he waged against the Turkish tribes that were independent on him. He was the first of his family who embraced Mohammedism. Seljûk being of age when his father died, the king assigned him the command of all his forces; but afterwards, apprehending himself to be in danger from his crafty disposition, he resolved to kill him. This design being suspected by Seljûk, he fled to Harûn Sahabo'ddawla, or rather, according to the text of Al Makin, Shahabo'ddawla, king of Al Jâbia, and solicited assistance to conquer the country of the infidel Turks. Harûn, in compliance with his request, furnished him with a numerous army, to enable him to execute his design. But, coming to a general action with those infidels, he was slain when he was a hundred and seven years old. Ebn Shohnah relates, that Seljûk was chief of one of the principal families of Turkestan; that, being followed by a great number of friends and relations, the king of the Turks grew jealous of him, and obliged him to depart his dominions; that he settled, and embraced Islamism at Joud, one of the dependencies of the city of Bokhâra, in Mawarâ'nahr; and that from thence he continually made incursions upon the infidel Turks, during the whole course of his life. Khondemir informs us, that Seljûk was the son of Dekâk, chief officer of Bigû, prince of those Turkish tribes which inhabited the plains of Khozâr or Kipchâk, to the north of the Caspian sea; that Dekâk was so renowned amongst his countrymen for his extraordinary wisdom and valour, that they gave him

² Mirkhond, apud Teixeira. p. 293, 294. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 562, 563.

the surname of Tazialig, which signifies a *strong Bow, and hard to manage*; that, after Dekâk's death, Bigû took care to educate Seljûk in a proper manner, surname him Basfashi, that is *Chief, or Captain*, and heaped favours upon him; that Seljûk, being afterwards apprised of Bigû's intention to punish him for his insolence in presuming to enter the secret apartment of the palace, in order to see Bigû's women and children, retired from court, passed the Sihûn with all his adherents, moved towards Samarkand, and routed in several engagements Belil Khân, governor of that city, who attempted to oppose him; and that the advantages gained by him on this occasion, particularly one he obtained by means of an ambuscade, laid the foundation of his future greatness, and enabled him to present himself before Bokhâra, where he was very well received. Of his sons, Mîkâyyel or Mikaël made the principal figure, and resided, for some time, in Mawarâ'nahr, where great numbers of Turks resorted to him, and elected him their general, according to Al Makîn. When soltân Mahmûd Ebn Sabektekîn crossed the Jihûn, with an army, to assist Warar Khân, king of Mawarâ'nahr, Mikaël went to salute that conqueror; who, admiring his courage, and the submission his family paid him, intreated him to remain about his person, and at his return to accept of the government of Khorasân, in order to defend it against all foreign invaders. On Mikaël's declining the soltân's offer, Mahmûd, enraged, sent him in chains to prison, and after his return to his dominions, still kept him confined. Notwithstanding which severity, his troops and family followed the soltân, and, by his appointment, settled in the plains of Khorasân. However, Mahmûd afterwards repented of this false step, and was afraid it would prove fatal to his family. Nor did he, as it should seem, conceal his apprehensions from his sons; as Mas'ûd, one of them, attacked Mikaël Ebn Seljûk, defeated him, and took a considerable number of prisoners. The Seljûks nevertheless twice overthrew soltân Mas'ûd, about this very time, if any credit in this point is to be given to Al Makîn, who says, moreover, that Togrol Bek was inaugurated in the course of the present year^b.

The Moslem affairs in Sicily were now in the utmost confusion; some factious person or other throwing off their

The principal occurrences in Sicily, this year.

^b Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 267, 268. Ebn Shohnah, Khondemir, Al Emir Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatif Al Kazwini, in Lebtârikh, five Lobb Al Tawârikh, D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 801.

allegiance in most of the principal cities, fortresses, and towns of the Mohammedan part of that island. Amongst these, Abd'allah possessed himself of Trapani, and other neighbouring places. Ali Ebn Kema seized upon Castro Giovarni or Enna, Gergenti or Agrigentum, and other towns not very remote from them. Ebn Al Thamân claimed Catana and Syracuse, to which he annexed several districts, that formed a pretty considerable state. The Sicilian Christians, being displeased with the Greek governor's administration, took up arms, joined the Moslems, who, notwithstanding the defeat lately mentioned, found means to receive a reinforcement from Africa, and enabled them to recover all the conquests of Maniaces, except Messina, or Messana, which was defended by Catacalus Combustus, posted therein with a body of Armenian troops. The Moslems, notwithstanding the intestine war which had so lately raged amongst them, being grown superior to the Christians, besieged this city; which they pushed on with great vigour, during the space of four months, but without effect: for the Armenians, and the other troops in garrison, destroyed abundance of their men, and at last forced them to abandon the siege. The immediate cause of this retreat was a vigorous sally made by Catacalus, with five hundred foot and three hundred horse; in which that brave commander penetrated to the Moslem camp, surprised the besiegers, then celebrating one of their festivals, killed Abu'l Afar, their general, and put a great number to the sword. This action so disheartened them, that they betook themselves to a shameful flight; upon which their tents, treasure, baggage, provisions, and military stores, fell into the hands of the besieged, who immediately took possession of their camp. After this unexpected event, either by the civil dissensions that reigned amongst them, with regard to the election of a new emir, or the ambition of many of their seditious leaders, all of whom aspired at the supreme dignity, the Sicilian Moslems were split into a variety of factions; several of those leaders assuming to themselves the sovereignty of the most powerful and opulent cities. The Greeks, therefore, at this juncture, had they pursued their victory, might easily have driven the Moslems out of Sicily. But Michael Paphlagon, or the Paphlagonian, dying the very same year in which Abu'l Afar was killed, and being succeeded by Michael Calaphates, in whose short reign the Constantinopolitan court was prevented from undertaking any expedition, by the universal disaffection which then prevailed,

prevailed, and terminated in the deposition of that prince; the Moslems not only retook Messina, but soon after reduced the whole island to the obedience of either the Fâtemite khalif, or the Sicilian emir. However, before many years were elapsed, the Normans, under the conduct of the famous Roger Guiscard, styled by the European historians Roger I. king, or rather count, of Sicily, finally expelled them to the inexpressible regret of the whole Mohammedan world¹.

In the 431st year of the Hejra, Soltân Mas'ûd, having raised a considerable army, marched against Togrol Bek, and put him to flight; killing a great number of his men, and taking some of them prisoners, with their arms. 'This particular we learn from Al Makin; so that, if his authority in the point before us is to be depended upon, notwithstanding what may seem to be intimated to the contrary by Mirkhond, Mas'ûd could not have been deposed in the preceding year^k.

Mas'ûd puts Togrol Bek to flight.

Next year, being the 432d of the Hejra, Togrol Bek returned to Nisâbûr, from whence he had been driven, and Soltân Mas'ûd fled at his approach to Gazna; upon which, the Seljûks possessed themselves of the whole province of Khorasân. Togrol Bek, having now no enemy to oppose, seems to have treated the inhabitants of that province in a cruel manner, as an incredible number of people were slain on this occasion, according to Al Makin^l.

The Seljûks reduce Khorasân.

About the same time, Abu Sentakîn, an eunuch of the city of Balkh, engaged some of the servants of the court to secure by violence soltân Mas'ûd, and replace his brother Mohammed upon the throne. After this revolution, Mohammed ordered Mas'ûd to be brought before him, and upon that prince's appearing in his presence, said, "Chuse what place you please for your residence, that I may send you and your family thither." Having, therefore, preferred the castle of Kobra, he was conducted to that fortress, together with his wife and children. This step was no sooner taken than Ahmed, Mohammed's son, desired his father to lend him the royal or imperial signet, in order to seal up some treasures that he had amassed; but having obtained it, he sent some couriers with it to the castle of Kobra, where Mas'ûd was confined. Upon their arrival, they immediately produced the signet, and

Mas'ûd is deposed, and murdered.

¹ Al Kadi Shahaboddin Ebn Abildan Al Hamawi, in lib. cui tit. Asmodt. Curopalat. & Cedren. Nilus, apud Joan. Baptist. Caruf. ubi sup. ut et ipse Joan. Baptist. Caruf. ibid. & p. 110.

^k Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 268. Mirkhond, apud Teixeira. p. 293, 294, 295.

^l Al Makin, ubi sup.

told the governor they had a particular message to deliver to Mas'ûd; when, being admitted into his apartment, in obedience to Ahmed's command, they assassinated that unfortunate prince. This barbarity reaching the ears of Mawdûd, Mas'ûd's son, who was then in Khorasân, he immediately marched with a powerful army to Gazna, defeated in a great battle his uncle Mohammed, and took him prisoner, together with Ahmed, his son, and Abu Sentakîn, the eunuch of Balkh, who had been the principal person concerned in the deposition of his father. Having now got Mohammed and his whole family into his hands, as well as the murderers of Mas'ûd, he commanded them all to be executed, and without any farther opposition ascended his father's throne. Mas'ûd has been represented as a brave and generous prince, perfectly skilled in the military art, and one who governed his subjects with great prudence and moderation, by Mirkhond and Al Makîn, the latter of which authors styles him king of Khorasân, India, and Mawarâ'inahr; and says he was succeeded by Mohammed, his brother. He likewise writes, that Mawdûd, the son of Sa'id, Mas'ûd's, nephew, having been informed of his uncle's violent death, led an army against Mohammed, the new king, overthrew him, and mounted the throne; as also that the murderer of Mas'ûd, as well as the above mentioned occurrences immediately consequential to that event, is to be ranked amongst the transactions of the following year^m.

*What happened in
Jorjân,
Tabrestân,
and Syria.*

The 433d year of the Hejra proved extremely fortunate to Togrol Bek, soltân of the Seljûks; who, before the close of it, made himself master of Jorjân and Tabrestân, and even penetrated into the Persian Irâk. According to the author of the *Lebtârikh*, Mas'ûd was routed by the Seljûks, in a great battle fought in the plains of Zandekon; soon after which battle, the khalif Al Kâyem sent the patent or instrument of investiture from Baghdâd to the two brothers, Togrol Bek and Jaafar Bek. The same year Moezzo'ddawla, or rather, as Abu'lfeza calls him, Abu Olwân Thamal Moezzo'ddawla, assumed the government of Aleppo; the inhabitants, after the death of Anûshtekîn, Anush Takîn, Al Darîri, or Al Dezberi, as he is named by different authors, delivering up that city to his arms. This Anûshtekîn, having been sent by Al Mostanser Bi'llah, the khalif of Egypt, with a formidable army, to reduce

^m Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 343, 344. Mirkhond. apud Teixeira. p. 294, 295. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 269, 270.

Aleppo,

Aleppo, which then obeyed the orders of Abu Camel Nafr Shablo'ddawla, Saleb Ebn Mardas's son, he vanquished that prince with very great slaughter, in the month of Shaaban, and the year of the Hejra 429. This battle, which was fought near the banks of the Asius, between Hamah or Hamath, Cafartab, and Shaizar, decided the fate of Syria; the victory gained on this occasion being so complete, that not only the city of Aleppo, but the whole province of Syria likewise submitted to the Fâtemite khalif. Abu Camel Nafr Shablo'ddawla himself was killed in the action, after he had presided over the people of Aleppo eight years and several months. If we can believe Al Makîn, Moezzo'ddawla Ebn Saleb Ebn Mardas, who had before been expelled Aleppo by Shablo'ddawla, his brother, in the year of the Hejra 421, repossessed himself of that capital. Mokled Ebn Shablo'ddawla, his nephew, he appointed to command in the castle, and then retired towards the Euphrates, in order to implore the assistance of the Arab tribes settled in the neighbourhood of that river against Anûshtekîn. But before he returned, that general had seized upon Aleppo; which he entered triumphantly, in the month of Ramadân. This Anûshtekîn, or rather Anûsh Takîn, denominated Bûsekîn Al Darîri by Al Makîn, was originally a Turk, brought as a mamlûk, or slave, by some merchants into Syria; where he was purchased by Darîr, a Deylamite, a person of great power in that country, who gave him to the khalif of Egypt. That prince, finding him a man of great courage and uncommon capacity, placed him in an honourable station, and at last raised him to the dignity of commander in chief of all his forces. He ruled the inhabitants of the city and district of Aleppo, if not those of all the other parts of Syria, as Abu'lfeda seems to intimate, to the time of his death, that is, to the 25th day of the former Jomâda, in the present year. He acquired much wealth, and great reputation, by his victory over Shablo'ddawla's troops. He was no sooner dead, than the people of Aleppo called Moezzo'ddawla Ebn Saleb Ebn Mardas to the throne. He was at Al Ramla when the citizens acknowledged him for their saheb or prince. But he posted away with all possible celerity to Aleppo, as soon as he had received intelligence of that happy and auspicious event".

* Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 344. Al Emir Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatif Al Karwini, in Lebtar. p. 42. Al Makin, ubi supra, p. 269. Iîm. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 402, & ad ann. Hej. 433.

*The trans-
actions in
Spain.*

In the same year Abu'l Kasem departed this life at Seville, in Andalusia. He was first al kadi, or judge, and afterwards presided several years over the people of that city, in quality of emir. About the time that this usurper took upon himself the government of Seville, Yahwar Ebn Mohammed assumed the sovereignty of Corduba, and was, after his death, succeeded by Mohammed, his son °.

*The prin-
cipal
events of
the year
434.*

In the 434th year of the Hejra, Ibrahim Neal Al Seljûki made an irruption into the Persian Irâk, and possessed himself of Hamadân. He was followed by Togrol Bek, who took Al Ray in that province. After this conquest, the latter of those generals, upon a partition of the Seljûkian territories, had for his share all the provinces he and his brother had subdued, except Khorasân; which, by the mutual consent of both parties, was assigned Jaafar Bek. Mirkhond writes, that both Persia and India, after Mas'ûd's death, were agitated by fresh commotions; and that Mayudûd, Mawdûd's brother, projected an invasion of his dominions, but died upon his march. In the mean time, Mawdûd, by that prince's death, became possessed both of the Indian conquests and the kingdom of Mawara'nahr.

*The Gaz
Turks, or
Turkmâns,
make an
irruption
into Mesô-
potamia.*

The following year being the 435th of the Hejra, a body of one thousand six hundred and fifty Gaz horse, under the conduct of Kûkîas, Abu Ali Ebn Al Dahkân, Al Hâji Israel, and Abu Mansûr, advanced into the districts of Amed and Mayyâferakîn, then possessed by Al Emîr Abu Nafr Ebn Merwân. From thence they moved to Nasîbîn; which they, for some time, besieged. But that city not being disposed to surrender, after they had cut down all the trees in the neighbourhood, they marched to Al Mawfel. Karwâs Ebn Al Mektader, the sâheb or prince of the place, not finding himself in a condition to oppose them, bought a peace of them with a sum of money. Notwithstanding which, having destroyed the other cities of Diyâr Becr and Al Jazîra, they returned to Al Mawfel, took and pillaged it, put some of the inhabitants to the sword, and made others prisoners. The Arabs, being apprized of what had happened, assembled on all sides, besieged, and at last forced them to abandon the city. They afterwards defeated them in several engagements, killed a great number, and obliged the rest to fly to Mayyâferakîn; from whence, with all the spoil they could carry off, they retired into Adherbijân. The Gaz employed in this irruption seem

• Roderic. Toletan, Hist. Arab. cap. xlviii. p. 37,

to have been a detachment sent by Togrol Bek, who had fixed his residence at Hamadân, out of the Persian Irak, to ravage the Arab territories above mentioned; but we are not told what became of them, after their arrival in Adherbijân, whither they were driven by the khalif of Baghdâd's troops out of Mesopotamia^p.

In the same year, Jalâlo'ddawla Ebn Bahao'ddawla, of the house of Bûiya, died at Baghdâd. He had remained in the post of emir al omra, according to Mirkhond, seventeen years, and was succeeded by Abu Câlijâr, Abu Câlanjâr, or Abu'l Ganjâr, Ebn Soltâno'ddawla, his nephew. But Al Azîz Abu Mansûr, his son, was mentioned in the mosques as his successor, after his decease, if we can depend upon Al Makîn. Soon after Al Kâyem's elevation to the khalifat, the soldiers mutinied at Baghdâd, and plundered the palace of Jalâlo'ddawla's wazîr. They also sent for Abu Câlijâr, and nominated him emir al omra, or, in the style of Mirkhond, proclaimed him king of Baghdâd. Abu Câlijâr, being advised not to concern himself in the broils which disturbed the repose of that city, declined accepting the offer they had made him; upon which the Turkish troops, who were then mutineers, submitted to Jalâlo'ddawla, and the public tranquillity was re-established. But they soon committed fresh violences, and even set fire to the capital in several places. In the 427th year of the Hejra, they openly revolted against Jalâlo'ddawla, and attempted to expel him the city; an intention which they would have effected, had he not opposed them with wisdom and resolution. Next year, they mutinied again; and committed many disorders: but their general being killed, and a peace concluded between Abu Câlijâr and Jalâlo'ddawla, they soon returned to a sense of their duty. The 430th year of the Moslem æra was rendered memorable at Baghdâd by a snow that fell there, and in the adjacent territory, three spans deep; which was followed by a very severe frost, the Dijlat or Tigris having been frozen over, for the space of twelve days. The 431st year of the same æra proved not so favourable to the turbulent and restless Turkish soldiery; for they were brought more under subjection by Jalâlo'ddawla before the close of the year. When that emir al omra died, Al Azîz Abu Mansûr, his son, happened to be at Wâset, where there was then a pretty considerable tumult. His friends immediately dispatched a courier, and pressed him

Jalâlo'ddawla dies.

^p Al Makîn, ubi sup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 361.

to hasten immediately to Baghdâd, in order to occupy the post which was become vacant by his father's death. But being detained at Wâset by the commotions, which were not yet appeased, Abu Câlîjâr was sent for, and took the government upon him; the present exigency of affairs not permitting the people of Baghdâd to continue any longer without a person at the helm⁹.

Other occurrences of this year.

After the sudden death of Mayudûd, sultân Mawdûd's authority was recognized both in the Indian conquests and Mawarâ'nahr; notwithstanding which, the Seljûkian Turks, settled in the latter of those countries and Khorasân, refused to acknowledge him for their prince. He, therefore, marched against them with a powerful army; but was defeated by Alp Arslan, the son of Jaafar Bek. On the other side, great numbers of Turks, who broke out of Turkestân into the territories of Gaomafer and Kandahâr, to plunder, were routed by Mawdûd's garrisons. About the same time, the Indian rajahs, who had been vassals to Mawdûd, revolted against him, united their forces, and with the combined army laid siege to Lahor, or Lahâwar, a royal city in the province of Penjab. But this confederacy, how formidable soever it might at first appear, was soon dissolved; the members of which it was formed, almost immediately after the commencement of the military operations, being at variance amongst themselves. They even at last came to an open rupture, some declaring for and others against Mawdûd, though the former party finally prevailed: for, joining a body of troops sent by that prince to the relief of the place, they attacked their opponents with such bravery that they obliged them to submit to the sultân, and lay down their arms.

Abu'l Faraj Al Irâki dies.

In the course of this year died Abu'l Faraj Abd'allah Ebn Al Teyyeb Al Irâki, a famous physician and philosopher, who spent most of his time in reading and explaining the works, of the ancients, particularly those of Galen and Aristotle, which at this time were held in much esteem among the Arabs.

The troubles in India are appeased, in the year 436.

In the next year, being the 436th of the Hejra all the troubles in India, occasioned by the late revolt of the Indian rajahs, according to Mirkhond, seem to have been appeased. That author relates, that soon after the junction of sultân Mawdûd's forces with those of his Indian allies, which

⁹ Mirkhond, apud Teixeira. p. 296, 297, 298. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj-tibi sup. p. 344. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 270. Khondemir, Ism. Abu'lfed in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 335. D'Herbel, Biblioth. Orient. art. Gelal-Eddoulat. p. 373.

happened

happened towards the close of the last campaign, the rebellious rajahs were reduced to the obedience of that prince.

In the year of the Hejra 437, the Seljûks continued strengthening themselves in Khorasân and the Persian Irâk; infomuch that Abu Câlijâr Ebn Soltâno'ddawla, the emir al omra at Baghdâd, found himself obliged not long after to enter into an alliance with Togrol Bek.

The Seljûks grow stronger in Khorasân and the Persian Irâk. Al Kayed still reigns in Africa.

The 438th of the Hejra has not been rendered remarkable by any memorable events, recorded by the Moslem historians. As the Gaznevids and the Seljûks, who were now contending for dominion, paid little or no regard in civil affairs to the khalif of Baghdâd; so Al Kayed, the son of Hammad, who had founded the kingdom of the Hammadites in the province of Bajayah, or Bujiyah, reigned this very year, independently on the khalif of Egypt, in Africa.

The 439th year of the Hejra, produced a peace between Abu Câlijâr Ebn Soltâno'ddawla, the emir al omra; and Togrol Bek. In order to strengthen the alliance entered into by these two princes, Abu'l Câlijâr, or Abu'l Gânjâr, as Teixeira calls him, married his son to Dawd Al Seljûki's daughter. This Dawd, or David, was brother to Togrol Bek, and the new married lady of course his niece.

The chief events of the year 439;

Next year, being the 440th of the Hejra, Abu Câlijâr, the emir al omra, departed this life. He was the son of Soltâno'ddawla, of the house of Bûiya, and had reigned in Irâk between four and five years. He died, according to Abu'l Faraj, at Baghdâd; but, if we believe Mirkhond, in the province of Kermân: the latter of these authors also informs us, that he left behind him five sons, Abu Mansûr Fûlâd Sorûn, Kofrû Fîrûz, Abu Thâher, Abu Sa'id, and Kay Khofrû. Khofrû Fîrûz, the second of these being at Shirâz, in the province of Fârs, at the time of his father's demise, succeeded him, and assumed the title or surname of Al Mâlec Al Rahim, or the *Merciful King*. From Shirâz he repaired directly to Baghdâd, possessed himself of that capital, and took up his residence in the imperial palace. Soon after, Al Kâyem, the khalif of Baghdâd, adorned him with the collar and bracelets, and vested him with the supreme authority. Nevertheless, Abu Mansûr Fûlâd Sorûn, the eldest of Abu Câlijâr sons, made the proper dispositions for driving him out of all the territories he had seized, and took the field with a considerable force. The emir al omra, or king of Baghdâd, likewise assembled a body of troops; the command of which he gave to his brother

and of the year 440.

brother Abu Sa'îd, and ordered him to march against Fûlâd Sotûn with all possible expedition. He also followed him with another body of troops, joined him, and, after this junction, came up with Fûlâd Sotûn at Estakhr, a city of Fârs. But being deserted by the greatest part of his army, which consisted chiefly of Turks, he retired to Ahwâz in Khûzestân, and from thence to Wâset; where the war continued with various success till the year of the Hejra 447. We must not forget to remark, that Al Mâlec Al Rahim's brothers, Abu Thâher and Abu Sa'îd, notwithstanding the late desertion of his troops, persevered in their fidelity to him^r.

What happened, in the year 441.

In the following year, being the 441st of the Hejra, soltân Mawdûd Gazni, styled Saheb Al Hind, or *Lord of India*, by Al Makîn, being resolved to recover Khorasân, if possible, out of the hands of the Seljûks, began his march against them with a powerful army; but was carried off by a violent fit of the colic, before he could come up with them. With regard to his successor, the eastern writers seem not to be so perfectly well agreed. His son, named Mas'ûd, or Mas'ûd II. an infant, after his death, according to Khondemir, mounted the throne; whereas Abd'al-rashîd Ebn Mahmûd, his uncle, succeeded him, if we follow Abu'l Farâj and Al Makîn: but if Mirkhond may be credited, Ali Ebn Mas'ûd, his brother, as soon as his death came to be known, was saluted soltân by the military. However, these seeming inconsistencies may perhaps, by a little attention to Khondemir's account of this matter, be tolerably well reconciled. That author relates, that the Turks, who ruled at the Gaznevid court with absolute power, refusing to be commanded by a child, placed Ali Ebn Mas'ûd, Mawdûd's brother, upon the throne; and that he was, in a short time, deposed by Abd'al-rashîd Ebn Mahmûd, or rather Mohammed, Mawdûd's uncle, who found means to make his escape out of prison, where he had been confined a great part of his days. And, in conformity to this relation, we are told by Mirkhond, that Abd'al-rashîd, having been released from confinement, was proclaimed soltân, or king, upon Mawdûd's death, by that prince's wazîr; and that Ali Ebn Mas'ûd, finding things in a desperate situation, abandoned the government, and laid aside all thoughts of asserting his right to the crown. Al Bafâsîri, or Mâlec Al Bafâsîri, called Pissafirius by Ce-

^r Greg. Abu'l Faraj. ubi supra. Al Makîn, ubi supra, p. 270. Mirkhond, apud Teixeira, ubi supra.

drenus, a Turk, who had formerly been one of Bahao'd-dawla's slaves, advanced with a body of troops to Al Anbâr, a city of Irâk, in the territory of Baghdâd, and possessed himself of that place, before the close of the present year *.

In the 442d year of the Hejra, Togrol Bek, sultân of the Seljûks, reduced to his obedience the city of Esfahân, together with the district appertaining to it, according to Abu'l Faraj. The same year died Karwâs, or Karwâsh, the fâheb, or *lord*, of Al Mawfel; who has been represented as a prince of great bravery, and power, by Al Makin.

The most memorable occurrences of the year 442.

The 443d year of the Hejra, and the following, were barren of important events; but in the 445th of the Hejra, Abd'alrashîd, the Gaznevid sultân, was deposed and murdered by Togrol, one of his principal officers, who had been brought up at the court of sultân Mawdûd. This Togrol was so great a favourite, that Abd'alrashîd had not only conferred upon him the government of the province of Sejistân, but permitted him likewise to act as a sovereign. Togrol made a very improper return to his master and benefactor for so singular a favour: he even pushed his ingratitude so far as to form a design to dethrone him. In order to carry this into execution, he attacked Abd'alrashîd in his capital; who, being surprised by such an unexpected attack, retired into the castle with all his family. Here Togrol, after he had made himself master of the city, besieged him, soon carried the citadel by assault, and massacred both the sultân and all who were related to him, except Ferokhzâd and Anca, the son and daughter of Mas'ûd: the former of these found means to make his escape, and the latter Togrol took to wife. He also seized upon the crown, and assumed the title of sultân: but his perfidy and ingratitude rendered him so odious to his new subjects, that they branded him with the appellation of *Kasernamet*, that is, the *Ungrateful*. This disposition of the people, and the news of the strange revolution that had happened, having been communicated to Kharkhir, the governor of the Indian provinces dependent on the crown of Gazna, he wrote in very strong terms to the grandees of that city, and particularly to the princess Anca, exhorting them to attack the tyrant; which letters had such an effect, that the usurper was soon after assassinated in his palace, and

The principal occurrences of the year 445.

* Al Makin, ubi supra, p. 271. Khondemir, Greg. Abu'l Faraj, ubi supra. Mirkhond. apud Teixeira, ubi supra. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Maudoud, p. 567.

even upon his very throne. Kharkhir then caused Ferokh-zâd Ebn Mas'ûd, with the consent of all the principal lords of Gazna, to be proclaimed sultân. This is the account of the revolution preserved by the author of the *Lebtârikh* and *Khondemir*, from which that handed down to us by *Mirkhond* differs in some particulars.

*and of the
year 446.*

In the 446th year of the Hejra, *Togrol Bek* made an irruption with a body of troops into *Adherbijân*, and possessed himself of that province. At the same time, *Al Kayed*, the king of the *Hammadites*, in the African province of *Bajayah*, or *Bujiyah*, died, after he had reigned about twenty-seven years, and was succeeded by *Al Mohsen*, his son, a very rash and abandoned prince. *Al Mohsen*, by his infatuated conduct, discovering himself to be totally unfit to hold the reins of government, and treating his uncle with uncommon cruelty, *Belkîn Ebn Mohammed*, one of his relations, rebelled against him, routed his forces, slew him, and was proclaimed king in his room, after he had sat about eight months upon the throne. The troubles occasioned by *Basâsîrî's* defection at this time, greatly disturbed the repose of the city of *Baghdâd* †.

*Al Kâsem
invites To-
grol Bek to
Baghdâd;*

The 447th year of the Hejra, which commenced April 2d, 1055, proved very favourable to the *Seljûks*, under the conduct of *Togrol Bek*. The distractions, occasioned by the insolence of the Turkish militia, still continuing at *Baghdâd*, that place was, at this time, rendered little better than a scene of riot and confusion. *Abu'l Hâreth Rostân Al Modhaffer*, a Turk, commonly called *Al Basâsîrî*, having had a quarrel with *Rais Al Ruffa*, *Al Kâsem Beamri'llah's* wazîr, found himself obliged to quit the city of *Baghdâd*, and to put himself under the protection of *Al Mostanser*, the khalif of Egypt. That prince supplying him both with money and troops, he soon became very formidable in the Arabian Irâk, possessed himself of that province, and ravaged it even to the very gates of *Baghdâd*. Finding no enemy to oppose him, he now looked upon himself as emir al omra, and ordered his own name to be mentioned in all the mosques within his jurisdiction. Nor did he leave any thing more to *Al Malec Al Rahîm*, who, after the example of his predecessors, had deprived the khalif of all power and authority, than the naked title of king of *Baghdâd*. Indeed, the khalif himself was informed, that this rebel intended to advance at the head

† Greg. *Abu'l Faraj*. ubi supra, p. 344. *Ism. Abu'lfed.* in *Chron.* ad ann. Hej. 387. *Mirkhond*, apud *Teixeir*. p. 298, 299.

of his troops to the capital, and seize upon the imperial palace. Upon which, he immediately wrote to Togrol Bek, then in the district of Al Ray, who, according to some of the eastern writers, had lately made himself master of Khorasân, Jorjân, the city and territory of Balkh, and the whole extensive province of Khowârazm, as well as the Persian Irâk, and intreated him to come to his assistance. Al Bafâsiri, of whom we are now speaking, was originally Bahao'ddawla's slave, but at last rose to be one of the principal commanders of the sultâns of the house of Bûiya. He grew a terror, by the reduction of Irâk, to the Arab emirs, and all the other neighbouring princes. The conquest of that province probably occasioned his being styled the ruler of Babylon by Cedrenus. When the khalif wrote to Togrol Bek, this tyrant, or usurper, was at Wâset. Soon after, some of his soldiers deserted, and returned to Baghdâd; where they first plundered his palace, and then laid it in ashes.

As soon as the khalif's letter reached him, Togrol Bek assembled all his forces, made the proper dispositions for a march, and arrived at Baghdâd, in the month of Ramadân. He brought with him a numerous army of Turks, and eighteen elephants. When he entered Baghdâd, Al Bafâsiri was at Al Rahaba, upon the Euphrates, from whence he wrote to Al Mostanser Bi'llah, the khalif of Egypt, and begged he would take him under his protection. He also ordered prayers to be put up in his name, at Al Rahaba, as a token of his attachment to him. Upon his arrival at Baghdâd, Togrol Bek immediately waited upon the khalif, and paid him all the honours due to his high dignity. However, the Turks having soon after committed several outrages there, the people rose upon them, and pelted them with stones; an insult which so incensed Togrol Bek, that he commanded his troops to pillage the city. The tumult, excited against the Turks, being afterwards appeased, the sultân of the Seljûks went to the khalif, and told him, that if Al Malec Al Rahîm, the generalissimo of his armies, had not been concerned in the late sedition, he might safely come to him; upon which, Al Malec Al Rahîm appearing, he seized upon his person, sent him to prison, and ordered himself to be prayed for in the public pulpits instead of him. Thus ended the dynasty of the Bûiyans, which had continued one hundred and twenty-seven years; and that of the Seljûks began in the same city, where Togrol Bek took up his residence, in the imperial castle. Togrol Bek confined Al Malec Al Rahîm,

who arrives there, in the month of Ramadân.

Rahîm, according to Khondemir, in a castle of Irâk, where he ended his days, and made his public entry into Baghdâd, the 25th of Ramadân, of the present year. It may not be improper to remark, that Togrol Bek, a little before his expedition to Baghdâd, at the instigation of Abu Mansûr Fûlâd Sorûn, Al Malec Al Rahîm's eldest brother, reduced the city of Shirâz, and the greatest part of the province of Fârs; of which circumstance the latter of those princes having been informed, he assembled all his forces, expelled the sultân of the Seljûks from his new conquest, and then returned to Wâset. Mirkhond writes, that Al Kâyem did his utmost to screen Al Malec Al Rahîm, who had taken refuge in his palace, from the fury of Togrol Bek; but without effect. He also relates, that the Seljûks destroyed the city of Baghdâd with fire and sword; and that they spared neither the living nor the dead. The tombs of the latter, if this author may be credited, were all opened; a suspicion being entertained, that something valuable might probably be discovered in them ^u.

The principal occurrences of the year 448.

Next year, being the 448th of the Hejra, Abu Mansûr, having vanquished and killed in battle his brother Abu Sa'îd, secured to himself the throne of Fars. His wazîr, who had served his father in the same capacity, upon some suspicion he soon after put to death; and advanced to the honourable post thereby become vacant, Fazel Ebn Al Hafan, called likewise, by Mirkhond, Huya. Fazel was no sooner settled in his employment than he imprisoned his master in a castle, and assumed the title of king. Malec Maverd, a Seljûk commander, then in the province of Kermân, being informed of this usurpation, marched against Huya; who fled to Alp Arslân, another Seljûk captain, at his approach. He afterwards, if we believe this writer, farmed Alp Arslân's lands; and, growing very rich by that contract, rebelled against him. However, he was soon taken, with Nezâm Al Molc, or Al Molk, his son, and confined in the fortress of Estakhr, where both of them died. About this time, Al Kâyem Beamri'llah, the khalif of Baghdâd, married Khadîjah, the sister of Togrol Bek, who gave her a dower of a hundred thousand dinârs. Togrol Bek, having stayed thirteen months and thirteen days at Baghdâd, moved from thence towards Al Mawfel; carrying with him battering rams, and other engines of war. Al Basâsîri, who had a little

^u Al Makîn, ubi sup. Græg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 344. Mirkhond, apud Teixeira. p. 298, 299. Khondemir, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Caiem Bemrillah, p. 240.

before

before made himself master of that city, abandoned it, on his approach. Togrol Bek then laid siege to Tecrît; at which time the people of Cûfa, Wâset, and Aîn Al Tamr, falling off from their allegiance, caused prayers to be made in the name of Al Mostanser Bi'llah, the khalif of Egypt. Al Kâyem dignified Togrol Bek with the title of Rucno'ddîn or Rocno'ddîn, that is, *the Pillar of the Faith, or the Religion* *.

In the following year, being the 449th of the Hejra, Al Kâyem Beamri'llah, khalif of Baghdâd, honoured Togrol Bek with the imperial vest, and crowned him king of Baghdâd. He likewise adorned him with the collar and bracelets, appointed him ruler over his court, and ordered money to be coined in his name. Nor durst any enemy presume to appear against him, either in the Persian and Arabian Irâk, or Khorasân. In the course of the same year, Thamâl or Bamâl Moezzo'ddawla surrendered the citadel of Aleppo to Makîno'ddawla Al Hafan Ebn Ali Ebn Molhem; who took possession of it, in the month of Dhu'lkaada, for the khalif of Egypt. After the surrender or rather cession of Aleppo, Moezzo'ddawla went to Mesr, and Atiyah, his brother, repaired to Al Ramla. Makîno'ddawla made his public entry into Aleppo, as the emir, prefect, or governor of that city, on the 27th of Dhu'lkaada, of the present year †.

What happened, the following year.

In the 450th of the Hejra, Al Kâyem was deposed, and Al Mostanser Bi'llah, the khalif of Egypt, proclaimed at Baghdâd, in his room. Togrol Bek having marched to Al Mawfel, and from thence to Nassîbîn, with a design to subdue those places, was attended by his brother Ibrahim Nial or Neal Al Seljûki in this expedition. Some time after Togrol Bek had begun his march, Al Basâsîri, by his emissaries, excited Ibrahim to revolt; giving him hopes of a kingdom, and promising his assistance. Ibrahim, therefore, having prevailed upon the soldiers to take an oath of fidelity to him, advanced at the head of a great army to Al Ray, and rebelled against his brother. He afterwards, according to one of the eastern writers followed by M. D'Herbelot, took Hamadân; upon which, Togrol Bek moved towards that city with a powerful army, in order to drive him from thence. This motion gave Al Basâsîri, continues that author, an opportunity of making

The chief occurrences of the year 450.

* Mirkhond, apud Teixeira. p. 299. 300. Al Makîa, ubi sup. p. 271. 272. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Thogrul Beg. p. 10:7.

† Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 402. & ad ann. Hej. 449

himself

himself master of Baghdâd, and seizing upon the khalif's person. The last particular, however, seems not so consonant to what has been delivered by Al Makîn; who relates, that Al Kâjem made his escape to the eastern part of the city. Al Basâfirî, if this author may be credited, entered Baghdâd, on Sunday, the 8th of Dhu'lkaada, with the Egyptian standards, exhibiting the following words inscribed upon them, "Al Imâm Al Mostanser Bi'llah Emir Al Mûmenîn Abu Tamîm Ma'bad," *The Imâm Abu Tamîm Ma'bad Al Mostanser Bi'llah, the Commander or Emperor of the Faithful*; and on Friday, the 13th of the same month, prayers were put up in the cathedral church, or great mosque, in his name. Then, ordering a bridge to be thrown over the Tigris, he passed that river with his forces, and took post in the eastern part of the city, called Al Rufâfa, where he caused the same ceremony to be performed. After this, he commanded Ebn Al Moslema, Al Kâjem's wazîr, to be fettered, and carried on a camel through the streets of Baghdâd, dressed in a woollen gown, with a high red bonnet, and a leathern collar about his neck; a man lashing him all the way behind. Then, being sewed up in a fresh bull's hide, with the horns placed over his head, he was hung up on hooks, and beaten without ceasing till he died. In the mean time, the khalif arrived at the camp, where a tent was pitched for him, on the east side of the city. Upon his retreat, the mob plundered the imperial palace of things to an inestimable value. On Friday, the fourth of Dhu'lhajja, there was no divine service in the khalif's mosque; but in all the others, prayers were made, that day, in the name of Al Mostanser Bi'llah, the sâheb or lord of Egypt. The khalif of Baghdâd, Al Kâjem Beamri'llah, was afterwards conveyed to Hadîtha, and left in chains with Mahrâs, the governor of the town. Some of the Persian writers ascribe this confinement of the khalif to Al Basâfirî; who, according to them, had secured his person before. They also remark, that he was detained in custody not at Hadîtha, but at Baghdâd. Neither of which particulars, though they have both been copied by M. D'Herbelot, can be evinced from Al Makîn.

Next year, being the 451st of the Hejra, Togrol Bek marched against Ibrahim Neal Al Seljûki, his brother, defeated him, took him prisoner, and ordered him to be

Al Kâjem is re-instated in the khalifat by Togrol Bek.

γ Al Makîn, ubi sup. p. 272. 273. Khondemir, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 240, 1027.

strangled

strangled with a bow-string. He also put many of the Turkmâns, who had joined him, to the sword. In the mean time, Al Basâsîrî, who still maintained himself in Baghdâd, sent for the kâdi of kâdis, or the *supreme judge*, Abu Abd'allah Ebn Al Dâma'âni, with the preachers and princes of the house of Hâshem, required from them a recognition of the authority of Al Mostanser, the khalif of Egypt, and obliged them to take the oath of allegiance to that prince. Nevertheless, Togrol Bek, after the defeat of Ibrahim, advanced to Baghdâd; which Al Basâsîrî, who had been apprized of his march, abandoned at his approach. When he drew near that capital, he was met by Mahrâs, the fâheb or lord of Hadîtha, on the 11th of Dhu'lkaada, who brought Al Kâyem Beamri'llah, the khalif of Baghdâd, with him. That prince had already received, as presents, from Togrol Bek, several things of great value, besides many rich garments, and five thousand dinârs; as also sixty-five suits of cloaths for his wife. As soon as Togrol Bek entered the city, his troops plundered it, especially that part called Al Carh. They likewise collected a vast number of tents, chariots, and other moveables; all which they sent to the khalif, with Abd'almâlec Al Kanderi, his wazîr, and Abu Becr Al Aftâd. The khalif then went into a tent, that had been prepared for him, where he continued two days. On the 25th of Dhu'lkaada, he made his public entry into Baghdâd, from whence he had been absent a whole year, accompanied by Togrol Bek, who held the bridle of his mule till he had passed through the stone gate. It must here be remarked, that Togrol Bek, who deduced his origin from a province of the Upper Turkestân, denominated by some authors Desht or Desht Kapjâk, was a zealous Sonnite, had an utter aversion to the Fâtemite khalifs, whom he looked upon as heretics, and the highest regard for those of the house of Al Abbâs. No wonder then that, in consequence of this disposition, he should abolish the spiritual authority of the former, and establish that of the latter, wherever his arms prevailed; and that he should treat Al Kâyem, the khalif of Baghdâd, on this occasion, with such uncommon marks of reverence and distinction^z.

Before Togrol Bek's arrival at Baghdâd, Al Basâsîrî thought fit to retire to Wâset; where having collected a large quantity of corn, he put it on board some vessels

*Al Basâsîrî
is killed.*

^z Al Makîn, ubi sup. p. 273, 274. Khondemir, D'Herbel, ubi sup. p. 241. 293. Euseb. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 439, 440, 441.

then in the river: but receiving advice of the new revolution at Baghdâd, he advanced to Al Nomânîa, a place at no great distance from that city. The soltân sent against him part of his army, under the command of Hemar Makîn, and other generals; following himself, with the rest of his forces, towards the end of Dhû'lkaada. A battle hereupon ensued, which was fought between Wâfet and Cûfa, and ended in the defeat of Al Bafâfiri. That usurper was either killed in the action, as we find asserted by Al Makîn, or by some of Togrol Bek's soldiers, in the pursuit, as Khondemir writes, not far from Cûfa. His head being brought to Togrol Bek, he ordered it to be carried on a pike through the streets of Baghdâd^a.

*The principal events
of the year
452;*

In the course of the following year, being the 452d of the Hejra, Mahmûd Azzo'ddawla Ebn Nafr Ebn Sâleh Ebn Mardâs possessed himself of Aleppo; the junior part of the citizens rebelling against the khalif of Egypt, and driving Makîno'ddawla, his governor, into the castle. They delivered up the town to Mahmûd Azzo'ddawla, in the beginning of the Latter Jomâda; who thereupon laid siege to the citadel. In the mean time, Al Mostanser Bi'llah, receiving advice of what had happened, sent Abu Ali Al Hafan Nâfero'ddawla, of the house of Hamdân, with a powerful army, to the relief of the place. Mohmûd, being informed of his approach, led his forces against him, engaged him not far from Kinnisrîn, and entirely defeated him. Nâfero'ddawla himself was taken prisoner in the action; but being released by Mahmûd, he repaired directly to Mesr. Of which particular Makîno'ddawla being apprized, he put both the city and castle of Aleppo into the hands of Atiyah Afado'ddawla Ebn Sâleh; who entered the town the 10th of Shaabân. Next day, however, he was obliged to abandon it; and, on the 12th, Mahmûd Azzo'ddawla took possession both of the town and the citadel. About the same time, Nûro'ddawla Dobâis Ebn Mozîd made his submission to Togrol Bek, and was honourably received by him. This year, the soltân returned from Wâfet to Baghdâd, after he had appeased some commotions in the former of those places; and, upon his return, had presents made him by the khalif, from whom he met with a most gracious reception. He then appointed Abd'almâlec Al Canderi, his wazîr, to preside over the city of Baghdâd, whilst he pacified some troubles that had disturbed the repose of Al Jebâl, or the moun-

^a Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup.

tainous part of the Persian Irâk. At this period, Al Kâyem declared his grandson Abd'allah successor to the khalifat of Baghdâd, and surnamed him Al Moktadi^b.

In the 453d year of the Hejra, Moezo'ddawla Al Mardâsi made himself master of Aleppo, which had been a short time occupied by Mahmûd Azzo'ddawla. The town he took in the Former Rabî, and the citadel soon after surrendered to him. About the same time, Jaafar Bek, Togrol's brother, died in Khorasân, and left for his successor Alp Arslân, his son, called Alb Arslân by the Arab writers. This year, Togrol Bek demanded Al Kâyem's daughter in marriage; but was refused her by the khalif. This refusal occasioned many messages and threatenings, on the part of the sultân.

Next year, being the 454th of the Hejra, Al Kâyem still persisting in his refusal to give Seïda, or Seïdat, his daughter, in marriage to Togrol Bek, as thinking this too great an honour for a Turk, Amîd Al Molc, Togrol's wazir, advised his master to retrench by degrees the khalif's revenues. The sultân hereupon forbade Al Kâyem's officers to touch the public money. This prohibition reduced the khalif to such distress, that he suffered himself to be persuaded to let Togrol take the princess, though much against his will, according to Al Makîn. The sultân, having thus carried his point, revoked the order he had given for seizing the khalif's treasures, and, being highly pleased with that prince's compliance, sent him very rich presents. The same year, on the 25th of Dhu'lkaada, Moezzo'ddawla Al Mardâsi, the saheb or lord of Aleppo, departed this life, and was buried in the citadel. With regard to Moezzo'ddawla's disposition, he is reported to have been a just, merciful, and generous prince. A servant having once by accident beat out one of his fore-teeth, he said "This happened by the providence and power of God," and would not punish him for it; an incident which has been produced as an instance of his superior goodness and clemency by Al Makîn. After his death, Atiyah Abu Dawâba Afado'ddawla Ebn Sâleh Ebn Mardâs, his brother, who retired to Al Ramla, in Palestine, when Thamal or Barmal, repaired to Mesir, mounted the throne; but was soon driven from thence by Mahmûd Azzo'ddawla Ebn Nasr, who, after his late expulsion from Aleppo, retired to Harran. Atiyah, finding himself not able to make head against

^b Al Makîn, ubi sup. p. 274, 275. Ism. Abulfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 402. & ad an. Hej. 452. Al Emir Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatif Al Kazwini, in Lobb Al Tawarikh, D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 241.

Mahmûd's forces, departed first to Al Rakka, upon the Euphrates, and afterwards to Constantinople, where he ended his days. This year, likewise, died Belkîn Ebn Mohammed, king of the Hammadites, in the African province of Bajayah, or Bujiyah; having been cut off by the treachery of Al Nafr Ebn Alnas Ebn Hammad, who succeeded him, after he had swayed the sceptre about seven years^c.

*Togrol Bek's
marriage,*

In the following year, being the 455th of the Hejra, Seïda, the khalif's daughter, was conducted by Amîd Al Molc, Togrol Bek's wazîr, to Tauris, where that prince then was, attended by a considerable retinue. Togrol received the princess with great demonstrations of joy, and bestowed gifts on all the khalif's servants that accompanied her. Soon after her arrival at Tauris, the marriage between her and the sultan was concluded, and the contract signed. Togrol from thence repaired to Al Ray, his royal seat, then the capital of the Persian Irâk, where the nuptials and consummation of the marriage were to be performed. At this time, sultan Ibrahim, the son of Ma-s'ûd II. according to Ebn Shohnah, reigned at Gazna; though his empire, as he had been almost entirely dispossessed by the Seljûks of Khorasân and Mawara'lnahr, was scarce the shadow of what it had formerly been^d.

and death.

Togrol Bek having made the proper dispositions for receiving Seïda at Al Ray, with the utmost splendor and magnificence, and finding the heats at that time excessive, he retired to Rudbar, a most delicious place, where he had a very beautiful palace. Here he proposed to take some refreshment in that hot and sultry season; but was attacked by a bloody flux, which carried him off in a few days. He died on Friday the 23d of Râmâdân, a little above six months after the conclusion of his marriage with Seda, the khalif's daughter. He has been represented as a merciful and prudent prince, extremely well versed in the art of government. He was about seventy lunar years old at the time of his death, and reigned either twenty-five or twenty-six years. All the neighbouring princes exceedingly feared him, and wrote to him in the most submissive style. The best Oriental authors agree, that he departed this life at Al Ray; and that he was a zealous

^c Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 275, 276. Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'aljaafar Al Kazwini. in Nighiarist. Khondemir.

^d Ahmed Ebn Mohammed. Abd'aljaafar Al Kazwini, in Nighiarist. ubi sup. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 276. Ebn Shohnah, Mirkhond, apud Teixeira, p. 301. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Gaznaviah, p. 364.

Moslem, according to the principles or tenets of the Sonnites. Abu'l Kafem Al Kermani and Amîd Al Molc were successively his wazîrs. As he left no issue behind him, Alp Arslan, or Abu Shaja' Mohammed, his nephew, succeeded him, not only in the sovereignty of his extensive dominions, but likewise in the post of emir al omra at Baghdâd. Togrol Bek was the Tangrolipax, the Tangrolipix, or rather the Tangrolipex of the Greek writers. His nephew, Alp Arslan, who succeeded him, is called Axan, the son of Tangrolipex, by those writers; Alb Arslan Ebn Dawd Jagri Beik by Abu'l-Faraj; and Al Soltân Adado'd-dawla Alb Arslan Mohammed Ebn Dawd Ebn Mîkayyel Ebn Seljûk, by Al Makin.

The princess Seida finding Togrol dead, upon her arrival at Al Ray, returned as she came to Baghdâd. Kemal Ismael, a Persian poet, composed a distich, in his own tongue, upon the place where Togrol died. Those verses, according to M. D'Herbelot, were to the following effect: "The country of Al Ray is an enemy to strangers; and if its air did not occasion his death, the hour of his departure was come." We must not forget to remark, that Mahmûd Ebn Shablo'ddawla drove Adado'ddawla Abu Dawaba Atiyah Ebn Saleh Ebn Mardas to Al Rakka, and possessed himself of Aleppo, in the month of Ramadân, of the present year °.

The princess Seida returns to Baghdâd.

In the 456th of the Hejra, Alp Arslan, after the khalif had conferred the post of emir al omra upon him, and ordered his name to be mentioned in the public prayers at Baghdâd, made war upon Kotolmîsh or Kûtûlmîsh Ebn Israel, his cousin german, who had rebelled against him in the province of Dâmegân or Kûmes, called Kaws by Nafsîr Al Tûsi and Ulugh Beik. Kûtûlmîsh advancing at the head of a fine body of troops, against the sultân, to give him battle, his horse on a sudden fell under him, threw his rider, and broke his neck; upon which, his army submitted, and were pardoned. The sultân, soon after his accession, imprisoned Al Canderi, surnamed Amîd Al Molc, Togrol's wazîr, for abusing his master's authority, in the preceding reign. He afterwards put that minister to death, for the iniquitous conduct he had been guilty of in his administration; and raised to the charge of wazîr Nadhâm Al Molc Al Tawâsi, the most celebrated politician of his time. As Alp Arslân was the sole and

The chief events of the year 456.

• Khondemir, Kemal Ismael, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. ut & ipse D'Herbel. ibid. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 402. & ad an. Hej. 455.

absolute monarch of all the vast tract lying between the Amû and the Dijlat, or the Oxus and the Tigris, comprehending Persia, or Irân, in its largest extent, which he had acquired partly by right of succession, and partly by his own valour, he was justly esteemed by all his neighbours, as one of the most puissant potentates of the East. The khalif, therefore, on account of his own power and merit, as well as that of his predecessor, honoured him with the title of Adado'ddin, which denotes, *the Protector of the Faith, or the Religion*. Kûtûlmîsh was no sooner dead than Kara Arslân revolted in Kermân and Fârs. But he was soon reduced to the obedience of the sultân by Fadlûiyah, one of his most valiant commanders; who, for the important service done his master on this occasion, was rewarded by him with the government of the latter of those provinces. Fadlûiyah afterwards renouncing his allegiance to the sultân, shut himself up, with a body of select troops, in a castle which was deemed impregnable. However, Nadhâm Al Molc, by his master's order, presented himself with an army before the place. But, having for some time continued his attacks without any hopes of success, and being a person of exemplary piety, he resolved to leave the issue of the affair entirely to the conduct of providence. The pious disposition of the wazîr, and the justice of the sultân's cause, soon procured from the great Arbiter of events a miracle in favour of Adado'ddawla's arms: for, one morning at break of day, after the wazîr had spent in great inquietude and agitation of mind the preceding night, he was agreeably surprised to hear the garrison beat the chamade, and that Fadlûiyah offered to surrender the place; a circumstance, which, as one of the besieged afterwards informed him, was owing to the springs and cisterns, then very numerous in the fortress, suddenly drying up. A similar miracle was wrought for the sultân's forces in the vast desert of Nûbandijan, which separates Kermân from Khorasân, and is destitute of all things necessary to support an army, where they were supplied with a sufficient quantity both of corn and water in a supernatural manner. Ibrahim, the son of Mas'ûd II. king of Gazna, was employed about this time in building mosques, oratories, and hospitals; and in making irruptions into Hindostan or Indostan. He gained so many victories in that country, that he was styled Al Modhafier and Al Mansûr, that is, *the Conqueror and the Triumphant*. Notwithstanding the wars he was engaged

gaged in, he bore the character of a very charitable, just, and religious prince^f.

Next year, being the 457th of the Hejra, Alp Arslan led an army into Khowârazm, to chastise the insolence of Khazan, who had declared himself independent. Having routed his forces, consisting of thirty thousand men, most of whom were put to the sword, he conferred the government of that province upon Mâlec Shâh, his eldest son. In his return from this expedition through Khorafân, he visited the sepulchre of Ali Ebn Mûsa Al Riza, Al Radi, or Al Reda, as he is called by the Arabs, the eighth imâm, who was buried at Tûs. After this visitation, he took the road of Radekan, and encamped there in a most delightful place. From thence he dispatched couriers through all the provinces of his empire, to convoke the governors and great lords to a general assembly of the states. When they were met, he declared Mâlec Shâh for his successor, and only heir to his dominions. This step being taken, he commanded his son to sit on a throne of gold, prepared for that purpose, and obliged all the officers of the empire to take an oath of fidelity to him. The good understanding still subsisted between Alp Arslan and sultân Ibrahim, who reigned at Gazna; both the Seljûks and the Gaznevîds keeping within their own frontiers, in conformity to the principal article of the last concluded treaty. The latter of those princes spent a great part of the night in prayer, and much of his other time in works of piety and devotion.

The principal occurrences of the year 457.

In the following year, being the 458th of the Hejra, the Seljûks, according to some of the Greek writers, made an irruption into Mesopotamia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, destroying all the country through which they moved with fire and sword. They afterwards possessed themselves of Neocæsarea and Aleppo, and retired from the former of those cities with a very rich booty. But Romanus Diogenes, the emperor, following them, at the head of a chosen body of light-armed horse, came up with them the third day, killed a great number of them, and recovered the spoil. He then pursued his march to Aleppo, which he retook, together with Hierapolis, where he built a

and of the year 458.

^f Al Makin, ubi sup. Nadham Al Molc, in Waffaiya, Nassir Al Tusi & Ulugh Beik, ubi sup. Golli Not. ad Alfragan. p. 191, 192. Georg. Cedren. Historiar. Compend. p. 769. Al Emir Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatif Al Kazwini, in Lebtârikh, p. 42. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 102, 103, 480, &c. Ebn Shohnah, Khondemir, Al Makrizi, Euseb. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 441.

strong castle. About this time, Alp Arslan acquainted all the chiefs and generals of his armies, that he designed to attempt the conquest of Turkeſtân, from whence he deduced his origin, and commanded his forces to hold themselves in readineſs to advance to the Amû, and paſs that river, in order to enter the vaſt region he intended to ſubdue, which was inhabited by the warlike nations of the Turks, Tartars, and Moguls. But the invaſion of that country, which proved fatal to him, was not undertaken before the year of the Hejra 465. At this period, a young woman was delivered of a boy with two heads, two faces, two necks, four hands, and only one body, near the gate Al Azaj, at Baghdâd.

*the moſt
material
occurrences
of the year
459.*

In the 459th year of the Hejra, anſwering to the year of Chriſt 1066, a dreadful earthquake laid in ruins Al Ramla, Tanis, and many other cities. About this time, the Turkiſh troops, under the command of Abu Ali Al Haſan Nâſero'ddawla Ebn Hamdân, who began now to rebel againſt the khalif of Egypt, committed horrible deſtroyations in that country. The havock made by the earthquake was ſo great, that two thouſand five hundred men, women, and children, periſhed at Al Ramla only; vaſt numbers alſo meeting with the ſame unhappy fate, in many of the neighbouring cities. A grievous famine likewiſe raged in Egypt, inſomuch that an artaba, or three Roman buſhels and a half of flour was ſold for eighty dinârs. A dog was not to be bought for leſs than five dinârs, nor a cat for leſs than three. Abu'l Mokarim, Al Moſtanſer's wazîr, came one day to the imperial palace, attended by a ſingle ſervant, the few others that remained alive being ſo feeble for want of food, that they could not walk, and left his horſe at the gate. But he had ſcarce entered the palace, when three men carried off the beaſt, and killed him, that they might feed upon his fleſh. The wazîr complaining of this inſult to the khalif, they were immediately executed, and their bodies affixed to a gibbet, erected for that purpoſe. Next day, however, nothing was to be ſeen of them but the bones; the fleſh being all greedily devoured by the miſerable wretches inhabiting the ſpot where the gibbet ſtood: for the Egyptians not only fed on the carcaſes of all kinds of beaſts, but likewiſe the bodies of men, women, and children; many of the latter of which they boiled, and ſold publicly for food. Before the beginning of this dreadful calamity, the khalif had about ten thouſand two hundred horſes, mules, and camels, in his ſtables; but at the end of it he had only three horſes left. That prince

prince himself was obliged to part with his plate, tapestry, sumptuous garments, treasures, jewels, and valuable furniture, for sustenance. Not only all the money amassed by his predecessors, the Fâtemite khalifs, but likewise all the rich moveables belonging to the khalifs of the house of Al Abbâs, which Al Bafâsîri had sent to Mefr, after he had taken and plundered the city of Baghdâd, were entirely dissipated, on this melancholy occasion. Some authors moreover relate, that eighty thousand costly vests, twenty thousand coats of mail, twenty thousand beautiful swords, richly ornamented, and even all the splendid furniture of the seraglio, were distributed amongst the troops, instead of money and provisions, to keep them in good humour, and prevent a mutiny, whilst the famine raged. Several Black or Nigritian soldiers in the khalif's guards fed upon the bodies of women, whom they had secretly killed; but they were at last discovered by a fat woman they had taken, who, after she had lost half of her posteriors, which they had cut off, and began most voraciously to eat, made her escape. The wazîr being informed of the affair, ordered them all to be put to death. The people of Egypt were also visited by a plague or pestilence, this year, which swept away the greater part of the inhabitants of that country. These calamities, we are told, were presaged by comets that appeared a little before they happened, and other prodigies, which have been taken notice of by the Egyptian writers^f.

Next year, being the 460th of the Hejra, Abu Ali Al' *and the* Hasan Nâfero'ddawla Ebn Hamdân, whose troops had *following* been in motion the preceding year, with a body of five *year.* thousand Turks and Curds, besieged Al Mostanser Bi'llah, the khalif of Egypt, in his palace. That prince, not being in a condition to make head against the rebels, found himself obliged to put all the money he had left, and every thing valuable belonging to him, into their hands. They afterwards ravaged the tract called Al Rif, or the Lower Egypt, extending from Al Kâhîrah to the sea, and from Al Ascandariyah, or Alexandria, to Al Hawf, and the desert of Al Kolzom; killing great numbers of the inhabitants, and pillaging many of the rest. Christodulus, the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, being seized by these Barbarians, was tortured by them in a cruel manner: but he was at last dismissed, upon his engaging to pay them for

^f Al Makrizi, Tarikh Mefr, Euseb. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 433, 434, 435, 442.

his

his liberty three thousand dinârs. The third part of this sum was raised by Abu'l Taib, Nâfero'ddawla's secretary, who likewise engaged for the payment of the remainder. The rebels are named Lowanians by an author of considerable reputation, but Curds and Turks by others. Several officers of rank joined Nâfero'ddawla in his defection, according to Al Makîⁿ.

What happened in the year 461,

In the following year, being the 461st of the Hejra, a civil war broke out in the city of Damascus; some of the inhabitants declaring for the Fâtemite khalif, and others for Alp Arslân and the khalif of Baghdâd. In this interval of confusion, the church was set on fire; by which all its ornaments, together with the most beautiful part of the fabric, were reduced to ashes. The Lowanians still continued in arms, and ravaged several districts of the Lower Egypt^b.

and in the year 462.

In the 462d year of the Hejra, Al Emîr Azzo'ddawla Mahmûd Ebn Nafr, the sâheb or lord of Aleppo, ordered prayers to be put up in that city, and all its dependencies, for Al Kâyem Beamri'llah, the emperor or commander of the Faithful, and Alp Arslân Adado'ddawla, the emir al omra or king of Baghdâd. He had before prayed for Al Mostanser Bi'llah, the khalif of Egypt; but sultân Adado'ddawla having laid siege to Aleppo, he was reduced to such difficulties, that he found himself obliged to recognize the spiritual authority of the khalif of Baghdâd. He likewise acknowledged Alp Arslân for his sovereign and prince; upon which the sultân made him some valuable presents, treated him with great marks of distinction, and then departed with his forces to Irâk. The same year Romanus Diogenes, the Greek emperor, undertook an expedition into Syria, advanced to Manbij, and besieged that city for sixteen days. He also put to flight a body of Moslem troops that pretended to oppose him, killed some of them, and took several prisoners; but provisions failing in his camp, the greater part of his army perished, and with the rest he returned to Constantinople. In his return he was met by a numerous body of Turks, who attempted to cut off his retreat; but the emperor, pretending at first through fear to decline an engagement, attacked

^a Al Makîⁿ, ubi supra, p. 276, 277. Al Makrizi, Ism. Abu'lfed. in Descript. Diyâr Mefr, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Rif, p. 716. Târikh. Mefr, Renaud. ubi sup. p. 434. ^b Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 356—360. Al Makrizi, Tarikh Mefr, Ism. Abu'lfed. in Descript. Diyâr Mefr, Renaud. ubi supra, p. 442. 443.

them

them afterwards, when they least expected it, with such vigour, that he routed them at the first onset, and might have gained a complete victory, had he thought it advisable to pursue them. After this action, the Turks abandoned some considerable towns at his approach. But the autumn being far advanced, he retired into Cilicia, and from thence to his capital. This year Bedr Al Jemâl, who was afterwards Al Mostanser Bi'llah's wazîr, a cruel, flagitious, and abandoned person, and a professed enemy of all learned men, ordered the sharîf Heidara, a man famed for his superior knowledge, to be slayed alive, on account of a secret enmity that he bore him. The rebellion still continued in the Lower Egypt, which exhibited a scene of blood, ravages, and confusion.

Next year, being the 463d of the Hejra, Alp Arslân advanced to Akhlât in Armenia, with a body of forty thousand horse, in order to attack the Greeks; whose formidable army he overthrew, took their general, who was a nobleman, prisoner, and cut off his nose. The emperor Romanus Diogenes afterwards moved to Akhlât, and from thence to Malâzjerd, or Malâzkerd, called by the Greek writers Mazekerta, at the head of one hundred thousand men, with an intention to give the enemy battle. The sultân, who was then at Khûnaj, in the province of Adherbijân, receiving advice of the emperor's motions, marched against him with the utmost expedition; though he could not assemble, at that time, when he was at too great a distance from the center of his dominions, above fifteen thousand horse. Being arrived at Al Zahra, where Romanus had taken post with all his forces, the sultân sent to the emperor to desire peace; but that prince replied, that he would not even grant him a truce, unless he would deliver up the city of Al Ray, then the capital of the Seljûkian empire, into his hands. The sultân, provoked at this declaration, and finding that the dispute must be left to the decision of the sword, on Friday in the afternoon implored the divine assistance with prayers and tears; the troops, excited thereto by their monarch's example, likewise shedding tears in great abundance. At last the Greeks, after a most bloody battle, which was fought on Friday the 26th of Dhu'lkaada, were put to flight, and lost in the engagement, and the pursuit, which, according to Al Makîn, continued all the following night, an incredible number of men. The emperor himself was taken prisoner in the action; though with regard to the person into whose hands he fell, the eastern authors

*Alp Arslan
over-
throws the
Greeks.*

are not perfectly agreed. However, the sultân soon set him at liberty, on condition that he paid a stipulated sum, released all the Mohammedan prisoners in his empire, and remitted to Al Ray an annual tribute. The first money, according to Abu'l-Faraj, was to amount to one million of dinârs; though the sultân insisted upon receiving one million five hundred thousand dinars, if we may credit Al Makîn. The tribute is fixed by the latter of these authors at three hundred and sixty thousand dinârs, but the Leb-târikh swells it to ten millions of those pieces. Romanus, after he had been dismissed by the sultân with the highest marks of honour, finding it impossible to collect above two hundred thousand dinârs, sent that sum to Alp Arslân, together with a jewel worth ninety thousand dinârs; solemnly protesting, that it was not in his power to do any more. The Mohammedan writers differ as to the number of men the sultân commanded at the battle of Zahra. Some pretend that he had but very few troops with him; and others, that such a prodigious number of Greek deserters flocked to him, that, by their assistance, he found it no difficult matter to give Romanus the above mentioned defeat. One author relates, that Alp Arslân had an army of six hundred thousand horse, besides a body of infantry; and that he laid siege to Orfa, or Edeffa, then defended by eight thousand Armenians, twenty thousand Syrians, six thousand Greeks, and one thousand Franks. He adds, that the sultân, upon receiving advice of Romanus's irruption into Armenia, and being disheartened by the gallant defence of the garrison, thought fit to raise the siege. But for a full and ample account of the victory gained by Alp Arslân over the Greeks at Zahra, together with the principal circumstances immediately preceding and following that event, we must refer our readers to the history of the Seljûks of Irân, a subsequent part of this work, to which it will more properly belong¹.

*The most
remarkable
event/ac-
tions of the
year 464,*

In the course of the following year, being the 464th of the Hejra, Alp Arslân conquered the province of Gurjestân, or Georgia, deprived the grandees of their liberty, and obliged them to wear iron rings in their ears, as a mark of their slavery; to avoid which ignominy, many of them made an exterior profession of Mohammedism. However,

¹ Al Makîn, ubi supra, p. 277, 278. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 335, 346, 347. Khondemir, Al Emir Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatif Al Kazwini, in Lebtarikh, Curopalat. Niceph. Bryen. Ism. Abu'lfed, in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 463. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 441.

the sultân could not so thoroughly subdue the people of this country, who were extremely attached to the Christian religion, though in appearance Mohammedans, and their own natural prince, but that they still were possessed of a great number of strong holds in the mountains, which required much time to reduce. As the sultân, therefore, was called away by other affairs, he left his son Mâlec Shâh to continue the war. That prince, in order to complete the conquest which his father had begun, had the fortresses of Caucasus to make himself master of. The principal of these was a place called, in the Persian tongue, Miriâm Nishin, that is, *the Place or Dwelling of Mary*; on account of a monastery and church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, situated in the middle of a lake. This Mâlec carried by assault, and ruined the monastery; which action seems to have put an end to the operations of the campaign. Either in the 463d or 464th year of the Hejra, according to the Karajian supputation of time, the Lowanians retired into Al Sa'id, or the Upper Egypt, plundered many monasteries, put a great number of monks to the sword, and obliged the rest to fly into the Lower Egypt. The outrages they committed, which had nearly depopulated several of the provinces of Egypt, excited Al Mostanser Bi'llah to send an army against them, under the command of his wazîr; who drove them out of Al Rîf, and obliged them to enter Al Sa'id. However, the troubles in Egypt were entirely appeased not long after the death of Nâsero'ddawla, the Lowanian general, as will soon more fully appear *.

In the 465th year of the Hejra Alp Arslân set out from Baghdâd, in order to subdue Turkestân, with an army of two hundred thousand men. Having advanced to the Jihûn, he threw a bridge over that river for the passage of his numerous forces, in the month of Safar. This work, however, took him up no less than twenty days. Here he staid to possess himself of certain castles, which might, if not reduced, have incommoded his passage. The first that he attacked was that of Berzem, Barzam, or Barza, in which Yusef Kothwal, an intrepid Khowârazmian, commanded. This governor defended the place vigorously for several days; but being at last made a prisoner of war, the sultân commanded him to be brought into his presence, and gave him very injurious language for his

* Al Emir Yahya Ebn Abi'ollatif Al Kazwini, in *Lebtarikh*, D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 103. Al Makrizi, *Tarikh*. Mefr. Re-paud. ubi sup.

temerity,

tendency, in daring to resist so long such a formidable army. Yusef, who rather expected to be praised by the sultân for his bravery, being provoked at such outrageous treatment, answered with a great deal of fire, and even at last lost all respect. Whereupon Alp Arslân ordered his hands and feet to be tied to four posts, that he might be put to a cruel death. Yusef, hearing his sentence pronounced, took out a knife, which he had in one of his boots, and threatening the sultân, said, "O wicked man! is this the treatment which a person of my merit deserves?" This menace so enraged Alp Arslân, that he let fly three arrows successively at him; but without effect. Upon which Yusef, full of fury, ran at the sultân with all his force, and mortally wounded him in the side. The assassin defended himself a long time against that prince's guards, and wounded several of them, but was at length dispatched, according to the author of the *Lebtârikh*, by Gameah, one of the sultân's pages, with a stone. Alp Arslân was brave, liberal, just, patient, witty, and sincere; constant in prayer, and giving alms: he greatly feared God, and was a strenuous advocate for Mohammedism. His shape and mien have been represented by some of the eastern writers as so very engaging, that he gained the respect and affection of all who approached him. He had long whiskers, and wore commonly a high turban, made in form of a crown. He was buried at Merû in Khorasân. The sultân, after he had received the wound of which he died, was induced, by the counsel of Nadham or Nezam Al Molc, his wazîr, to declare Mâlec Shah his successor, though he was not his eldest son. At the same time he required both this minister and the officers of the army to take the oath of allegiance to that prince, according to Al Makîn. The same author relates, that Marûbil Ebn Dawd Al Seljûki, having been informed of Alp Arslân's death, raised an army, and marched from Al Ray, in order to assert his right to the crown: but Mâlec Shâh met him near Hamadân, and attacked him with so much bravery that he defeated him, and took him prisoner. Soon after which action Kaderd, Marûbil's brother, rebelled in the province of Kermân, and advanced with a considerable force to Kurj; but Mâlec Shâh having in a most bloody battle overthrown him, by the valour of the troops of Khorasân, and gotten him into his hands, sent him under a strong escort to a castle in that country where he for some time kept him in confinement, and afterwards caused him to be poisoned. Alp Arslân was born

in the year of the Hejra 421, and reigned nine years six months and twelve days. Mâlec Shâh did not only succeed him in the sovereignty of his dominions, but likewise in the post of emir al omra at Baghdâd: for Alp Arslân was no sooner dead than he was acknowledged his father's lawful heir and successor, at the head of the armies which he had commanded; and the khalif not only sent him the instrument of investiture confirming to him the title and power of soltân, but he likewise added thereto the quality of Emîr Al Mûmenîn, that is, *Commander of the Faithful*, which the khalifs till then had reserved to themselves, without conferring it on any other Mohammedan prince whatsoever. This year, if we believe some of the writers followed by M. Renaudot, Nasero'ddawla, who had so long persisted in open rebellion against Al Mostanser Billah, the khalif of Egypt, and ravaged so considerable a part of that fertile region, was cut to pieces by Begdekûr, a Turk, one of his principal officers, whose daughter he had married, in the city of Mevr. The parts of the mangled body the assassin sent into different provinces, in order to shew his contempt and detestation of the person to whom they had belonged. We must not forget to remark, that, according to Khondemir, Alp Arslân presided over the people of Khorasân, in quality of lieutenant-general to Togrol Bek, ten years before he ascended the Seljûkian throne¹.

In the 467th year of the Hejra, Al Kayem Beamri'llah, the khalif of Baghdat, departed this life on Thursday the 13th of Shaabân, according to Abu'l-Faraj; but he died on Monday the 10th of that month, if we may certainly depend upon Al Makîn. At the time of his death he was seventy-six years and three months old, and had sat forty-four years and nine months upon the Moslem throne. As soon as he perceived his end approaching, he appointed Abu'l Kafem Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Kâyem, his grandson, to succeed him, and sent for the principal grandees, the supreme kâdi or chancellor, and Ebn Jahîr, the wazîr, to attend as witnesses to this designation. With regard to his disposition, Al Kâyem was learned, patient, mild, and sincere; a prince of an excellent political capacity, capable of giving the most salutary advice on any emergency, just, and one who greatly feared God. He culti-

*The khalif
Al Kâyem
dies.*

¹ Al Makîn, ubi sup. p. 278, 279. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 347, 348. Khondemir, Al Emir Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatif Al Kazwini, in Lebtarikh, Mirkhond, Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'al-jaafar Al Kazwini, in Nighiarist.

vated

vated the belles lettres, and had a taste for poetry, according to Khondemir, having left behind him several specimens of his poetical compositions, held in great esteem, if we may credit that author. Mirkhond relates, that not long before his demise, such heavy rains fell in the Arabian Irâk, that they occasioned an extraordinary inundation of the Tigris; insomuch that many animals were carried away by the rapidity of the current. He adds, that the khalif himself was in an instant so surrounded by the waters on his throne, that he must inevitably have perished, had not one of his slaves, by taking him on his shoulders, preserved him from the impending fate.

*A body of
Oriental
Turks pene-
trate as far
as Kâshgar
in Mawarâ-
râ'nahr.*

In the khalifat of Al Kâyem, and the year of the Hejra 438, a numerous body of Oriental Turks, or Tartars, passed Mount Imaus, under the command of their great khân, named Nasarath by Abu'l-Faraj, and penetrated as far as the city of Kâshgar in Mawarâ'nahr. These Turks, or Tartars, the very learned Sig. Assemani takes to be the Kera-its, Kara-its, Kerites, or Karites, an exceeding powerful tribe or nation seated near the borders of Khotan and the kingdom of Tibet. They are said by Ebedjesu, the metropolitan of Merû, in a letter he wrote to John, the patriarch of the Nestorians, to have been converted to the Christian faith towards the beginning of the eleventh century after Christ. They were governed by a prince who bore the title of Ung, Wang, Onk, or Awank Khân. He was also styled by the Arab writers king John, and by the European travellers Prester John. The news of the irruption mentioned here was communicated by the Nestorian metropolitan of Samarkand, in a letter, which was read in the khalif of Baghdâd's palace ^m.

S E C T. IX.

*From the Accession of Al Moktadi, to the Death of
Al Mostadi.*

*Al Moktadi
Beamri'llah
ascends
the throne.*

ABUL Kasem Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Kâyem was created khalif the same day on which his grandfather, Al Kâyem Beamri'llah died, and assumed

^m Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 279. Greg Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 448. Isin. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 467. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. art. Carit. p. 256. Vide etiam Jo. Laur. Moshem. Hist. Tartaror. Ecclesiastic. p. 23, 24, 25. Helmsladii, 1741.

the title or surname of Al Muktadi Beamri'llah; after which ceremony the grandees and great officers of the court took the oath of allegiance to him. The new khalif said the funeral service at his predecessor's interment, and enjoyed a prosperous reign. The people of Syria, Arabia, Palestine, and Irāk, recognized his authority, and the city of Baghdād flourished whilst he sat on the Moslem throne. He was born six months after his father Mohammed's death, and was the only male of Al Kâjem's family that survived him. He has been represented as a brave and magnanimous prince, highly revered by his subjects. In his time the Moslems recovered Al Rohâ or Edeffa, and Antakiyah or Antioch, from the Greeks. He was the twenty-seventh khalif of the house of Al Abbâs, and had more respect paid him by Mâlec Shâh, the emir al omra, than had been received from the sultân or prime minister of the khalifat, by many of his predecessors.

At this juncture Mâlec Shâh Al Seljûki, the emir al omra, according to Khondemir, sent his cousin Solimân Ebn Kûtûlmîsh into Syria, with an army capable of reducing that province. Solimân acquitted himself so well of his commission, that in a short time he subdued all that part of the country extending from the river Euphrates to Antioch, then a very considerable city. About this time the face of affairs in Egypt was entirely changed; plenty and order, after Nasero'ddawla's death, succeeded scarcity and confusion. However, the Fâtemite khalif's wazîr began now to rule with absolute power. Nor did the following wazîrs, who either acquired their high dignity by force, or by bribing the soldiery, without any manner of regard to the consent of the khalif, who was obliged to confirm the choice the troops had made, lose this power, till the time of Salah'addin, or Salaho'ddin, who ejected the Fâtemites out of Egypt. Mahmûd Azzo'ddawla, the saheb or lord of Aleppo, a prince of great honour and bravery, whose praises have often been celebrated by the poet Ebn Habûs, departed this life in the present year, according to Al Makîn. He repossessed himself of the city of Aleppo in the month of Ramadân, and the year of the Hejra 455; and in the 460th year of that æra, took the castle of Arta from the Greeks. Al Emîr Nâfir Ebn Mahmûd, his son, mounted the throne of Aleppo, after his demise.

Other events of the present year.

In the 468th year of the Hejra Aksîs Al Khowarazmi, or the Khowarazmian, one of sultân Mâlec Shâh's generals, marched to Damascus with a powerful army, formed

The most remarkable occurrences of the year 468.

the siege of that city, and at last obliged it to capitulate for want of provisions. At this time the famine raged so dreadfully, that a *gerâra* (A) of corn was sold for above twenty dinars. He likewise reduced the greatest part of Syria, and caused the oration to be made in the name of Al Moktadi, the khalif of Baghdad; that of Al Mostanser, the khalif of Egypt, having been before mentioned in the mosques of this country. The last article, which we have extracted from Abu'l-Faraj, if admitted, will in a good measure invalidate Khondemir's account of Solimân Ebn Kûtûlmîsh's expedition into Syria the preceding year. Al Emir Nafr Ebn Mahmûd was assassinated by some Turkish soldiers near Aleppo, the 2d of Shawal, according to Al Makîn. He was, if that author may be credited, a munificent, upright, and magnanimous prince, treading in his father's footsteps through the whole course of his short reign. He was succeeded by Al Amîn Sabek Ebn Mahmûd Ebn Nafr Ebn Saleh Ebn Mardas, his brother, who presided over the people of Aleppo till the year of the Hejra 472, as we learn both from Abu'lfeda and Al Makînⁿ.

and of the
year 469.

Next year, being the 469th of the Hejra, which commenced August 4, 1076, Mâlec Shâh Al Seljûki, surnamed Jaiâlo'ddîn, or Jalâlo'ddawla, went to Baghdâd, and paid the khalif the honour due to his high dignity: he ever afterwards likewise lived upon good terms with him. The sultân returned to his Persian territories, after he had made a short stay at Baghdâd.

Akîs Al
Khorwâ-
razmi in-
vades
Egypt.

At this period Akîs Al Khorwârazmi, called Ayfar Al Affîs by Al Makîn, after he had reduced Damascus and Hems, marched into Egypt; a visit which so frightened Al Mostanser Bi'llah, the Fâtemite khalif, that he resolved to fly by night from his capital. But the citizens of Al

ⁿ Greg. Abu'l Faraj. ubi sup. p. 360. Al Makîn, ubi sup. p. 280, 281, 282. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 468. & ad ann. Hej. 402. Ebn Shohnah, Khondemir, &c.

(A) The word *gerâra*, or *fage* here referred to, it must with the article prefixed, *al gerâra*, properly denotes a large and limited sense; though the particular kind of measure our sack, capable of containing author had in view we cannot hay, corn, or any thing of that kind, as we are informed take upon ourselves to deter- by Golius; but, in the pas- mine (1).

(1) Gol. Lex. Arab. in voc.

Kâhirah and Sawdân, advanced against him, defeated his troops, though much superior in number. In his return to Damascus, he put a considerable number of men to the sword at Al Ramla, and three thousand at Jerusalem, amongst whom was the kâdi of the place°.

In the following year, being the 470th of the Hejra, *The principal events of the year 470* Jalâlo'ddawla Mâlec Shâh entertaining an opinion that Al Affis, Al Akfis, or Aysar, had been slain in the Egyptian expedition, wrote to his brother Tâjo'ddawla, exciting him to conquer Syria. Tâjo'ddawla no sooner arrived at Diyâr Becr than he was informed, that Aysar, or Al Akfis, the lord of Damascus, was alive, and in perfect health; who, hearing that the other was advancing against him, offered to pay the sultân an annual tribute. This proposal being accepted by Mâlec Shâh, he commanded his brother to abandon Diyâr Becr, and retire to Manbij. Tâjo'ddawla, therefore, in pursuance of the orders he had received, advanced at the head of his forces to the latter of those places, and marched from thence to Haleb, or Aleppo, then possessed by Al Sâbek Ebn Mahmûd Ebn Nafr Ebn Sâleh Ebn Mardâs: but, not being able to reduce that city, he returned by Harrân to Diyâr Becr; a motion which put Moslem Ebn Koreish Ebn Bedrân Al Okaili, the sâheb, or prince, of Nasibîn and Sinjâr, upon his guard. About this time considerable numbers of Moslems, or Mohammedans, were settled in the kingdom of Nubia; though the greatest part of the inhabitants of that extensive tract professed the Christian faith.

In the 471st year of the Moslem æra, Mâlec Shâh *and of 471* undertook the conquest of the country beyond the Jihûn; whose khân, called Solimân, he overthrew with very great slaughter, took him prisoner, and sent him under a strong guard to Esfahân, at that time the capital of his dominions. The same year, the sultân married Turkân, or Tarkân, Khatûn, the daughter of Tamghaj khan, the son of Bagra khân, or Terâh, king of the Turks, as he is called by Al Makin. That princess brought him a son, in 479, denominated Sanjâr, from a small city of that name in Khorasân, where he was born. About this time Ibrahim Ebn Mas'ûd, the ninth sultân of the race of Gazna, after his return from India, where he had considerably extended his conquests, being informed that Mâlec Shâh was making great preparations to attack him, sent ambassadors to the Seljûkian court; who prevailed upon the sultân to desist

• Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 282. Mirkhond, apud Teixeira, p. 302.

from his intended invasion of the territories of the house of Gazna. They even persuaded Mâlec Shâh to enter into an alliance with Ibrahim, and to marry his daughter to Mas'ûd, that prince's son ^p.

What happened in the year of the Hejra 472;

Next year, being the 472d of the Hejra, the forces of Mefr, or Egypt, advancing to Damascus, in order to besiege it, Akfîs, or Affîs, who commanded in that city, sent for assistance to Tâjo'ddawla; at whose approach the Egyptians thought fit to retire. Hereupon Affîs, coming to visit him, was seized, and slain, by his command. Then, taking the city, he became master of all his riches and valuable effects. After this execution, the inhabitants, who had fled into Irâk and Khorafân, to avoid the tyranny of Affîs, returned, to enjoy the protection of the Seljûks. Sharfo'ddawla Ebn Moslem Ebn Koreish, the sâheb or lord of Al Mawfel, having obtained leave of Mâlec Shâh to subdue Haleb, or Aleppo, on condition of paying him annually three hundred thousand dinârs, marched against that place; which, after it had been for some time besieged, was, together with the castle, delivered up to him. The sâheb or prince of Aleppo, when Sharfo'ddawla took possession of it, was Sâbek, or Sâbak, Ebn Mahmûd Ebn Nafr Ebn Sâleh Ebn Mardâs, whose ancestors had reigned near sixty years in that place. As Mâlec Shâh had received the instrument of investiture from Al Moktadi, the khalif of Baghdâd, so all the lesser Mohammedan princes, sâhebs, or emirs, derived their authority from the sultân. The Seljûkian empire was at this time one of the most potent monarchies that had ever been erected in the East, extending from the borders of Egypt to a considerable distance beyond the Jihûn, the Amû, or the Oxus.

and in 473.

In the following year, being the 473d of the Hejra, Sedîdo'ddawla Abu'l Hasan Ali Ebn Moklad Ebn Nafr Ebn Monkad Al Catâni advanced to Shizar at the head of a powerful army, laid siege to that city, and at last obliged it to surrender. This fortress, with the district appertaining to it, which comprehended a considerable prefecture of Syria, remained in the possession of Sedîdo'ddawla's family, till it was taken by Al Mâlec Al Adel Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki, after an earthquake, which had destroyed a great part of the place. When this dreadful event happened, all Sedîdo'ddawla's descendants were buried in the ruins of the walls and buildings that had been demolish-

^p Khondemir, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 542. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 287. Mirkhond, ubi sup. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 447.

ed by the shocks, according to Al Makîn. The same year, Salmon, or Solomon, the king of Nubia, having abdicated his kingdom, and placed George, his sister's son, upon the throne, embraced a monastic life; and, that he might entirely devote himself to the service of Almighty God, retired into the valley of Abunefer, or St. Onufrius, where a church had been erected under the protection of that saint. This church was about three days journey from the confines of Nubia. The governor of Afwân, being informed that the king of Nubia had taken up his residence in a neighbouring desert, sent a party of twenty soldiers to remove him from thence, and conduct him to Al Kâihirah. The governor had received his intelligence from one of Kenaza'ddawla's brothers, who had been defeated by Bedr Al Jemâl, and made his escape into Nubia; but was sent back into Egypt, by Salmon, at the requisition of that emir. Upon his arrival at Mefr, Salmon was treated with uncommon marks of distinction; trumpets sounding and drums beating when he entered that city, by the Fâtemite khalif's command, in order to do him the greater honour. Bedr Al Jemâl, the wazîr, entertained him in a very hospitable manner, ordered a proper apartment to be magnificently fitted up for him, and most plentifully supplied him with all the necessaries and elegancies of life. He died about a year after his arrival at Al Kâhirah, and was buried in the monastery of St. George in Khandek. He assigned as a reason for his abdication the almost inevitable necessity kings lie under of indulging their irregular appetites, shedding blood, and committing many acts of injustice; which, however specious and agreeable their conduct may appear to men, must render them extremely criminal and reproachable in the sight of Almighty God. With regard to Salmon's appointment of his successor, before he abdicated the crown, this, as we are told by an Armenian author, was perfectly consonant to the laws and political constitution of Nubia, according to which the king's nephew, by his sister, after his death ascended the throne.

The 474th year of the Hejra, which began June 11, 1081, was rendered remarkable by the death of Nûro'ddawla Dobais Al Afadi. He reigned fifty-seven years, lived eighty, and was adorned with many excellent virtues. His subjects almost adored him, for the rectitude and moderation of his government. Mansûr, surnamed Bahao'ddawla, his son, who succeeded him, bore likewise the character of a most upright and equitable prince.

The chief occurrences of the year 474

Immediately after his accession, he was confirmed in the sovereignty of the province over which his father had presided by Mâlec Shâh, and honoured by Al Moktadi Beamrillâh, the khalif of Baghdâd, with a royal vest. About this time, Severus, a youth of great erudition, at the recommendation of Beḍr Al Jemâl, the wazîr, who had received some very valuable presents from him, was ordained by Cyril, the Jacobite Alexandrian patriarch, metropolitan of Ethiopia [¶].

and of 475. In the 475th year of the Hejra, Sedîdo'ddawla Abu'l Hafan Ali Ebn Moklad Ebn Nafr Ebn Monkad Al Catâni died at Shaizar, after he had reigned there a year and several months. He was a wise, excellent, and magnanimous prince. Abu'l Merhaf Nafr Ebn Ali Ebn Moklad, his son, succeeded him at Shaizar, and was surnamed Mâleco'ddawla. Sedîdo'ddawla, besides his other accomplishments, had a taste for poetry, and was even himself an eminent poet. A specimen of his poetical performances has been preserved by Al Makîn.

Nothing remarkable happened the following year.

The next year, being the 476th of the Hejra, produced not many remarkable events. However, it may not be improper to remark, that Mohammed Ebn Habeth, who succeeded his father Habeth Ebn Abu'l Kafem, in the year of the Hejra 461, reigned through the whole course of it at Corduba in Spain. This prince's dominions were of a very considerable extent. He presided over the Moslems of Corduba and many other towns, whom he governed with great lenity and moderation, and in a very prosperous manner, till he was dispossessed of all his territories by the Al Moravides, called Al Morabeta and Molathemiyah by the Arabs, under the command of Yusef Ebn Tefsefin [¶].

The chief transactions of the year 477;

In the following year, Mâlec Shâh sent Al Kastakar, his hâjeb and general, to Baghdâd, as his lieutenant; at which time, his wazîr's son was in that city. The same year, his brother Takâsh rebelled against him; and, having taken Merû, or Marwa, in Khorasân, would not permit his army to enter it for three days. However, he and a select party that attended him plundered it during that term, enjoyed such women as were prohibited by the Moslem law, and drank wine in the great temple or mosque,

[¶] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 360. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 452, 453. [†] Ebn Shohnah, Rod. Toletan. Hist. Arab. cap. xlviii, p. 37, 38. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 623, 624.

in the month of Ramadân. But receiving advice that Mâlec Shâh was marching against him, he retired into the castle of Berjes; which being taken, he was thrown into irons, and confined in a fortress of considerable strength. This year, Sharfo'ddawla Ebn Koreish, the sâheb of Aleppo and Al Mawfel, moved at the head of his forces to attack Antioch, then in the hands of Solimân Ebn Kotolmîsh; who put his army to flight, and he died of his wounds. Before the beginning of the action, he had sent a detachment of his troops to summon the city to surrender, but found the garrison determined to defend it to the last extremity. About this time, Severus, who had promised Bedr Al Jemâl, Al Mostanser's wazîr, to prevail upon some of the Abyssinian princes to submit to the Fâtemite khalif, when he appeared as metropolitan, was opposed by Cyril, an intruder and impostor, who pretended to have been ordained by, and received a proper authority from Christodulus, the Jacobite Alexandrian patriarch, in Ethiopia*.

In the 478th year of the Hejra, Al Mâlec Tâjo'ddawla, *and of the year 478.* having been informed of Sharfo'ddawla Ebn Koreish's death, marched towards Aleppo, accompanied by Artak Al Turkmâni, or the Turkman, who had reduced Holwân and Al Habel. These two commanders agreed to attack Solimân, the sâheb of Antioch, who seems to have been then either in possession of Aleppo, or to have formed the siege of that city. They fought several battles with him, under the walls of Aleppo; in the last of which Solimân was slain, and his forces were routed. After this victory, Tâjo'ddawla seized upon Aleppo, and reduced the whole country of Syria. About this time Bedr Al Jemâl, Al Mostanser's wazîr, put to death his own son. That young nobleman having been made governor, or rather commandant, of Alexandria, at the instigation of some of his officers, whose fathers, or other relations, had been executed for joining Nâsero'ddawla in his defection, rebelled against the Fâtemite khalif; but after he had sustained a siege for two months, he was obliged to surrender to his father, who commanded the khalif's troops, upon terms; the principal of which was, that the citizens of Alexandria, who had joined the wazîr's son in his rebellion against the Fâtemite khalif, and even cut off that prince's garrison in their city, should be fined a very con-

* Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 285, 286. Al Makrizi, Renaud, ubi sup. p. 453.

siderable sum. The wazîr, being in possession of the town, insisted upon a larger sum, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand dinârs, than what had been stipulated in the capitulation; a circumstance which seems to have highly exasperated his son, as he afterwards, with several other persons, conspired against his father's life. The wazîr, therefore, finding him absolutely incorrigible, confined him to his chamber eighteen months, and at the end of that term put him to death; though as to the manner in which this was done, the Egyptian writers are far from being perfectly agreed.

*Mansûr
Ebn Nú-
ro'ddawla
dies.*

Next year, being the 479th of the Hejra, Bahao'ddawla Mansûr Ebn Mûro'ddawla Dobais Al Afadi died, and was succeeded in the sovereignty of Hella Al Nil, and all the other places he possessed, by Saifo'ddawla Sadaka, his son. Hella, or Hellah, the first of these, a city seated on the Euphrates, not far from Anbâr, is supposed, with great reason, to have been erected either on or near the spot where Babylon stood. According to some of the authors followed by M. D'Herbelot, Yusef Ebn Tefefin, the Molathemiyan general, gained the battle of Zalah, or Zalahah, near the city of Badajos, or Badajox, wherein king Alphonfus was defeated and slain, in the course of the present year. That general had before secured the person of Mohammed Ebn Habeth, the king of Corduba, who had obtained his assistance against the king of Castile; so that the victory obtained at Zolah enabled him to complete the conquest of the Moslem part of Spain. It ought to be observed, that this Molathemiyan prince acknowledged for his sovereign, and recognized the authority of, Al Moktadi Beamri'llah, the khalif of Baghdâd.

*Al Moktadi
marries
Mâlec
Shâh's
daughter.*

In the 480th year of the Hejra, the khalif Al Moktadi espoused the daughter of Mâlec Shâh. This princess was a lady of amazing beauty, and the public rejoicings at Baghdâd, when she made her entry into that capital, were such as surpassed every thing of the kind that before had happened in the Moslem world: for all the streets of the city were illuminated with wax torches on this occasion; and the khalif, in order to demonstrate his affection for so enchanting a creature, prepared for her a most magnificent entertainment; in forming the desert of which twenty-four thousand pounds weight of sugar was consumed.

¹ Greg. Abu'l-Faraj ubi supra. Ism. Abu'lfed, in Geogr. Ebn Shchnah, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 624.

Next year Mâlec Shâh performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, according to Hamdallah Mestûfi, in the Târikh Khozideh, at an incredible expence; for, besides abolishing the usual tribute which the pilgrims paid, he employed very large sums in building towns in the desert; where he ordered a great number of wells and cisterns to be made, and water to be conveyed to them from all parts. He likewise commanded plenty of provisions to be carried, for the subsistence of the pilgrims; and distributed immense sums amongst the poor, with unparalleled liberality.

Mâlec Shâh performs the pilgrimage to Mecca.

In the 482d year of the Hejra, Mâlec Shâh's daughter, who had been married to Al Muktadi Beamri'llah, the khalif of Baghdâd, left her husband in disgust, and returned to Esfahân, then her father's residence, and the capital of the Seljûkian empire. Here she remained to the time of her death; but when that happened, we have not been certainly informed. This year, the brother of Severus, the metropolitan of Ethiopia, came into Egypt, with presents for Bedr Al Jemâl, Al Mostanser's wazîr; which by no means pleased him. The wazîr had no sooner received them than he sent for the Jacobite Alexandrian patriarch; who immediately, with ten bishops, waited upon him: he then asked the patriarch, why he had ordained the metropolitan of Ethiopia, without paying the usual sum to the Fâtemite khalif? He likewise complained, that the metropolitan had neither caused any mosques to be erected in Ethiopia, nor sent him any rich presents, as he had promised to do. To this expostulation the bishop of Dankû, one of those who attended the patriarch, replied, that the metropolitan of Ethiopia had not been ordained but by his express order; to which the wazîr answered, that both he and the patriarch lied. He then insisted upon their sending two bishops immediately into Ethiopia, who should take care to have a certain number of mosques built in that province, and see that divine service was performed in them after the Mohammedan manner. The wazîr also gave them to understand, that the Moslem merchants, as he had been informed, were not permitted to trade in Ethiopia; and that, if this was true, he knew what course to take. When he dismissed them, he obliged the bishops to take each of them two soldiers, and to pay each of them a dinâr a day; with which money, by his command, they were to be supplied by the patriarch. He farther intimated, at their dismissal, that this fine should be continued till Mark, the bishop of Wissim and Gizet, and Theodore, the bishop of Sinjâr, or Senjâr, were

What happened in the year 482.

were

were sent upon the above mentioned errand into Ethiopia. In the mean time an embassy arrived at Al Kâhirah from Basilius, the king of Nubia, with magnificent presents for the wazîr; the principal of which embassy was the son of the late king, who desired to be ordained a bishop. The wazîr hereupon sent for the patriarch, the ten bishops, with the soldiers quartered upon them, and the brother of the metropolitan of Ethiopia. When they appeared before him, he communicated the contents of a letter he had received from a Mohammedan merchant; who therein accused the metropolitan of driving him out of Ethiopia, and seizing upon all his substance: but it was proved, in answer to this accusation, that, at the time when these things were supposed to be done, Severus, the metropolitan, was in prison, where he had been confined by the king of Ethiopia. The wazîr then said, that the metropolitan had promised him to erect four mosques in Ethiopia, and that he had not kept his word. His brother instantly replied, that he had actually built seven mosques; but that the Ethiopians had levelled them with the ground, and the king had imprisoned him for what he had done. This declaration pacified the wazîr, who thereupon demanded what they intended to do? "We will, said they, write letters to the metropolitan and the king of Ethiopia, in Coptic and Arabic, drawn up in whatever terms you shall think fit to dictate, which shall be read to you, for your approbation; and we will besides send two bishops with them into Ethiopia, that they may have the greater weight." By this proposal they extricated themselves out of the difficulties in which they were involved, and pleased the wazîr; who thereupon supplied the two bishops with all things necessary for their intended journey, and took their brethren and the patriarch again under his protection. The same author adds, that he was told by persons worthy of credit, that the wazîr likewise dispatched an ambassador with the bishops to the court of Ethiopia, with a letter to the king, importing, that if he did not accede to every one of his demands contained therein, he would absolutely demolish all the Christian churches in Egypt. To which menace, continues this writer, the Ethiopian monarch made answer, that if he displaced even a single stone in any of the Christian churches under his jurisdiction, he would send him all the stones and tiles of the temple at Mecca, and make up every one that was wanting with its weight in gold. Hence it appears, that the Ethiopians, or Abyssinians, were at this time

time far from being Moslems, and that Mohammedism, though professed by some of the Fâtemite khalifs subjects in that country, was not publicly tolerated in Ethiopia^u.

*The principal
events of
the year
483,*

In the following year, being the 483d of the Hejra, the Bâtaniyah besieged the castles of Delam and the Persian Irâk. The first they took was in the former province, and denominated Al Rûdiyâr. It belonged to Kamâh, a prince in alliance with Mâlec Shâh; and was delivered by Kamah's lieutenant to Al Hasân Ebn Masbah, who had seduced him, for twelve hundred dinârs. This Al Hasân, who had persuaded the governor of Rûdiyar to turn Batanist, was a native of Merû in Khorasân, and had been secretary to Abd'alrezak, or Harâm. Afterwards going to Egypt, he met with a Batanist, who converted him to their persuasion; and by the consent of the people, made him, whose family was one of the noblest in Merû, the chief and head of the sect. He had many followers, who paid an implicit obedience to his commands. As he soon grew considerable, Mâlec Shâh sent him a threatening letter, requiring his submission. Al Hasân hereupon ordered the sultân's messengers to be brought before him, when he sent for a company of his people, and commanded one of them, a young man, to kill himself; an order which he instantly obeyed, without the least hesitation. He ordered another to throw himself headlong from the top of the castle; which he performed immediately, and broke his neck. After this prelude, Al Hasân told the Seljûkian ambassador that he had no other answer to return the sultân, than that he had seventy thousand men at his command, who would obey him in the manner which he had seen. Mâlec Shâh was greatly surprised when these things were related to him; and having other affairs on his hands, he thought it not adviseable to enter into a war with that prince. His troops therefore, in a short time, reduced several other castles; and amongst the rest that of Al Amût. This, being rendered almost impregnable, was esteemed as their strongest fortress, and royal seat. These Bâtanites, or Bâtenites, are likewise called Ismaelians by those authors, and were nearly related to the Karmatians, if they were not a branch of that people. They are also termed, by the Arabs, Al Molâhedah, or the *Impious*; and by the writers of the history of the holy wars, *Assassins*. They agreed with the Karmatians in many respects; such as their inveterate malice

^u Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi in Mawredo'llatafa, Abuselâh Armen. Renaud. ubi supra. p. 462, 463, 464.

against

against those of other religions, and especially the Mohammedan; their unlimited obedience to their prince, at whose command they were ready for assassinations, or any other bloody and dangerous enterprize; their pretended attachment to a certain imâm of the house of Ali, &c. These Bâtanites dispersed themselves over several parts of the East. The word signifies Esoterics, or people of *inward* or *hidden* light or knowledge. As these enthusiasts now possessed themselves of the best part of Al Jebâl, in the Persian Irâk, under the conduct of Al Hasan Ebn Masbâh, or Al Hasan Sabâh, as he is sometimes called, the commencement of the dynasty of the Ismaelian princes is generally placed at this period. The style, or title, adopted by these princes was, Sheikh. Al Jebâl, that is, *the Prince of Al Jebâl*, or *the Chief of the Mountainous Country*; the province of Al Jebâl being such a sort of country, and even from this circumstance deriving its modern name. The words Sheikh Al Jebâl may likewise be properly rendered *the Senior*, or *Old Man of the Mountain*, as is evident to every one the least acquainted with the Arabic tongue. The Persians give this territory the name of Kûhestân or Kûhistân, a term in their language of the same import with Jebâl in the Arabic, and denoting a *Mountain* or *mountainous Tract*: hence the chief of these Assassins goes under the appellation of *the Old Man of the Mountain* amongst the writers of the history of the holy wars. Al Hasan Ebn Masbâh and his descendants reigned in Al Jebâl a hundred and seventy-one years, till the whole race of them was destroyed by Hûlâkû, or Holagu, the Tartar; who abolished the khalifat, by the reduction of Baghdâd, in the year of the Hejra 656^w.

and of the
year 484.

The 484th year of the Moslem æra seems not to have produced many memorable events; but the next was rendered remarkable by the deposition and assassination of Nodhâm or Nezâm Al Molc, Mâlec Shâh's wazîr. The sultân having sent Kûdan, one of his principal slaves, to Merû in Khorasân, Othmân Ebn Jamal Al Molc, Nodham Al Molc's grandson, the governor of that city, presuming on his grandfather's unlimited power, and excited by the indiscretion of his youth, treated him extremely ill; an insult which so incensed the sultân, that he sent him a most severe expostulating letter, to the following effect: "If you are in reality my partner in the empire, go on as you please; but if you are my minister, you ought not to

^w Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 286, 287. D'Herbel. Biblioth. p. 104. 437. 505. 620. & 784. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 505, &c. Ism. Abu'lfed. Ebn Shohnah, &c.

pass the limits prescribed ministers and subjects. This has been done by some of your family, and particularly by Othmân Ebn Jamâl Al Molc, your grandson, in Khorasân." This letter being delivered to the wazîr, the purport of his answer was as follows: "Do you not remember that, when your father was slain, I had the management of all your affairs, and suppressed all the rebellions that soon after broke out against you? At that time your whole dependence was upon me. But now, after you have proved superior to all your enemies, and when every one of your subjects obeys you, you give ear to my accusers, and listen to the calumnies they have forged against me. Are you ignorant that the agreement and connection between your turban and my ink-stand are the true cause of the prosperity you have enjoyed; and that your future felicity, and the stability of your throne, will entirely depend upon them." The imprudent and unguarded expressions in this answer extremely irritated Mâlec Shâh, who thereupon immediately deprived him of his employment. Khondemir writes, that this wazîr was greatly embroiled with the sultana Tarkan Khatûn, upon the subject of the succession, which she wished to fall upon her youngest son; but was opposed in this desire by Nodhâm Al Molc, who declared for Barkiaroh, as being both the eldest son and the most capable of directing the government. The sultana, therefore, according to this author, in order to carry her design into execution, meditated the destruction of the wazîr. For which purpose, she accused him of arbitrarily disposing of all places in the empire, and dividing them amongst his sons; and this charge corroborated by the wazîr's insolent answer to the message he received from the sultân, finally terminated his disgrace. Nodhâm Al Molc, after he was dispossessed of his charge, followed the court, which just at that time set out from Esfahân for Baghdâd; and being arrived at Nahawand, a boy of the Batanite sect, approaching him under pretence of begging, stabbed him with a knife, by the contrivance of Taj Al Molc Kami, the president of the privy council, who succeeded him in his office. But Al Hafan Sabah, prince of the Batanites, according to the Lebrârîkh, commanded the assassin, who was a Deylamite, to perpetrate the horrid fact. Before the wazîr expired, he wrote a letter to Mâlec Shâh in Persian verse, conceived in the following terms: "Supported by your authority, great monarch, I have spent one part of my life in banishing injustice from your dominions. I am now going to
give

give an account of my administration, which I carry with me, as a witness of my fidelity to your majesty, to the sovereign King of heaven. The fatal term of my life happens in the ninety-third year of my age, and it is the blow of a knife that puts a period to my days. Nothing remains but to deliver into the hands of my son a continuation of the long services I have rendered you, by recommending him to God and your majesty." His father is said to have been the prefect, or governor, of a small town in the territory of Tûs. He learned Arabic in his younger years, and was secretary to Bajer, lord of Balkh. But that prince plundering him the beginning of every year, and telling him he was grown too fat, he fled to Jaafar or Jagri Bek Dawd, Togrol Bek's brother; who made him preceptor to Alb or Alp Arslan, his son. His palace was open to all learned and virtuous men, to whom he always professed himself a patron. The liberality which this great man exercised, greatly enhanced his other rare qualities. In the first progress which Mâlec Shâh made through his extensive dominions, the wazîr distributed amongst the poor, out of his own coffers, no less than two hundred and eighty thousand dinârs. Many epicedia, or copies of verses in praise of him after his death, were published by the Arab poets of that age; the best of which seems to have been one written by Shablo'ddawla, preserved by Abu'l-Faraj *.

*Mâlec
Shâh's
death and
character.*

Soon after the assassination of Nodhâm Al Molc, Mâlec Shâh proceeded to Baghdâd; where he arrived the 14th of Ramadân. He went a-hunting, with many attendants, on the third of Shawâl; and, eating some of the flesh of the game, returned sick to his palace. A vein was opened, but little blood issued; and his illness increased to a burning fever, of which he died on a Friday, about the middle of the same month. He survived Nodhâm Al Molc, his wazîr, only eighteen days. His wife, Tarkân Khâtûn, concealed his death while she remained at Baghdâd, and probably carried his corpse with her to Esfahân. She also distributed considerable sums of money amongst the soldiery; by which means, and the assistance of Taj Al Molc, the wazîr, she prevailed upon the army to take

* Greg. Abu'lfaraj, ubi sup. p. 361, 362, 363. Khondemir, Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'aljaafar Al Kazwini, in Nighiarit. Al Emir Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatif Al Kazwini, in Lebtarikh, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Maleksehah, p. 542, 543. & art. Nadham Al Molk, p. 654, 655. Vide etiam Mirkhond, apud D'Herbel. p. 543. ut et ipsè D'Herbel. ibid.

the

the oath of allegiance to Mahmûd, the youngest of Mâlec Shâh's sons. This great prince, who was the third sultân of the Seljûks of Irân, lived thirty-seven years and five months; of which he reigned twenty. He was very handsome both in shape and features, besides being extremely polite in his behaviour. With regard to his character, he was an excellent prince; wise, liberal, courageous, had quick parts, and was remarkable for his sincerity and piety. He reduced the taxes, and put a stop to other grievances; repaired bridges, high roads, and canals; erected the temple of Baghdâd, called Al Jâma' Al Sultân, *The Temple of the Sultân*; as also the Hanîfean college, near the chapel of the famous imâm Abu Hanîfa Al Nômân Ebn Thâbet, in the quarter of the city called Al Rufâfa, and most munificently endowed it. He likewise ordered other colleges, besides hospitals, and houses of pleasure, to be built in several parts of his dominions. He also constructed market-places and towns. He acquired an immense quantity of plunder, during the wars in which he was engaged, obtained many victories over his enemies, and extended the frontiers of his empire from Turkestân to the Holy Land and Yaman. He made the roads secure; and, by the wise measures he pursued, procured plenty in all places. He was a terror to bad men, and a support to the innocent, the widow, and the poor, who had always justice done them in his courts. Soon after Nis Tacash or Takash, his brother, had rebelled against him, he went to Tûs, in order to visit the Mashhad Ali Ebn Mûsa Al Radi, that is, *the Sepulchre, or Place of Martyrdom of Ali Ebn Mûsa Ebn Jaafar Al Radi*, descended in a right line from Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb, and revered by the Persians as one of the twelve imâms. He was attended in this journey by Nodhâm Al Molc, his wazîr; who prayed most devoutly, as soon as he reached Ali Ebn Mûsa's tomb. The sultân could not forbear asking him what could be the object of such fervent supplications? He immediately replied, "I am now offering up my prayers to Heaven for your majesty, that you may extinguish the unnatural rebellion lately broke out in your dominions; and prove superior to your brother Takash." The sultân made answer, "My prayer is of a different kind; it is conceived in the following terms: O Almighty God, if my brother will govern the Moslems better than I, let him gain the victory; if not, let me prove superior to him." Many other instances of real piety and devotion were exhibited by him, according to Al Makin. Though he lived in a good under-
standing

standing, and even perfect amity, with the khalif, he ordered that prince to retire from Baghdâd, that he might be the supreme sovereign, and have the chief command, in the metropolis of the Moslem empire. The khalif, after the sultân's arrival, begged he might be permitted to reside ten days longer in his capital; and before the expiration of that term, says Al Makîn, Mâlec Shâh departed this life in that city. He was naturally merciful, and spared many great offenders; though the exigency of affairs, and the necessity of the times, obliged him to put to death his uncle, and others of his relations. The Seljûkian empire in the reign of Mâlec Shâh comprehended Syria, or at least the most considerable part of that country, Mesopotamia, Fârs, Kermân, the Persian and Arabian Irâks, Khorasân, Khowârazm, Anatolia, Great Bukhâria or Mawara'nahr, the kingdom of Kâshgar or Little Bukhâria, extending to the borders of Tibet, and several other provinces. It was governed by princes, who originally derived their authority from the sultân; though many of them declared themselves independent. Nay, he is said to have disposed of many of these provinces, in his life-time, amongst his relations and domestics. From some of the aforesaid prefects or lieutenants of provinces, descended the Atâbeks of Fârs and Irâk, the latter of which were the princes of the house of Zenki or Zengi, settled at Al Mawfel, who possessed themselves of almost the whole country of Syria. Several of their descendants were likewise cut off by the Franks in Palestine and Syria, others were destroyed two hundred years after by the Tartars, and others not only preserved, but likewise enlarged the territories they had acquired. One of these was the famous Nûro'dîn, who defeated the Franks, in a bloody battle, near Antioch; in which Raymond, the prince of that city, was slain. Mâlec Shâh's greatest passion was hunting. He kept forty-seven thousand horses for his ordinary guard, and the chase; in which he spent a great deal of time. The author of the *Lebtârîkh* relates, that he had constantly on foot a standing army of forty-eight thousand horse. For every beast, which he killed himself, he gave a dinâr to the poor: and it once happened, that he either slew or took ten thousand of them in a day. On this occasion he probably surrounded a whole forest with his nets and toils. He is said also to have taken great delight in travelling, and to have made the tour of his extensive dominions no less than ten times. The reformation of the Persian kalendar, called *Târîkh Al Jalâli*, or the *Jalâlean Kalendar*, derived its

its name from Jalâl or Jalâlo'ddawla, a title conferred upon Mâlec Shâh, and was owing to an order of that prince ^r.

The same year, according to several authors of reputation, died Cyril, the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, who sat fourteen years three months and fifteen days in that patriarchal see, and was buried in the church of Al Mokhtâra in the isle of Mefr; from whence he was afterwards transferred to the monastery of St. Macarius in the valley of Habib. He read, some time before his death, the four Gospels in Coptic, and wrote Tafassir, or *Commentaries*, upon them in Arabic; the Coptic being then, especially amongst the common people, but little understood. He spent all the money he could spare in relieving the poor, in repairing and building churches, and in other acts of charity; so that when he died he did not leave even a single dirhem behind him. He fasted often, and lived in general till evening upon pulse, other sort of food being prepared for his scholars or disciples. He employed much of his time in praying, and frequently conversed with those whom he was to instruct upon divine subjects. When he administered the holy communion he made use of a form in the Coptic tongue. He was extremely well versed in the sacred writings, and acquainted with every thing that could contribute to a proper illustration and interpretation of them. Mîkhâyel, or Michael, who had been formerly detained in prison at Sinjâr, or Senjâr, was elected patriarch in his room. We must not forget to remark, that a dreadful earthquake made terrible havock at Antioch, and many other cities of Syria, the preceding year. Soon after the earthquake the city of Antioch was laid almost entirely under water by an inundation of the Orontes; which overthrew a vast number of buildings, and did incredible damage in that place. The Nile likewise overflowed its banks the same year more than usual, and fertilized some of the remoter provinces of Egypt in a most wonderful manner; insomuch that a greater plenty was then observable in them than had ever before been known. Artak Ebn Akfak, the Turkmân, the prince of Mâredîn, who had formerly been put in possession of Haleb, or Aleppo, by Mâlec Shâh, departed this life in the year of the Hejra 484; after whose death Sakmân and Il-

Cyril, the
Jacobite
patriarch
of Alexan-
dria, dies.

^r Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 363, 364. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Malekschah, p. 544. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 287, 288. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 485. Khontemir, Ebn Shohnah, Ebn Khalecan, Renaud, ubi supra, p. 468, 469, 470.

gâzi, his sons, occupied Jerusalem and many other considerable towns in Syria; but they soon relinquished their territories in these parts to the Gaz Turks, who, as well as the descendants of Artak, acknowledged Mâlec Shâh for their sultân. Nor was it an unusual thing for the petty princes, who recognized the authority of that chief, to quarrel among themselves, and engage in bloody wars one with another, though they were all tributary to the Seljûkian sultân.

*Barkîârok
succeeds
Mâlec.
Shâh.*

It has been already observed, that by the management of Tarkân Khâtûn, and Taj Al Molc, the wazîr, the army had been engaged to take the oath to Mahmûd, her son, who had been appointed to succeed him, though he was then not six years old, by his father Mâlec Shâh. This purpose was effected by concealing the sultân's death, by carrying his corpse privately out of Baghdâd, and by distributing money liberally amongst the troops. Tarkân was a lady of great prudence and sagacity, and had a body of ten thousand Turks entirely at her devotion. She found it, therefore, no difficult matter to prevail upon the khalif to confirm Mahmûd in the dignity of sultân. This he did by ordering his name to be published in the pulpits, by sending him the ensigns of investiture, and by commanding him to be clothed with the sultân's kaftan or vest, in the presence of Abu'l Mansûr Ebn Hamyar. At the same time the crown was put on his head, and the royal sword girt to his side. Abu'l Mansûr, the khalif's wazîr, then went to Tarkân Khatûn, and congratulated her on her son's elevation to the sultânat, as well as condoled with her, in the khalif's name, for her husband's death. Then the young sultân and his mother marched at the head of a body of troops to Nahravân, where they encamped.

*Tâjo'd-
dawla sets
up for
himself at
Damascus.*

In the mean time Tâjo'ddawla, the sâheb of Damascus, and brother to Mâlec Shâh, receiving advice of the sultân's demise, assumed the sovereignty in that city. He also dispatched a minister to Baghdâd, to bring him the patent of investiture from the khalif; but was refused it by that prince, who had before granted to Tarkân Khatûn his declaration in favour of Mahmûd. Tâjo'ddawla hereupon marched to Rahaba upon the Euphrates, and possessed himself of that city; then he obliged Kasmaro'ddawla, on whom the government of Aleppo had been conferred by Mâlec Shâh, to make his submission.

*Barkîârok
is pro-
claimed sultân at Es-
jahân.*

While Mahmûd was crowned at Baghdâd, Abu'l Modhaffer Kasem, called Barkîârok, the deceased sultân's eldest son, was acknowledged, in right of his birth, for legal

legal successor at Eshahân, where he at that time resided. Here he was joined by many people on account of his primogeniture, and because they thought him more capable of governing the state than a woman and a child. Tarkân Khatûn being informed of what had been done at Eshahân, marched thither with a considerable army of Turks to Nahrawân, and surprised Barkiârok in that city, which she took; but some domestics of Nodham Al Molc, the late wazîr, who had always wished well to that prince, assisted him to make his escape out of his mother-in-law's hands, and he retired to Shirâz, where Takash Takîn, who had been made atâbek or lieutenant-general of Fârs by Mâlec Shâh resided. This prince not only furnished Barkiârok with troops to defend him from all the attempts of his enemies, but likewise conducted him in person, under a strong guard, to Al Ray, one of the capitals of the Persian Irâk; where he ordered him to be proclaimed sultân in his father's room. In the mean time Tarkân Khâtûn caused her son Mahmûd to be crowned at Eshahân, the other capital, and sent troops to pursue Barkiârok; but many of them deserting to his side, he defeated the rest. Among the prisoners taken on this occasion was Taj Al Molc, who being brought to the sultân, the friends of his predecessor slew him. He was a person endowed with many virtues and excellencies of every kind; but all his good qualities were obscured by the murder of Nodham Al Molc.

After the desertion and defeat of Mahmûd's troops, *Mahmûd resigns* Barkiârok advanced to Eshahân, and besieged that city, where his brother was then shut up, with an army of twenty thousand men. Tarkân Khâtûn, finding herself hard pressed, and her subjects disposed to a revolt, made proposals for an accommodation to Barkiârok; which being accepted by that prince, Mahmûd and his mother were left in possession of Eshahân with its dependencies, and Barkiârok received half of his father's treasure, amounting to five hundred thousand dinârs. The peace being concluded, the sultân raised the siege, and turned his arms towards Hamadan, where Ismael, one of his uncles, then commanded. It appears from Khondemir, that the name Barkiârok received at his circumcision was Kasem or Kâsem.

* Khondemir, D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 185, 186. Golii Not. ad Al-fragan. p. 210—218. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 364. Abu'l Ma'ali Nuhâs Al Magrebi, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 544. ut & ipse D'Herbel. ibid. Al Makin, ubi supra, p. 237.

*The most
memorable
occurrences
of the year
486.*

In the following year, being the 486th of the Hejra, Ismael, Barkiârok's uncle, having been allured by Tarkân Khatûn with hopes of marriage, led all the forces he could draw together in the district of Hamadan against his nephew. The two armies, which were pretty equal, met in the plains of Hamadan, where, after an obstinate engagement, Ismael was overthrown, in the month of Ramadân. Being taken prisoner in the action he was immediately put to the sword. This rebellion was scarce extinguished when Takash Shâh, the son of Arslân Shâh, another of Barkiârok's uncles, declared war against him, and having a much greater force, obliged him to retire towards Esfahân, where he was very kindly received by his brother Mahmûd, whose mother was then dead. However, Mahmûd's friends, judging they should do him important service by such a measure, came to a resolution to seize upon the person of Barkiârok; which design having executed, they confined him in a castle: and, it is said, an order was actually given to deprive him of sight; when, by another more absolute order of Providence, Mahmûd, being taken with the small-pox, died in a few days. This unforeseen accident proved extremely favourable to Barkiârok, who was hereupon set at liberty, and saluted emperor, by the very people who just before had imprisoned him, and would have rendered him incapable of government. Being thus seated a second time on the throne, he chose for his wazîr, or prime minister, Mowayyad Al Molc, the son of Nodhâm Al Molc, who had the management and direction of all affairs in the reign of Mâlec Shâh. He did not, however, continue long in that high office, the sultân soon dismissing him, through some distrust, and putting his brother Fakr Al Molc, whom he sent for out of Khorasan, in his place. These particulars, which we have extracted from Khondemir, nevertheless, contradict what has been handed down to us on the same head by Al Makîn. That author gives us to understand, that Kasmaro'ddawla having renounced his allegiance to Tâjo'ddawla, deserted with a formidable body of troops to Barkiârok, and excited him to a rupture with his brother Mahmûd, who was deserted by his forces, and driven by his brother from Baghdâd.

*Al Mok-
tadi's
death and
character.*

In the 487th year of the Hejra, the khalif Al Moktadi Beamri'llah died at Baghdâd. Sultân Barkiârok having entered that city on the 15th of Al Moharrâm, made many rich and valuable presents to the khalif, and demanded the patent of investiture of that prince. This being granted by

by Al Moktadi, he ordered the instrument to be drawn out in form, when he perused it, and commanded the sultân's kaftan, or vest, to be carried to Barkîârok. After he had dined, and washed his hands, he read the patent over a second time; and then immediately asked Shems Al Nahâr, one of his women, then with him, who those persons were that presumed to come into the room, and to approach him without his permission? Shems Al Nahâr, astonished at this question, turned her head about to discover who they were; but seeing nobody, she cast her eyes upon the khalif, and perceived his countenance changed; his hands and feet at the same time failed him, and that very instant he dropt down dead on the ground. Terrified at this circumstance, though she thought him at first only in a swoon, she immediately called in Yamîn, his servant. Abu'l Mansûr his wazîr, and Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed, his son and successor, being then sent for, his body was prepared for interment, and afterwards inhumed with the usual ceremonies. He lived thirty-eight years eight months and some days; of which he reigned nineteen and eight months, according to Abu'l-Faraj. The author of the Nighiaristân relates, that after the table was taken away, only two of his women, Kahermanah and Shamsalnahâr, or Shams Al Nahâr, continued with him; that he drank no more than his usual quantity of liquor that day; and that he suddenly, as if in a state of distraction, proposed to Shams Al Nahâr the question above mentioned. With regard to his character, he is said to have been extremely well versed in the rites and institutions of Mohammedism, pious, a lover of learned and honest men, brave, courteous, beneficent, and a very good poet. A specimen of his poetical performances has been preserved by Al Makîn. He has been represented by Khondemir as an admirer of justice, who reformed a great number of abuses, that had crept into the state, in contempt of the laws, whilst he sat upon the Moslem throne. As he took great delight in patronizing men of erudition, several excellent persons dedicated their works to him. Amongst these may be ranked Ebn Jazlah (B), who

(B) Yahya Ebn Isa Ebn Jazlah was originally a Christian, and studied phylic among those of his own religion at Baghdâd. But none of the Christians there being at that time skilled in logic, which he was desirous of learning, he applied himself to Abu Ali Ebn Al Walid, a celebrated adept, to be instructed in the principles of that art. As his master was one

who composed a piece, bearing the title of Takwîm Al Abdân, a physical performance, dedicated to Al Moktadi, the twenty-seventh khalif of the house of Al Abbâs. His views for the advancement of the sciences were admirably well seconded by Mâlec Shâh and Nodhâm Al Molc, this prince's wazîr. They, by the khalif's order, assembled all the able astronomers of those parts of the East, that flourished at this time, in the year of the Hejra 467, and the beginning of Al Moktadi's reign; who fixed the New-rûz, or first day of the solar year of the Persian kalendar in the first degree of Aries, it having then, by the negligence of astronomers, or rather a succession of years, been gradually removed to the fifteenth degree of Pisces, inso-much that they found themselves obliged to suppress fifteen entire days. The Julian kalendar was reformed after much the same manner, in the year of our Lord 1582, when ten whole days were omitted, in order to bring back to the first degree of Aries the vernal equinox. The distemper that carried him off so suddenly is called by the Arabs Fajia and Mesajian, a name which they likewise assign to the plague. The Mohammedans believe, that it proceeds from certain spirits, or goblins, armed with bows and arrows, sent by God to punish men for their sins; and that when the wounds are given by spectres of a black colour, they certainly prove mortal, but not so when the arrows

one of the principal doctors of the Môtazalites, he at last prevailed upon him not only to embrace Islamism, but even the tenets of the Môtazalite sect. He had not long professed himself a Moslem, before he was caressed and employed by Abu Abd'allah Al Dâmagâni, or Dâmaghâni, chancellor to the khalif Al Moktadi; who had the highest regard for him, both as a physician and a scribe. After his apostacy, he is said to have written a letter, addressed to Elias, a Christian priest, in order to justify his conduct. In this letter, by a deplorable in-

fatuation, he pretends to prove, that Mohammed had been predicted and announced both in the Old and New Testament. His two physical treatises ought to be held in more esteem: that which he wrote first bore the title of Takwîm Al Abdân, and the other that of Al Menhâj. They consist of tables divided into several parts, where all kinds of diseases, and their respective cures, are treated of in alphabetical order. Ebn Jazlah left all his books to the chapel, or oratory, of Abu Hanîfa. He died in the year of the Hejra 473 (1).

(1) D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Giazlah, p. 400. Not. MS. ad Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 365, 366, apud Joannem Swintonum, A. M. ex Ædæ Christi Oxon. ut et ipse Greg. Abu'l Faraj, ibid.

are shot by those that appear white. It is in this manner that the Moslems reason upon the plague, and it is upon this foundation that they never take any precaution to guard themselves against it^a.

Al Mostanser Bi'llah, the khalif of Egypt, died the same year, on Thursday the 18th of Dhu'l-hajja, at midnight, after he had reigned about sixty years. He survived only a few months Bedr Al Jemâl, the Armenian, his general and wazîr; who for several years had the sole management and direction of the Egyptian affairs, Al Mostanser Bi'llah, the Fâtémite khalif himself being in reality nothing better than a nominal prince. A little before the wazîr departed this life, he obtained the instrument of investiture from his master, by which Abu'l Kâsem, his son, was appointed to succeed him in the post of wazîr, had the title of Shâ-hinshâh or Shahenshâh, that is, *King of Kings*, conferred upon him, and received the honourable appellation of Afdal. As for Al Mostanser himself, he was famous for nothing but the uncommon length of his reign. He at first designed to declare Nezar, his eldest son, his successor; but altered his intention, some time before his death, and called to the succession Abu'l Kâsem Ahmed, surnamed Al Mosta'li Bi'llah, his younger son, then not above twenty years of age. Some of the Mohammedan writers inform us, however, that after Al Mostanser's demise, Al Mosta'li was saluted khalif, by the influence and activity of Afdal the wazîr, who prevailed upon the emirs, kâdis, and other great men of the court, to espouse the interest of this prince, and take the oath of allegiance to him. Nezar, continue they, made the wazîr his enemy, by treating him in a contumelious manner, because he did not light off his horse once when he met him; on which occasion, that prince considering himself as next heir to the crown, and being highly provoked at the affront, said to Afdal, by way of contempt, "Armenian, get down." It is also reported by these authors, that Nezar had engaged to advance one of his own friends to the dignity of wazîr, as soon as he had seated himself upon the throne. On both which accounts, Afdal conceived an utter aversion to Nezar, and persuaded Al Mostanser to defer from time to

Al Mostanser Bi'llah, the khalif of Egypt, dies.

^a Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 364, 365. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 288, 289, 290. Ibn. Abu'l-fed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 487. Ebn Shohnah, Khondemir. Ebn Khalecan, Mirkhond. apud Teixeira. p. 302. Al Makrizi, ubi sup. Zaenti, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Moctadi Beirillah, p. 591, 592.

time obliging his subjects to take the oath to Nezar, as his immediate successor, as he intended to have done; and at last, by his intrigues, induced all the officers of the army, the learned men of the law, and those who filled the principal posts in the state, to acknowledge Al Mosta'li, after his father's demise, for their sovereign. The last point he carried, by publicly declaring that Al Mostanser, a little before his death, nominated Al Mosta'li to succeed him; and by producing witnesses, as he pretended, of undoubted credit, in support of his assertion. Nezar and his other brothers were therefore obliged to submit to Al Mosta'li, and recognize his authority; though Nezar afterwards fled to Alexandria, and assumed sovereign power. But he was besieged and made a prisoner by Afdal; who, notwithstanding the heinousness of his crime, spared his life. However, soon discovering an inclination to revolt again, he was thrown into irons, and starved to death. Some authors write, that he was shut up between two walls, just sufficient to enclose him; and in that situation miserably ended his days^b.

Al Mostanser sends Michael, the Jacobite Alexandrian patriarch, as his ambassador, to the king of Ethiopia.

Before we conclude our short account of Al Mostanser B'llah, the Fâtemite khalif of Egypt, and his two last wazîrs, it may not be improper, in this place, to relate a most remarkable occurrence (C) of his reign, transmitted

^b Al Makin. ubi sup. p. 290. Ebn Khalecan, Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abdal'jaafar Al Kazwini, &c. ubi sup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Mostadhaher, p. 628.

(C) Al Makrizi has extracted his account of this memorable occurrence from Al Makin. For the better understanding of which account, it should be remembered, that the springs or fountains of the Nile are in Ethiopia; so that a surprising decrease of the Nile, from the cause here hinted at, can by no means be deemed impossible. This likewise appears from what Gregory, the Abyssinian or Abissinian, related to the famous Job Ludolfus; from Alfonso Albuquerquius's Commentaries; and from what has

been observed by other reputable authors. However, M. Renaudot believes Al Makin not to be worthy of the least degree of credit in this particular: but, as we have not room here for the arguments that may be urged for and against the authority of Al Makin in the point before us, we must beg leave to refer our learned and curious readers, for farther satisfaction on this head, to the last mentioned writer, and our ancient history of the Ethiopians (2).

(2) Al Makrizi, Renaud. ubi sup. p. 420—483.

down

down to us by Al Makîn. This khalif, according to that historian, sent Michael or Mikhâyyel, the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, as his ambassadôr, with magnificent presents, to the najâshi or king of Ethiopia, to prevail upon that monarch to open the channel that conveyed water to Egypt, which for some time had been stopped. This obstruction had reduced the khalif's subjects almost to the last extremity, for want of provisions; it being well known, that the whole tract of Egypt has always been fertilized by the overflowings of the Nile. The najâshi readily granted the patriarch's request; that prince himself, as well as the greatest part of his people, being then of the Jacobite sect. The consequence of which concession was, that the Nile rose three yards in one night, and rendered the land of Egypt as capable of cultivation as ever. The khalif treated the patriarch with uncommon marks of distinction, at his return, and munificently rewarded him for the important service he had done his country. Whether this remarkable event happened under the administration of Bedr Al Jemâl, or that of his son Afdal, we have not been certainly informed; but that the latter of those wazîrs ruled the Egyptians with great prudence, equity, and moderation, an author, frequently cited by M. Renaudot, has not scrupled to assert^c.

Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed, Al Moktadi's son, by one of his concubines, was acknowledged for khalif and emir al mûmenîn by the people of Baghdâd, as soon as his father's death was publicly known. He was in a short time after inaugurated in form, and assumed the title or surname of Al Mostadher Bi'llah. Al Soltân Barkîârok Ebn Jalâlo'ddawla Mâlec Shâh was then at Baghdâd with his army, and confirmed by his authority Al Mostadher Bi'llah's elevation to the Moslem throne. He also secured to himself the office of emir al omra or sultân, as the prime minister to the khalif was at this time called; and, in consequence of the high office he filled, as well as by the great power he had acquired, was not only master of Al Mostadher's person, but likewise of the khalifat itself.

It has been already observed, that Tarkân Khâtûn died in the course of the present year; and that a little after that princess's decease, Barkîârok drove his brother Mahmûd out of Baghdâd. The sultân had no sooner possessed himself of that city than he ordered his name to be men-

Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed Al Mostadher is proclaimed khalif.

Barkîârok's success.

^c Al Makîn, ubi sup. p. 289, 290. Al Makrizi, in Mawredô'l-latafa. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 480—483.

tioned

tioned in the pulpits, and received the title of Rocno'ddîn or Rucno'ddîn, that is, *the Pillar, Prop, or Support of the Faith or Religion*, from the khalif. He also assumed that of emir al mûmenîn, which no prince before Mâlec Shâh had been honoured with. Having settled his affairs, he applied himself entirely to war. His first expedition was against Tâkash or Tacash Shâh, one of his uncles, who had obliged him to retire to Esfahân, in the preceding year; and, after some bloody engagements between them, Tacash Shâh at length was slain. This year, Al Mâlec Tâjo'ddawla led an army against Akfankar or Kasmaro'ddawla, whom Mâlec Shâh had made governor of Haleb or Aleppo, after he had taken it from Tâjo'ddawla, his brother, and fought several battles with him. The war was, however, terminated by the death of Akfankar; who was killed in the Former Jomâda of the present year. After which, Tâjo'ddawla possessed himself of Aleppo, and made the necessary dispositions for carrying his victorious arms into Irâk^d.

Tâjo'd-dawla is vanquished and slain.

Next year, being the 488th of the Hejra, Tâjo'ddawla Tatash advanced at the head of his forces to Al Ray in the Persian Irâk; where he was met by Barkiârok, and overthrown with very great slaughter. This battle was fought in the month of Sâfar, according to Al Makîn. Tâjo'ddawla, who was killed in the action, had before sent Yusef, the son of Artak, the Turkman, to Baghdâd, with a body of troops, in order to prevail upon the khalif to acknowledge him sultân: but Al Mostadher Bi'llah, who had already honoured Barkiârok with the kastân of sultân, or imperial vest, being informed of his approach, dispatched his hajeb or chamberlain to Yusef; commanding him to quit, without delay, the territory of Baghdâd. He was so far from paying any regard to the khalif's commands, that he laid waste part of that district, and even formed a design to plunder the capital itself; but whilst he was intent upon the execution of this scheme, he received the news of Tâjo'ddawla's death and defeat, upon which he immediately fled to Aleppo.

Other events of the year 488.

Redwân, surnamed Fakhr Al Molc, then at Damascus, being informed of his father Tâjo'ddawla's death, made the best of his way also to Aleppo; and, upon his arrival, took possession both of the citadel and the town. Dekâk, generally called Shams Al Moluc, *the Sun of Kings*, his bro-

^d Al Makîn. ubi sup. p. 288. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 364. Khondemir, D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 185.

ther,

ther, was no sooner informed of his father's fate than he retired likewise to Aleppo, out of Diyâr Becr, from whence he was attended with a considerable body of troops. He had not been long at Aleppo, when he received a letter from Sûbekîn Al Hâdem, the governor of the castle of Damascus for Tâjo'ddawla, who offered to deliver up that city, and the territory appertaining to it, into his hands. Dekâk, therefore, left his brother Redwân privately; who, being informed of what had happened, sent a detachment of four hundred men in pursuit of him; but they not coming up with him, he arrived safe at Damascus, where Sûbekîn Al Hâdem, in conformity to his promise, obliged the troops to take an oath of fidelity to him. Dekâk, in return, made that officer his lieutenant: but he soon after put him to death, and appointed At'bek, not Abâbek, Ta'belîn to succeed him. This Ta'belîn had formerly been one of Tâjo'ddawla's slaves, and was not at first much esteemed by his master; but finding him afterwards a person of merit, that prince conferred on him the post of hâjeb, and at last raised him to the government of Damascus, in order to reward his conduct and bravery. Tâjo'ddawla likewise appointed him to preside over the people of Mayyâfârakîn, and even made him preceptor to Dekâk himself. He was taken prisoner in the battle of Al Ray, at the time that Tâjo'ddawla was killed. Being released by Barkîârök, he went to Damascus, and became one of Dekâk's greatest favourites, after Sûbekîn Al Hâdem had established his authority in that city. This circumstance greatly disgusting Sûbekîn, he grew jealous of Ta'belîn, whom he dreaded as a formidable rival in his master's affections, and even conceived an utter aversion to Dekâk himself; which occasioned such a contumelious treatment on his part of that prince as brought on his disgrace, and at last a deprivation of life itself. After which, Ta'belîn was placed at the head of the administration; and married Al Khâtûn, a lady for whom Dekâk himself had a great esteem*.

In the following year, being the 489th of the Hejra, Redwân Fakhr Al Molc Ebn Tajo'ddawla, the sâheb of Aleppo, having received advice that Dekâk Shams Al Molc, his brother, the sâheb of Damascus, had marched at the head of his forces towards the sea-coast, presented himself before the latter of those cities with a powerful army, and laid siege to it: but the citizens so annoyed

*Redwân
besieges Da-
mascus in
vain.*

* Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 291, 292.

him

him with stones, discharged out of their military engines from the walls, that he found himself incapable of making his approaches in a regular manner; and therefore ordered his men to retire to their tents, which were pitched at some distance from the town. In the mean time Dekâk, returning from his late expedition, entered Damascus without opposition; a circumstance which so discouraged Redwân, who had before met with a very vigorous resistance, that he immediately abandoned the siege. As there was nothing he more ardently desired than to possess himself of Damascus, where he received his education, and which he esteemed as the most charming place in the world; the ill success that now attended his arms proved an exceeding great mortification to him. He therefore wrote to Al Mosta'li, the khalif of Egypt; promising to have his name published in the pulpits of Aleppo, if he would march to his assistance, and enable him to take Damascus from his brother Dekâk. This the khalif engaged to perform, and the Khotbah was made accordingly in his name; but failing to send Redwân the stipulated succours, that prince transferred his allegiance from him to his former master, the khalif of Baghdâd ^f.

An astrologer foretells a deluge, or inundation, to the khalif Al Mosta'li.

In the course of the same year, the astrologers at Baghdâd predicted an inundation, little inferior in its extent and effects to the general deluge that happened in the days of Noah; a prediction which struck the people of that metropolis, as well as the court itself, with the utmost terror and consternation. The khalif Al Mostadher sent for Ebn Isfûn, or rather Ebn Aysûn, one of his most celebrated astrologers, in order to interrogate him about the impending judgment, with which he and his subjects, and even almost the whole race of mankind, were threatened. Ebn Aysûn, being brought before him, said, that in Noah's time all the seven planets met in the sign of Pisces; but that only six of them, Saturn being in another part of the heavens, would meet in that sign the present year. Had Saturn, continued he, occupied any part of the above mentioned sign, when all the other six planets appeared there, an universal deluge would have been the necessary and immediate effect of so great a vicinity of those celestial bodies. However, subjoined he, there will most certainly be a dreadful inundation, which will lay under water some considerable city, or district, where a vast multitude of people from different countries will be assembled. As

^f Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 292.

there

there was a prodigious concourse of merchants and others, coming from all, even the remotest regions of the East, at Baghdâd, this prediction so terrified the inhabitants of that capital, who were extremely numerous, that they erected mounds or dams in those places which seemed to be the most exposed to an eruption of the waters, and took other precautions which they judged necessary for their security. And, in conformity to this prediction, it happened, that most of the pilgrims going to Mecca, who had pitched their tents in the valley of Al Manâkeb, were carried away by an irresistible torrent, together with their beasts of burden, baggage, and every thing they brought with them, and drowned; a few of them only escaping, who found means to retire to the neighbouring mountains. This tragical event so raised the reputation of Ebn Aysûn, that the khalif made him a present of a sumptuous vest, in order to do him honour, as a reward for the skill he had shewn in his art, according to Abu'l-Faraj ^g.

In the 490th year of the Hejra, Barkiârok marched into Khorasân, where Arslân Shâh, the father of Takash, who commanded in that province, had on foot a considerable body of troops: but the sultân was delivered from all future apprehensions of Arslân Shâh by one of that prince's sons, who slew his father before he had an opportunity of coming to an engagement with Barkiârok. He committed that parricide, in order to seize his father's government; which, however, did not fall to his share; for Barkiârok, having made himself master of Khorasân, appointed Sanjar, one of his brothers, to preside over that province, and returned to Irâk. However, Arslân Shâh was assassinated by one of his domestics, to free mankind, as he pretended, from his injustice. The Franks defeated sultân Solimân, and reduced the city of Nice, in Bithynia, if we believe some of the eastern writers, in the course of the present year ^h.

Barkiârok becomes master of Khorasân.

In the 491st of the Hejra, a numerous army of Franks, under the command of king Baldwin, called Bardawîl by some of the Oriental historians, entered Syria, besieged Antioch, and took that city. In consequence of what has been related, our readers will observe, that the reduction of this capital happened either in the first or second campaign of the famous Crusade, or War of the Cross, commonly denominated the Holy War. Some time before

The most memorable transactions of the year 491.

^g Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 366, 367. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Mosta'li Billah, p. 632. ^h Khondemir, Ism. Abu'lfed. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 367.

the Franks, or Franji, under which appellation the Europeans, or Western Christians, frequently go amongst the eastern authors, undertook this expedition, they had reduced Toledo, and other cities of Andalusia, expelled the Moslems from Sicily, and wrested out of their hands a considerable part of Africa. Kawâmo'ddawla Codbûka, named Corbanas and Corbagath by the western historians of the Crusade, who was then in Mesopotamia, being informed of the surrender of Antioch to the Franks, marched with all the troops he could assemble into Syria, and laid siege to it. There were then in the city five Christian princes; namely, Bardawîl or Baldwin, Sakhâl or Sanjîl, i. e. the count de St. Giles, Conodfri or Godfrey, Al Kûmes or Al Kormes, the sâheb of Al Rohâ, and Baymûn, the sâheb or prince of Antioch. These being in want of provisions, sent to Codbûka, offering to quit the town, on condition that he would engage for the safety of their persons: but he refused, saying, they should escape no otherwise than by making their way with the sword. At this critical juncture a monk, in high esteem amongst them, who was a person of great craft and subtlety, told them, that they should certainly vanquish their enemies in battle, if they could find the staff of St. Peter, strengthened with iron at the end, which was buried in the church of the priests; but that, if they could not discover this, they should all infallibly perish. He, therefore, ordered them to fast and pray, that they might obtain the divine assistance in this most important and interesting affair; which having done for three whole days, he led them on the fourth to the aforesaid church, and at last, by digging in all parts of it, they found the staff. Animated by this omen of victory, they marched out of the city, on a Thursday, about five or six at a time. Codbûka's officers advised, that their soldiers might stand at the gates, and kill all who sallied out; but he said that it was better to let them all come out first, and then put them to the sword. When they had evacuated the place, they formed a numerous army, which put the Moslems to flight. The last who fled was Sakmân Ebn Artak. The Franks, on this occasion, cut to pieces many thousands of the enemy, made themselves masters of their camp, and seized all the provisions, riches, beasts of burthen, and arms, they found in it. After this victory, which entirely re-established their affairs, they advanced to Maarra Al Nomân, or Ma'ra Al Na'mân, a city in the province or district of Hems, and possessed

possessed themselves of that place. They slew their prince, styled Al Mâlec, or the *King*, by Al Makîn; and, according to the last mentioned author, maintained themselves in that town till the year of the Hejra 526. From Maara Al Nomân they advanced to Râma, or Al Ramla, a very ancient city of Palestine; which, without any remarkable resistance, surrendered to them. They also took several other towns of less note, and massacred a very considerable number of Mohammedans ¹.

In the following year, being the 492d of the Hejra, the Egyptians, perceiving the weakness of the Turks, formed the siege of Jerusalem, termed Al Beit Al Makdes by Abu'l Faraj; where Sakmân and Aylgâzi, the sons of Artak, the Turk mân, with their uncle Sûnej, were shut up. The besiegers battered the town with their military engines above forty days, and at last obliged the garrison to capitulate; permitting the troops that composed it, with Sakmân at their head, to retire to some other place. Instead of Sakmân, the Egyptians substituted Asteikhâr'oddawla, to command in the Holy City. Soon after this event, the Franks presented themselves before it; and, having erected two towers against, they took it on the north side, and put the inhabitants to the sword. They continued to kill the Moslems in the adjacent country for several weeks together; destroying in the chapel Al Akfa, or the *Farther Chapel*, above seventy thousand people at one time. They likewise drove all the Jews into their temple, and burned them in that edifice. Amongst the booty acquired on this occasion, which was immense, there were above forty silver lamps, weighing each three thousand six hundred drachms; a furnace, weighing forty pounds; and above twenty lamps of gold. We are told, that the loss of Jerusalem was not less regretted by the Jacobite Christians than by the Moslems themselves; since the Franks would not permit them to go on pilgrimage thither, nor even on any account whatever to approach that place ².

Of the reduction of Jerusalem, or Al Kuds, the loss of which so affected the Moslems of all ranks and denominations, Abu'lfeda, the celebrated Arabian historian, has transmitted us the following particulars: "In the

¹ Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi supra, p. 367, 368. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 292, 293. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 140, 141. 276, &c. Alb. Schult. ind. Geographic. in Vit. Salad. Lugd. Batavor. 1732.
² Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 369. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 292. Ebn Shohnah, Ebn Khalecan, Renaud, ubi supra, p. 478, 479.

492d year of the Hejra, the Franks made themselves masters of Al Kuds. That city had been formerly delivered by Tanaash into the hands of Al Emir Artak; after whose decease it came to Sakmân, or Sokmân, and Aylgâzi, his sons. These princes were possessed of it till the year of the Hejra 489, when they were ejected from thence by the forces of the khalif of Egypt. The sons of Artak being thus expelled Al Kuds, Sokmân went to Al Rohâ, or Edeffa, and Aylgâzi, or Ilgâzi, into Irâk: but the Franks wrested that city (Al Kuds) this year, 492, out of the hands of the Egyptians, after a siege of between forty and fifty days. It was on Friday, the 22d of Shaabân, that the enemy entered the town: for a whole week they continued butchering the Moslems; being under no manner of restraint, on account of the sanctity of the place. Above seventy thousand perished in the Masjed Al Akfi, or Akfa, that is, the *Farther Mosque*, a high and lofty temple so called; amongst whom were many of our imâms, besides a great number of learned and pious men, taken under the more immediate protection of Almighty God, dwelling constantly in his house, and famous for their unspotted chastity and austerity of life. The spoils taken on this occasion were so immense, that no proper estimate could be made of them. The news of this terrible destruction reached Baghdâd in the month of Ramadân. The terrified couriers who brought it, implored both the khalif's and the sultân's assistance in the most moving terms. The inhabitants of Baghdâd were so affected with the melancholy news, that with continual tears, and even opprobrious language, they insisted upon immediate relief. Indeed so transported were they with grief, so infatuated, and so regardless of their duty to God, that, being fatigued and even exhausted with sorrow, they polluted by their daily meals the fast of Ramadân. To this extremity of misery were the Moslems reduced by the discords, dissensions, and intestine wars, that reigned amongst the Seljûkian sultâns; which enabled the Franks to ravage whole provinces without opposition." Hence it appears, that, according to Abu'lfeda, as well as the author followed by M. Renaudot, the Egyptians occupied Al Kuds, from the 489th year of the Hejra, when they drove from thence the family of Artak, to the 492d year of that æra, when they were forced to give way to the Franks. This is, however, flatly contradicted both by William of Tyre and Abu'l-Faraj; who affirm, that it was taken by the Egyptians from the Turks, the same year in which it was oblig-
ed

ed to surrender to the Franks. As, therefore, William of Tyre, is a writer of the best authority, and lived almost upon the spot, not far from the time of the transaction itself, and consequently could not have been ignorant of what had so lately happened; and as Abu'lfeda was not only much posterior to William of Tyre, but likewise something later than Abu'l-Faraj, an author greatly esteemed in the East, both by Christians and Mohammedans; we are strongly inclined to adopt what has been advanced, in the point before us, by the two last writers¹.

Mowayyad Al Molc, being greatly chagrined at his dismission from the post of wazîr, did his utmost to foment new troubles in the state. He began by spiriting-up Anzâr, who was formerly one of Mâlec Shâh's slaves, and had great influence in the province of Irâk. By his assistance, Anzâr raised a considerable army; and might have given the sultân much trouble, had he not been taken off by an assassin, in the city of Sawa, to which place he had advanced, in order to give his sovereign battle. Al Molc afterwards applied to Mohammed, brother to Barkîârok, then residing in Adherbijân; and, by his continual solicitations, at last prevailed upon him to take up arms against his brother. 'This Mohammed, surnamed Gayâtho'ddîn, and Sanjar, were brothers by the same mother, and both of them sons of Mâlec Shâh. Mohammed, after his father's death, followed the interest of his brother Mahmûd; but being reconciled to Barkîârok, he obtained, from that prince, the city of Ganja, and its dependencies, for his support. From this place he moved, with a small army, which soon became formidable by the accession of a vast number of malecontents, who daily flocked to him. For the lords of Barkîârok's court being incensed against Mojared Al Molc, his wazîr, cut him in pieces, and obliged the sultân himself to abandon Irâk to his brother. This circumstance, together with the influence of Mowayyad Al Molc, who exerted himself in his favour, not only supplied Mohammed with troops, but likewise put him in possession of an extensive territory without striking a stroke. He therefore made Mowayyad Al Molc, who had been so serviceable to him, his wazîr, and sent an ambassador to Baghdâd, to demand the patent of investiture; which was granted him, in the month of Dhu'lhajja, by the khalif.

Mohammed, Barkîârok's brother, rebels;

¹ Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 292. Wilhelm. Tyr. vii. 19. viii. 10. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 369. Renaud. ubi supra, p. 478.

and defeats
Barkîârok. In the 493d year of the Hejra, Barkîârok, repairing to Baghdâd, assembled a powerful army; at the head of which he advanced to Mahdân, in order to attack his brother Mohammed. A fierce conflict ensued, in which Barkîârok was overthrown with very great slaughter, and made his escape with only fifty horse. Upon which, Mohammed resumed the office of emir al omra, or sultân, the 14th day of Rajeb, at Baghdâd. Barkîârok fled from Al Ray to Khûzestân; where Ayyâz, formerly slave to Mâlec Shâh, ruled with almost absolute power. Ayyâz having joined the sultân with all the troops under his command, that prince found himself once more in a condition to make head against Mohammed, and assert his right to the Seljûkian crown. In his flight from Al Ray, Barkîârok passed by Esfahân, the residence of the Seljûkian princes; but did not enter that capital.

Barkîârok
overthrows
Moham-
med. Next year being the 494th of the Hejra, which began November 6, 1100, Barkîârok was so effectually encouraged by the efforts Ayyâz had made to support him, that he brought into the field an army of fifty thousand men. Sultân Mohammed met him, with all the forces he could assemble, which did not amount to above fifteen thousand men: the two armies had not long faced each other, before an obstinate engagement ensued; in which Mohammed, being borne down by numbers, was obliged to betake himself to a precipitate flight. Hereupon, taking the route of Khorasân, in order to seek aid of king Sanjar his brother, he halted at Jorjân. Here Sanjar joining him with a body of troops, they advanced to Dâmâgân; where the army laid waste the country to such a degree, that the inhabitants, driven to the extremity of want, fed upon one another. After these ravages, marching against Barkîârok, they were defeated; and their mother, who attended them in this expedition, being made captive, was exchanged for some of Barkîârok's men, who had been taken prisoners by Sanjar before. This year the Franks carried Hayfa by storm, and Arsûf by capitulation; making themselves masters of most of the maritime places. We are informed by Khondemir, that several actions happened this campaign between the princes of the house of Seljûk; in one of which Mowayyad Al Mole, Mohammed's wazir, fell into the hands of Barkîârok, and afterwards met with the reward which his treason had so justly deserved^m.

^m Khondemir, Greg. Abul-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 369, 370. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 294. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 127. Renaud ubi sup.

In the following year, being the 495th of the Hejra, Al Moſta'li Bi'llah, the khalif of Egypt, departed this life, after he had ſat upon the Fâtemite throne ſeven years and two months, according to Al Makîn. He was ſucceeded by Abu Ali Al-Manſûr, his ſon, then only five years old; who had the title, or ſurname, of Al Amer Beaheâmî'llah, and made Afdal, or Al Afdal, his wazîr. The young prince was inaugurated immediately after his father's death; but could not ſit on horſeback, by reaſon of his tender age. The khalif was no ſooner dead than Abu Manſûr Berâr, his brother, fled to the citadel of Alexandria; where Aſtekîn, Al Afdal's mamlûk, or purchaſed ſlave, at that time commanded. Upon his arrival he promiſed peace and ſecurity to the people of Alexandria, and was proclaimed khalif by Aſtekîn. He aſſumed the title of Al Moſtafi Addîn; but did not long enjoy the high dignity to which he had aſpired. For Al Afdal ſoon marched with a body of troops to that place, laid ſiege to the caſtle, and got both Berâr and Aſtekîn into his hands; though what afterwards became of them, we have not been told. Amer Beaheâmî'llah was the ſeventh of the Fâtemite khalifs that reigned in Egypt, and the tenth of thoſe that had acquired large dominions in Africa. Though his infancy rendered him incapable of buſineſs himſelf, Al Afdal Ebn Bedr Al Jemâl his wazîr, and the commander in chief of all his forces, who had ſerved his father in the ſame capacities, governed the Egyptians with ſuch juſtice, lenity, and moderation, that he was univerſally applauded and eſteemed. Amer, the new khalif, lived thirty-five, and reigned near thirty years. He is cenſured by all the hiſtorians who have taken any conſiderable notice of him, for being, after the example of his predeceſſors, a favourer of the Shiites, cruel, obſtinate, crafty, falſe, proud, addicted to gaming, attached to all kinds of unlawful pleaſures, and ungrateful to Al Afdal: it has been by them, however, allowed, that he did not want parts, was learned, and wrote in an elegant ſtyle.

In the ſame year the Franks advanced to Tripoli, and formed the ſiege of that city. Whereupon Dekâk Shams Al Molûc, the prince of Damafcus, and Hoſein Henâho'd-dawla, the ſâheb of Hems, having been applied to by Fakhr Al Molc Ebn Amâr, the ſovereign of the place, for aſſiſtance, they ſent a body of troops to his relief. But the Moſlem auxiliaries, at a ſmall diſtance from the town, were attacked and routed by the Franks. The animoſity that reigned between the khalifs of Egypt and Baghdâd, on the

The farther progreſs of the Franks.

score of religion, as well as their different political views, and the division of Syria, or Al Shâm (most of the principal cities of which province were at this time governed by their respective emirs, who had declared themselves independent princes), into several lesser states, greatly facilitated the reduction that country to the obedience of the Franks, and the erection of the kingdom of Jerusalemⁿ.

*The chief
occurrences
of the year
496 ;*

In the 496th year of the Hejra, soltân Barkiârok shut up soltân Mohammed; his brother, in Esfahân; but, for want of forage and provisions, was obliged to raise the siege of that city. Mohammed hereupon assembled a body of troops, with which he engaged his brother; but being overthrown, he fled into Armenia, and left Barkiârok in possession of Irâk. Hosein Henâho'ddawla, the sâheb of Hems, quitted Fakhr Al Molc Redwân's party, which he had hitherto supported, and joined Dekâk; on which Redwân hired three Bâtanists, or Bâtenites, to assassinate him in the great jâma', or temple, at Hems: the news of which assassination being brought to atâbek Tagtakîn and Dekâk, they marched to Hems, and made themselves masters both of the town and castle. This event happened just at the time when the Franks arrived at Rustan, or Rosten, seated upon the Assi, or Orontes, between Hems and Hama, with a design to attack Hems; but on advice that Dekâk was there, they returned. About the same time died Michael, the patriarch of the Jacobites at Alexandria, and was succeeded by Macarius in that see. Either in or about this year, Ardshir, or Ardeshir, Ebn Mansûr, a native of Merû, in Khorasân, so distinguished himself by his preaching, in the mosque erected by Nodhâm Al Molc at Baghdâd, that thirty thousand persons frequently resorted thither to hear him. Amongst them there was a great number of women and beautiful youths, who all, at his persuasion, cut off their hair; a circumstance so extraordinary, that several of the Mohammedans have looked upon it as almost exceeding the bounds of credulity. Many of the Moslems likewise, who had accustomed themselves to wine, influenced by his exhortations, ever afterwards abstained from that liquor.

*and of the
the year
497.*

Next year, being the 497th of the Hejra, Dekâk Shams Al Molûc, the sâheb of Damascus, died in that city. His mother, who was married to the atâbek Tagtakîn, is

ⁿ Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 294, 295. Khondemir, D'Herbel. & Renaud. ubi sup. & alib.

supposed

supposed by some to have sent him a servant maid, who poisoned him, by pricking a grape with an invenomed needle, which he plucked and ate. This, say they, corroded his intestines, and destroyed him. Be that as it may, after his death, Tagtakîn, who was surnamed Thahîro'ddîn, or Dhahîroddîn, conquered the kingdom of Damascus, and its dependencies. Dekâk, however, who was of the house of Seljûk, left behind him a son under age, the care of whose education he committed to Tagtakîn. The same year the Franks took Aca, or Acca, according to Al Makîn. Baldwin, who had wrested Jerusalem out of the hands of the Mohammedans, invested the place with his troops. He was accompanied by the Genoese Franks; by the addition of whose ships, his fleet amounted to ninety sail. Having, therefore, for some time, closely besieged the city both by sea and land, he at last took it by storm. Sahro'ddawla Al Habûsî commanded at that time in the town for the khalif of Egypt. After the loss of the place he retired to Damascus, and from thence into Egypt. He was Bedr Al Jemâl's freed-man, besides which we scarce meet with any particulars in history relating to him. Some authors write, that in the course of the present year, Baymûnd, or Boamund, and Tancred, two generals of the Franks, were vanquished by the Mohammedans in Syria, and lost ten thousand men*.

In the following year, being the 498th of the Hejra, a partition of the Seljûkian empire was made between the sultâns Barkîârok and Mohammed, the sons of Mâlec Shâh. As their armies had often skirmished, for some time past, without coming to a general engagement, and in such a manner that no considerable advantage had been gained on either side, both those princes had leisure to think seriously of an accommodation. With this view, conferences were held; which, by the interposition of their common friends, ultimately terminated in a treaty of peace; whereby Fârs, Al Jebâl, Irâk, Khorasân, Kermân, Mawarâ'nahr, and that part of India on this side the Ganges, were to be possessed by Barkîârok. Mohammed, by virtue of the same treaty, remained master of Al Shâm, or Syria, Diyâr Becr, Al Jazîra or Mesopotamia, Al Mawfel or Mosul, Adherbijân, Armenia, and Georgia. It was also agreed, that Barkîârok should not

The Seljûkian empire is divided between Barkîârok and Mohammed.

* Al Makin, ubi sup. Al Makrizi, Renaud. ubi sup. p. 493, 494.

meet Mohammed with drums, nor be named in the pulpits with him, in any of the provinces, which, by the foregoing convention, were ceded to him^p.

*Barkîârok
dies.*

After the pacification Barkîârok advanced towards Baghddâd, where his friend and benefactor Ayyâz, or Ayyâd, commanded; though Al Mostadher was acknowledged for khalif, emir al mûmenîn, and sovereign pontiff of the Moslems in that city. His design was to enjoy with Ayyâz their common good fortune, and to fix the future repose of his dominions upon a lasting foundation. But he was stopped upon the road by death; when he had lived thirty-four years, and reigned fourteen. Being afflicted with a consumption and the piles he found himself obliged to rest for some time at Esfahân, where, both his distempers increasing, he at last expired. Before his death he declared Mâlec Shâh, his son, the second of that name, his successor, who was then only four years and ten months old. By reason of his tender age, he put him under the tutelage of Ayyâz and Sadeka, two of his most trusty friends, in whose fidelity, which he had often experienced, he could entirely confide. The succession being in this manner settled, he ordered the young prince to be clothed with a kaftân in his presence, and appointed Ayyâz his principal atâbek, or governor; all his great officers at the same time attending, and promising to obey his commands. After which ceremony, the khotbah was made in the infant sultân's name; and he was dignified with the title of Jalâlo'ddawla, or *the Ornament of the State*. Nevertheless, sultân Mohammed immediately repaired to Baghddâd, entered that city, and took possession of the sultânat, or post of emir al omrà; though Ayyâz had assembled a body of twenty-five thousand horse, if we believe Al Makîn, to oppose him: for an accommodation taking place between them, Al Mostadher Bi'llah, the khalif of Baghddâd, presented Mohammed with the kaftân, and delivered into his hands the command of the palace. The new sultân was no sooner confirmed in his dignity, than he put Ayyâz, in violation of the late convention, to death^q.

*Memorable
events of
the year
499 i*

In the 499th year of the Hejra, sultân Mohammed marched from Adherbijân to Al Mawfel, which he invested.

^p Khondemir, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 187. Renaud. ubi supra, p. 493. 494 ^q Al Makîn, ubi supra, p. 196. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. Ifm. Abu'l-fîd. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 498. Ebn Shohnah, Khondemir, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. ubi supra. Renaud. ubi supra, p. 494.

The

The people of the country, however, on his approach, rose in defence of Jakarmîsh, their saheb or sovereign, and attacked him with great bravery. A strong party of infantry likewise sallied upon the besiegers, and killed abundance of men. The siege, nevertheless, continued from the month of Safar to that of the Former Jomâda; when Jakarmîsh, receiving advice of Barkîârok's death, resolved to make his submission to Mohammed. For this purpose, he first addressed himself to the wazîr, and afterwards waited upon the sultân, from whom he met with a most gracious reception. That prince, having embraced him, said, "Go back to your subjects, whose hearts are set upon you; they with impatience expect your return." Jakarmîsh then prostrated himself, and next day prepared a most magnificent entertainment for his friends without the city: he also sent very valuable presents both to the sultân and the wazîr. When he went to Mohammed, the inhabitants of Al Mawfel threw dust upon their heads, and shewed all the expressions of sorrow, usual on the most melancholy occasions; imagining that the sultân would not only strip him of his territories, but deprive him likewise of life itself. This year the Ismaelians, Bâtanites, Bâtenites or Assassins, took the castle of Apamia, and slew Ahlaf Ebn Mulaheb, by the command of Abu Thâher, their chief. Some writers assert this Abu Thâher to have been the same person with Al Hasan Ebn Masbak, the founder of the Bâtanite sect. Be that as it may, several severe actions happened between these Ismaelians and the Franks, according to some good authors, during the course of the present year.

Next year, being the 500th of the Hejra, Al Jâwali Sa- *and of the*
kâwwâ, the saheb of Al Rohâ or Orfa, marched against *year 500.*
Jakarmîsh, the lord of Al Mawfel, with only a body of one thousand men, and put to flight his troops, though double that number. Jakarmîsh was taken prisoner in the action; having been abandoned by all his men, and unable to make his escape. He was carried in a litter to the engagement, having been rendered incapable of mounting a horse by a paralytic disorder. As soon as he fell into the enemies hands, he was brought before Al Jâwali, who ordered him to be confined, and his keepers to have a watchful eye over him. The news of his captivity reaching the ears of the citizens, they conferred the supreme command upon Al Emîr Zenki, his

* Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 370, 371. Renaud. ubi sup.

son. Afterwards Al Jâwali, besieging Al 'Mawfel, exposed Jakarmîsh to the view of the people daily on a mule; offering to set him at liberty, in case they would surrender the city to him. Upon their refusal to comply with what he required, he imprisoned him in a place under ground, where he was soon found dead. His subjects then wrote to Kilij Arslân, the son of Solimân Ebn Kotolmîsh Al Seljûki, the sâheb of Koniya, and Akfara, promising to deliver up the city to him, if he would move to their assistance. Al Jâwali being informed that Kilij Arslân was on his march for Al Mâwfel, thought fit to raise the siege at his approach. Kilij Arslân, having possessed himself of the city, encamped at Al Mogreka, where he honoured Zenki and his attendants with kaftâns, ordered the name of sultân Mohammed to be suppressed in the pulpits, and his own to be mentioned in its room. He then advanced against Al Jâwali, who retired to Al Roha, and attacked his forces upon the banks of the Khâbûr; but was defeated with great slaughter, and hotly pursued by the victors. Being, therefore, obliged to enter the river, where he defended himself with his bow and arrows against the enemy, his horse carried him into the stream, and he was drowned. His body appearing some days after, he was buried at Al Shamâniyah. Before this defeat, Kilij Arslân had ingratiated himself with the soldiery, by distributing money amongst them, and reforming several abuses that had crept into the army. His father had been routed by the Franks, about ten years before this tragical event happened. Al Jâwali, after the victory he had gained, returned to Al Mawfel, and, without any difficulty, made himself master of that important place.

What happened in the year 501.

In the following year, being the 501st of the Hejra, Ayyâz, or Ayyâd, and Al Emîr Saifo'ddîn Sadeka Denis Ebn Ali Ebn Yerîd Al Afadi, the sâheb of Hella, took the field, in favour of Mâlec Shâh II. son to Barkîârok, with a powerful army. Being met by sultân Mohammed, who had seized that part of the Seljûkian empire assigned to Barkîârok, the proper dispositions were made on both sides for an engagement. But whilst the two armies faced each other, expecting the signal for battle, there appeared in the sky a cloud, in form of a dragon, which cast down so much fire upon the troops of Mâlec Shâh, that the soldiers, terrified with so dreadful a meteor, threw down their arms, and begged quarter of Mohammed; who thus became master of the persons both of his nephew and his

two

two generals, whom he sent prisoners to the castle of Leshed. Soltân Mohammed Gayâtho'ddin Ebn Mâlec Shâh marched against Al Emîr Saïfo'ddin Sadeka, in the course of the present year, routed his forces, and slew him, after he had reigned at Hella twenty-two years, and lived fifty-six. If the historians followed by D'Herbelot are to be credited, Mohammed, as soon as his nephew's troops had submitted to him, repaired directly to Baghdâd, obtained of the khalif Al Mostadher the title of Gayâtho'ddin, or Mogâyatho'ddin, that is, *the Propagator of the Faith*, after he had paid his duty to that prince, and received from him the most ample and honourable patent. In this instrument he was styled Al Soltân, and Emîr Al Mûmenîn, or *Commander of the Faithful*; in virtue of which, he assumed an absolute power over all the khalif's subjects. Whilst the soltân resided at Baghdâd, he was informed that Ahmed, surnamed Atthash, a famous impostor, had, by his juggling tricks, gained many proselytes, amongst whom he passed for a prophet; and that he had surprised the fortrefs of Dizghûch, an important place built by Mâlec Shâh, near Esfahân, in order to bridle the inhabitants of that large city, who much inclined to revolt. This fortrefs Atthash had reduced to his obedience, by debauching the minds of the garrison with his impious opinions. On this advice, Mohammed advanced at the head of his forces, formed the siege of the castle, and at last, having escaped the treachery of Sa'id Al Molc, surnamed Awji, his wazîr, who had been infected with Atthash's infamous notions, and had corrupted a surgeon, who blooded him every month, with the promise of a thousand zechins, and a purple vest, to destroy him with a poisoned lancet, forced it to surrender at discretion. Atthash was conducted to Esfahân, tied upon a camel; where, having been exposed to the derision of the people for several days, he was executed, with many of his followers, who had joined in the rebellion.

The same year, being the 5th of the patriarch Macarius, the method of computing by the Kharâjîan years, which were solar, was suppressed in Egypt, by an edict of the wazîr. The Christians of Egypt observed the æra of the Martyrs, called likewise the æra of Dioclesian, which

The Coptic supputation by the Kharâjîan years is suppressed.

* Al Makin. ubi sup. p. 296. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Mohammed fils de Melikschah, p. 605, 606. Renaud. ubi supra, p. 494.

commenced

commenced in the year of our Lord 284, especially in all ecclesiastical affairs; but in civil, they likewise supposed their years from the Hejra, or flight of the Moslem prophet, in common with the Mohammedans. However, as the latter made use of lunar, and the former of solar years, a considerable difference between the Coptic and Moslem methods of computation in process of time ensued, the Mohammedans gaining a year of the Copts, or Egyptian Christians, in every thirty-three years. The tribute, denominated by the Arabs Kharāj, exacted of the Christians by the Moslems, was collected according to the order of those months which formed the Egyptian or solar year; whence it came to pass, that this was called, both by the Christians and Mohammedans, the Kharājian year. That manner of computing having been found very inconvenient, Al Afdal, the Fâtemite khalif's wazîr, at this time issued an edict for its abolition; so that we find no mention made of the solar or Kharājian year in any of the public accounts, or other civil affairs of Egypt, after the present year¹.

The principal transactions of the year 502.

In the 502d year of the Hejra, Mawdûd Ebn Altûn Takîn, or Tacash, with sultân Mohammed's army, advanced to Al Mawfel, and expelled Al Jâwali and his adherents from that city. The same year the Franks took Tripoli by capitulation, after a siege of seven years; in which the greater part of the inhabitants had been destroyed by famine and the sword, together with the continued fatigues they found themselves obliged to sustain. Tripoli was, at this time, a very large city, full of Mohammedans, and contained learned men.

The most material occurrences of the year 503.

The 503d year of the Hejra, commencing July 31, 1109, proved very favourable to the Franks; their military operations being attended with great success. Tancri Al Franji, or Tancred the Frank, the sâheb of Antioch or Antâkiya, marching to Al Thogûr Al Shâmiya, reduced Tarsus and Adena, and laid siege to Hesn, or Hîsn, Al Acrad, that is, *the Castle of the Kurds*, which in a short time surrendered to him. This is the account of Abu'l-Faraj; but according to Al Makîn, the inhabitants of Hesn Meshâf and Hesn Al Acrâd purchased peace, by agreeing to pay an annual tribute. Notwithstanding which, continues that writer, the Franks some time after circumvented them, and violated the treaty they had concluded

¹ Takîo'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, in Descript. Mesr. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 397, 398. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 429.

with them before. The Franks likewise possessed themselves of Hefn Acâd or Accâd, Hefn Al Mînatara, and Beyrût or Bayrût, the Berytus of the ancients; the last of which places, being garrisoned by the khalif of Egypt's troops, sustained a long siege, and made a very vigorous defence. The same year died Korâjâ, the sâheb of Hems; and was succeeded in that principality by Samsâm Harhân, his son. Some authors relate, that Mohammed Shâh, the sultân of the Seljûks, having been joined by Sakmân Ebn Artak, or Sokmân Ebn Ortok, the prince of Khalât or Akhlât, in Armenia, Sharfo'ddîn Mawdûd, the sâheb of Al Mawfel, and Nojmo'ddîn, the emir of Mâredîn, advanced against the Franks, under the command of Baldwin and Tancred, and gained some advantages over them, before the close of this campaign.

Next year, being the 504th of the Hejra, the Franks made themselves master of Saidâ, Saydâ, or Saydân, the Sidon of the ancients, and Rardîâ, with all the coast of Al Shâm, or Syria. This year, a dreadful tempest happened in Egypt; which filled the air with clouds of dust, through all the tract it traversed. The air for some days after was excessively hot, and the sky as red as fire. A species of the Aurora Borealis, resembling flames, moving from one part of the hemisphere to another, at the same time appeared; which was followed by such a thick darkness, as had not before been known in the memory of man. These strange and surprising phenomena so terrified many people, that they abandoned their houses; imagining that the day of judgment, of which they took these to be the forerunners, must certainly be at hand.

In the following year, being the 505th of the Hejra, Mawdûd, who had been sent against the Franks by sultân Mohammed, was killed by either one or more of the Bâtanists, near the city of Damascus, according to Al Makîn.

In the 506th year of the Hejra, Al Emir Mawdûd, the sâheb of Al Mawfel, encamped near Al Rohâ, or Edeffa, the modern Orfa, whose corn-fields were devoured by his army, according to Abu'l-Faraj. From Al Rohâ he moved to Sarûj. In this expedition, he held the Franks in great contempt, and took not the least precaution against them: nor did he scarce ever think of them, till Josûn, or Josseline, the sâheb of Tel Bâsher, surprised him, whilst

and of the year 504.

Mawdûd is killed by the Bâtanists in the year 505.

What happened in the year of the Hejra 506.

u Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. Al Makîn, ubi sup. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 494. w Al Makîn, ubi sup. p. 297. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 374. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 505.

the horses were dispersed in the pastures. This negligence gave Joslîn an opportunity of taking most of them, and killing a great number of Mawdûd's men. With regard to Sarûj and Tel Bâsher, or Tel Bâser, as it is called by Abu'lfeda, we shall only observe, that the former of those places was a town of Mesopotamia, about ten miles from Edeffa, near the same distance from Harrân, and a day's journey eastward of Bir, or Birta; and the latter, if we can believe Abu'lfeda, a fortress, or garrison, two days journey to the north of Aleppo, abounding with water and gardens. The same year there was a most dreadful earthquake at Mesr. The very night this happened, the church of St. Michael was demolished, as Al Afdal, Al Amer Beahcami'llah's wazîr, pretended, by the earthquake; though many people believed that this was done by his command. Al Makrîzi writes, that the best part of this church was really damaged by one of the shocks; and that Al Afdal, after some of it was fallen down, ordered the rest to be removed, because it stood too near his gardens. Another author relates, that one Yusef, or Joseph, a renegado, and superintendent of Al Afdal's workmen, then employed in building an exceeding large edifice in the island of Rauda, near Mesr, gave private orders to the people under him to level it with the ground, the night after the earthquake. Then his emissaries every-where published, that the church, which had long been going to ruin, and decayed with age, had, at last, fallen down, through the carelessness and avarice of the Christians; who, notwithstanding the ruinous condition it had for many years been in, neglected to repair it.

*The principal events
of the year
507;*

Next year, being the 507th of the Hejra, the Moslems, uniting their forces, made an irruption into the acquisitions of the Franks; who, after a very sharp and obstinate engagement, were defeated near Tiberias. After the action, Al Emir Mawdûd Ebn Altûn Takîn, or Tacash, the sâheb of Al Mawfel, one of the allied princes, permitted his troops to return and refresh themselves till the following spring, when he proposed to attempt another invasion of the Christian territories. In the mean time, he went himself to Damascus, to spend the season with Tagtakîn, the sâheb or lord of that city. But one day, after he had entered the temple or jamâ', in order to perform his devotions, a Bâtanist approaching him, under pretence of begging alms, stabbed him four times with a knife; of which wounds he died the same day, and the assassin was put to death.

death. After the execution, the Bâtanist's head was cut off, and, together with the body, reduced to ashes; but who he was, or by whom employed to perpetrate so horrid a fact, could never be discovered. The same year, Redwân Fakhr Al Molc, the son of Al Mâlec Tâjo'ddawla Tatah, the sâheb or prince of Aleppo, departed this life, and was succeeded by Tâjo'ddawla, surnamed Al Ahras, his son. It is remarkable, that Redwân never attempted to oppose the Franks; though they made continual excursions even to the gates of Aleppo, and carried many Moslems away with them into captivity. His son Tâjo'ddawla Al Ahras, who likewise went under the name of Alp Arslân, was but sixteen years old when he mounted the throne. After the murder of Al Emîr Mawdûd, sultân Mohammed conferred the government of Al Mawfel and Jâzîra upon Akfankar; and assigned for his wazîr Zenki, denominated corruptly Sanguinus and Sanguineus by the Western historians. This Zenki was the father of the famous Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd, who abolished the khalifat of the Fâtemites in Egypt, and obliged the people of that country to recognize the authority of Al Mostadi Ebn Al Mostanjed, the khalif of Baghdâd *.

In the following year, being the 508th of the Hejra, Alp Arslân Tâjo'ddawla Al Ahras, the sâheb of Aleppo, who succeeded his father Redwân, was assassinated, according to Al Makin. He is said to have been about seventeen years old at the time of his death. After this tragical event, the city and castle of Aleppo fell into the hands of Lûlû, page to Tâjo'rawawfâ Ebn Al Jalâl, under whose tuition Alp Arslân Tâjo'ddawla Al Ahras had been placed by his father. Lûlû, probably by sultân Mohammed's command, afterwards resigned them to Al Soltân Shâh, another of Redwân's sons. At this time, a dreadful earthquake happened in the East, which shook a considerable part of Syria and Cilicia by its terrible concussions, and levelled with the ground the cities of Al Mafsîfa or Mâmestra, Ma'resh, and others.

In the 509th year of the Hejra, atâbek Tagtakîn, the sâheb or prince of Damascus, went to Baghdâd, in order to offer his service to Al Mostadher Bi'llah, and sultân Gayâtho'ddin Mohammed, who received him with great honour. The same year, Al Afdal, the khalif of Egypt's wazîr, concluded a truce with Baldwin, the king of Jeru-

and of the year 508.

Tagtakîn goes to Baghdâd.

* Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 173, 374. Al Makin, ubi sup. Ism. Abu'lfed. Ebn. Shohnah, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Nouredin, p. 679, 680. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 494, 495.

falem, after that prince had made himself master of a rich Moslem caravan; the Fâtemite khalif despairing of doing his subjects, who had been plundered by the Franks, justice by force of arms. Baldwin pillaged the caravan near some salt pits, denominated from thence the Salt Pits of Baldwin; which name they retained for many years.

What happened the year following.

Next year, being the 510th of the Hejra, atâbek Tagtakîn returned to Damascus, extremely well pleased with the reception he had met with at Baghdâd. The same year Lûlû departed from Aleppo, in order to possess himself of the castle of Jaafar; but on his march was assassinated near Bâlis, a small town of Syria, seated upon the western bank of the Euphrates. Abu Ma'âli Ebn Al Mahali, the secretary of war, took the command of the citadel of Aleppo in his room.

Soltân Mohammed's death and character.

The 511th year of the Hejra proved fatal to Al Soltân Gayâtho'ddin Mohammed Al Seljûki, the son of Mâlec Shâh. He died in the month of Dhu'l-hajja, at Esfahân; being about thirty-seven years old at the time of his death, if we believe Al Makîn. When he perceived his end approaching, he sent for Abu'l Kâsem Mahmûd, his son, but fifteen years old, whom he had declared his successor, kissed him, and wept: then he commanded him to sit on the throne; which the young prince declined, saying, it was, by the indication of the stars, an unlucky day. The soltân answered, "You say true; but it is so to your father, not to you, who gain an empire on it." Ascending the throne, he was then adorned with the diadem and bracelets, and acknowledged for soltân. Gayâtho'ddin Mohammed Al Seljûki was eminent for his gravity, justice, clemency, and valour. He was remarkable for his strength and eloquence. However, notwithstanding his good qualities, as he left behind him in the treasury eleven millions of dinârs, besides furniture and other effects of great value, he seems, at least during certain intervals, and on some particular occasions, to have been of a rapacious disposition. He was interred with the usual ceremonies; and his son Mahmûd was first prayed for at Baghdâd on Friday the 23d of Al Moharram, of the following year. We are told that five of his sons survived him, viz. Mas'ûd, Mahmûd, Togrol, Solimân, and Seljûk; the second of whom, Mahmûd, surnamed Mogayâtho'ddin, was proclaimed soltân at Baghdâd, and inaugurated there in form, immediately after his father was buried.

In

y Al Makin, ubi sup. Al Emir Yahya Ebn Al d'ollatif Al Kaf-wini. in Lebtarikh, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 374. Ifm. Abu'l-

In the course of the same year, Al Emîr Bolgâri Ebn Aryk took possession of Aleppo, according to Al Makîn. Yet, if we believe Ebn Shohnah, the inhabitants of Aleppo being afraid of the Franks, put themselves into the hands of Ilgâzi or Aylgâzi Ebn Artak, the lord of Mareddin, who sent his son Tamartash to govern them at this period ^z.

Al Emîr Bolgari possessor himself of Aleppo this year.

In the following year, being the 512th of the Hejra, the khalif Al Mostadher Bi'llah departed this life at Baghdâd, in the forty-second year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. He is said to have possessed many fine intellectual endowments, mild in every point of conduct, liberal, eloquent, a good poet, a favourer of learned men, a lover of justice, and constant in giving alms.

The khalif Al Mostadher Bi'llah's death and character.

The Moslem throne was no sooner become vacant by the death of Al Mostadher than his son Abu Mansûr was saluted khalif, and assumed the title and surname of Al Mostarshed Bi'llah; having already been prayed for in the mosques, as his father's successor, twenty-three years, according to Abu'l-Faraj. It appears from Khondemir, that the beginning of this prince's reign was by no means peaceable; his brother Abu'l Hafan retiring then to Hella, a city of the Arabian Irâk, where he assembled a body of troops, which enabled him to advance to Wâset upon the Tigris, and possess himself of that important place. Here he openly revolted against his brother Al Mostarshed, and took the title of khalif. The dignity to which he aspired was, however, very short-lived; Dobais Ebn Sadeka, governor of the country for Al Mostarshed, soon coming up with him, and giving him a total defeat. Abu'l Hafan himself, being taken prisoner in the action, was sent to the khalif, who generously granted him his life, and set him at liberty. This event appeased all the troubles of the empire that had been excited by the defection of this prince. The same year Baldwin, the king of Jerusalem, or Al Kuds, marched with a powerful army into Egypt, in order to make himself master of that opulent region; but swimming in the Nile near Belbeis, or Balbais, a wound, which he had formerly received, opened,

Al Mostarshed is saluted khalif.

fed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 511. Khondemir, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Mohammed. fils de Melikschah, p. 607. Renaud, ubi sup. p. 495. ^z Al Makîn, ubi sup. Al Bergendi in Geogr. Ebn Alwardi, in Geogr. Nassir Al Tusi & Ulegh Beik, ubi sup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Bulgar. p. 214, 215. Ebn Shohnah, ad an. Hej. 511.

and

and could not be healed : this obliged him to return to Jerusalem, where he died, after having recommended the care of his kingdom to Al Kames, or Al Komes, that is, *the Count, the Sâheb, or Lord*, of Al Roha, who had formerly fallen into Jakarmûth's hands, and been released by Al Jâwali. We are told, that this year, soon after Al Mostarshed's accession, Togrol Bek, surnamed Ilgâzi Ebn Artak, subdued a great part of Syria, or Al Shâm. It appears from the eastern writers, that Mogayâtho'd-din Mahmûd Ebn Mohammed Al Seljûki acted as sultân at Baghdâd during the course of the present year.

The Seljûkian empire is divided between Mahmûd and Sanjar.

In the 513th year of the Hejra a bloody war commenced between sultân Mahmûd and his uncle Sanjar ; which last, according to Khondemir, had governed the large province of Khorasân for twenty years, under the reigns of the sultâns Mohammed and Barkîârok. Sanjar, having received advice of Mohammed's death, raised a powerful army, and marched into the Persian Irâk, where Mahmûd had assumed the title of sultân, as successor to his father. The vicinity of the armies commanded by those two princes soon brought on a general action between them, which ending in Mahmûd's defeat, he was constrained to retire to the castle of Saveh, or Sawa, a place of great strength and importance. Finding his affairs entirely ruined, he was obliged to sue for peace to his uncle, and sent to him for that purpose Kemalo'ddîn Ali, his wazir, a very eloquent person, who, by his address, brought about an accommodation. The treaty of peace was no sooner concluded than Mahmûd went to visit Sanjar, and was so well received, that he obtained the investiture of the province of Irâk. The conditions on which Mahmûd had allotted him the province or provinces of Irâk, were these : that the name of Sanjar should always be mentioned in the public prayers before that of Mahmûd ; that this latter should not have the fourth veil or curtain, hung before the door of a room for state, in his apartments ; that the trumpet should not sound when he went in or out of his palace ; and lastly, that he should retain the officers whom his uncle had established in that part of the empire he was to govern. These conditions Mahmûd thankfully submitted to ; and after Sanjar had imposed them upon him, spent as much of his time in hunting, without meddling with public affairs, as his situation would permit. We are told, that his hunting equipage was so magnificent, that he kept four hundred blood-hounds and grey-hounds, every one of which wore

wore a collar set with jewels, and a covering edged with gold and pearls. Ebn Shohnah relates (E), that Il-gâzi Ebn Artak, the saheb of Maredin, entirely defeated the Franks near Aleppo, at this period *.

Next year, being the 504th of the Hejra, the Korj, who are the same with the Khozars, the Kaffjaks, and other nations, uniting their forces, made an irruption into the Moslem territories; of which invasion Al Emîr Ilgâzi, or Aylgâzi, lord of Maredin, Dobais Ebn Sadeka, the saheb of Hella, and Al Malec Togrol, Mahmûd's brother, to whom belonged Arran and Nakhjawan, having received advice, they advanced to meet them as far as Teflis, with an army of thirty thousand men. The troops on both sides being drawn up in order of battle, a body of two hundred Kaffjaks appeared, with an intention, as the Moslems supposed, of surrendering themselves prisoners; but in this opinion they were egregiously mistaken, for the Kaffjaks, or Kipjaks, as soon as they came within distance, attacked their front so vigorously with arrows, that they put them into disorder; which intimidating those in the rear, they fled with such precipitation, that they fell upon one another. The Korj pursuing for twelve parasangs with the utmost ardour, slew the greatest part of them, and took four thousand prisoners. Al Malec Togrol, Aylgazi, and Dobais, however, found means to make their escape. The consequence of this defeat was the loss of Teflis, which the Korj immediately besieged, and carried by

The Seljûks are invaded the following year.

* Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, Khondemir, Al Emir Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatif Al Kazwini, in Lebtarikh, Ebn Shohnah, ad an. Hej. 513 D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 537, 755, 756.

(E) If we can believe Ebn Shohnah, the sepulchre of Abraham, in which Isaac and Jacob were likewise interred, was discovered near Beit Al Makdes, Al Kuds, or Jerusalem, this year. He adds, that the bodies of those three patriarchs were found therein entire, and not in the least injured by time, together with several gold and silver lamps; and that these were all seen by many people, seated in the neighbourhood of the place. The Mohammedans hold in such veneration Abraham's tomb, that they go in pilgrimage thither; though this is not done till they have visited Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, on the same occasion, and performed, with proper devotion, all the prescribed ceremonies in these cities (1).

(1) Ebn Shoh. ad an. Hej. 513. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. art. Abraham, p. 16.

storm. It appears from Ebn Shohnah, that Al Emîr Ahmed Ebn Toinart, or Al Emîr Mohammed Ebn Tomrut, and Malec Abd'almûmen, the founders of the dynasty of the Al Moahedun, called Al Mohades by the French and Spanish historians, began to make a figure about the time that we are now treating. The Al Moahedun, or Al Mohades, whose leaders pretended to deduce their origin from Al Hofein, the son of Ali Ebn Abu Taleb, first erected their standard in the country of Harajah, near the mountain Al Sûs Al Akfa, the Mount Atlas of the ancients, and soon became formidable to the house of Tefsefin. They even, by the decollation of Isaac, the last of the descendents of Yusef Ebn Tefsefin, and the reduction of Fez and Morocco, abolished the kingdom of the Al Morabeta, or Molathemiyah, the Al Moravides of the Spanish writers, in the year of the Hejra 540. Roderic of Toledo, however, gives us to understand, that the Al Moahedun possessed themselves of the territories of the Molathemiyah in Africa before that year; for he informs us, that the Al Mohades chased the Al Moravides out of Spain, after they had expelled them from Africa, in the 539th year of the Moslem æra. Al Nowairi, or Al Noweiri, the Moslem historian, has given seventeen princes to the dynasty of the Al Moahedun, which he makes to have commenced in the year 514, and to have ended in the year 666; but the author of the Nighiaristan has assigned this dynasty only thirteen princes, reigning from the 524th to the 686th year of the Hejra, and has handed down to us a catalogue of them^b.

*The chief
events of
the year
515.*

In the following year, being the 515th of the Hejra, Solimân, the son of Ilgâzi Ebn Artak, or Aylgâzi Ebn Ortok, having then just completed the twentieth year of his age, rebelled against his father. Ilgâzi Ebn Artak, having been apprized of this rebellion, marched at the head of his forces against Solimân with so much expedition, that he surprised him, and seized the persons who had excited him to this revolt. Amongst these there was a certain emir, who had been brought up by his father Artak, and received from him the name of Nasr, when he was entirely destitute of friends. This man Ilgâzi was determined to punish for his treason, which was aggravated by ingratitude: he therefore ordered his eyes

^b Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 377, 378. Nassir Al Tusi & U-lugh Beik, ubi supra. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Tasis, p. 841. & alib. pass. Al Nowair. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 514. Roderic Toletan. Hist. Arab. p. 39.

to be plucked out, and his tongue to be cut off. Al Hamawi, or a native of Hama, another of them, whom Ilgâzi himself had made governor of Aleppo, he condemned to be first deprived of sight, and then to have his hands and feet chopped off, which operation occasioned his death. After these executions his son Solimân was brought drunk before him; but being restrained by natural affection from inflicting upon him a punishment adequate to his crime, he gave him his life. However, notwithstanding his father's lenity, Solimân fled to Damascus. He was, perhaps, banished to that place by Ilgâzi's command. In the room of Al Hamawi, Ilgâzi conferred upon Solimân, his brother Abd'aljabbar's son, the government of Aleppo, and named him Badro'ddawla. Having re-established his affairs in this manner, he returned to Mâredîn, then the place of his residence. The writer so often followed by M. Renaudot, says, Al Emîr Al Afdal, the Fâtemite khalif Al Amer's wazîr, was assassinated by two Batanists sent by the khalif himself to perpetrate that horrid fact, in the course of the present year. Some authors relate, that Al Amer employed these Batanists to murder Al Afdal, because that minister, finding himself upon very bad terms with his master, had several times attempted to take off the khalif himself by poison. The wazîr, being carried to the palace, was found dead upon his arrival. As for the assassins they were immediately secured, and met with the punishment due to so atrocious a crime. The khalif ordered him a very pompous funeral, and attended it in person, saying at the grave the prayers usual on such occasions. He, however, seized upon all the wazîr's money, amounting to four millions of dinars, as also his rich cloaths, tapestry, jewels, horses, arms, and every thing valuable belonging to him; all which he caused to be confiscated. About this time the Yamanian pillars of the Caaba were thrown down; but whether by accident or design, we have not been told. Al Sheikh Yezido'ddin Al Hofein Ebn Ali Al Tograi Al Esfahâni, who had an employment under Mâlec Shâh, and was advanced to the post of wazîr by sultan Mas'ûd, being taken prisoner by Mahmûd, after he had vanquished his master in battle, was put to death by that prince, and the famous Abu'l Kasem Ebn Mohammed Al Harari, the celebrated author of Al Makamat, or the Confessus, died before the close of this year.

The 516th year of the Hejra seems not to have produced many actions worthy of notice. It was, however, remarkable for the death of Ilgâzi Ebn Artak. That emir departed this

*Ilgâzi Ebn
Artak dies.*

life at Mayyâfâra^ckin, in the month of Ramadân. Here-upon Hofâmo'ddin Tamartâsh seized the castle of Mâredîn; and his son Solimân, Mayyâfâra^ckin; Badro'ddawla Salimân Ebn Abd'aljabbâr Ebn Artak remaining at Aleppo, till he was driven from thence by his cousin Balac Ebn Bahrâm Ebn Artak, the following year. Al Emâr Ilgâzi Ebn Artak, the fâheb of Mâredîn and Mayyafâra^ckin, makes a considerable figure in the Moslem history, as appears from what has been already related of him. Some of the Oriental writers call him Togrol Bek, looking upon Ilgâzi only as a surname. The house of Artak, or, as the Turks pronounce it, Ortok, deduced that name from a mountain in Turkestan, opposite to Mount Gurtak. Between these two hills, the latter of which is sometimes denominated Ghertak, is situated the city of Karâkûm, inhabited by Scythians, or Oriental Turks, in the middle of a vast and extensive plain, covered with black sand, from whence it derives its name; the word Karâkûm, in Turkish, signifying *black sand*. It stands in 116 deg. 40 min. long. and 30 deg. 36 min. N. lat. Here Khara Khân, the father of Ogûz Khân, one of the most ancient kings of the Turks, or Moguls, held his royal seat. The two aforesaid mountains, that bound on the north and the south the above mentioned plain, are branches of Mount Imaus, where the Turkish or Mogul cavalry take up successively their summer and winter quarters ^c.

The chief transactions of the year 517,

In the 517th year of the Hejra, Balac Ebn Bahrâm Ebn Artak, finding his cousin Solimân not able to defend his country against the Franks, laid close siege to Aleppo, which at last was surrendered to him. A little before this event, the Franks, attended by Saifo'ddin, the fâheb of Hella, advanced to Aleppo, in order to possess themselves of that place; which being destitute of a garrison, and in want of all kinds of necessaries, the inhabitants desired ten days to deliberate upon proper terms of capitulation. This term being granted them, and the ninth day come, without their having taken any resolution, the river Kowaik, which runs by the town, overflowed its banks, laid a considerable extent of territory under water, carried away all the baggage and military chest of the Franks, drowned a great number of them, and, in fine, obliged them to raise the siege. The defenceless state of Aleppo, which was

^c Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 379. Renaud. ubi supra. Al Berjendi, Nassir Al Tusi, & Ulugh Beik, ubi supra. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Artak & Ortok, p. 130, 131. & art. Caracum, p. 253.

hindered

hindered from falling into the hands of the Franks only by this unexpected event, induced Balac Ebn Bahrâm to make himself master of it, lest it should soon be entirely lost to the house of Artak. The place, however, sustained a siege, before it submitted to him, as we learn from Abu'l-Faraj; his army being probably much inferior to that of the Franks.

In the following year, being the 518th of the Hejra, Balac Ebn Bahrâm Ebn Artak marched against Manbij, or Manbej, took it, and then formed the siege of the castle. This, for some time, he carried on vigorously; but was at last killed by an arrow, in one of his attacks; upon which his forces immediately dispersed. The same year, Akfankar Al Borsaki reduced the city of Aleppo; and the Franks made themselves masters of Tyre. The inhabitants, however, and the Moslem garrison, defended themselves with so much bravery, and made so stout a resistance, that the Franks lay before it five months. Nor could they at last have gained possession of it, had they not starved it to a surrender. Ebn Shohnah writes, that the Franks granted the Moslems very honourable terms; permitted them to march out of the town with their baggage, and to carry out all their riches along with them. This year, died Al Hafan Sahah, the founder of the dynasty of the Ismaelians of Asia, or Assassins, after he had reigned thirty-five years in Al Jebâl, or the Persian Irâk, and was succeeded by Buzrûk Umid Al Rûdbâri, a native of the city and castle of Rûdbâr^d.

and of the year 518.

Next year, being the 519th of the Hejra, Kofaimo'd-dawla Akfankar Al Borsaki remained in peaceable possession of Aleppo, where his son Mas'ûd then resided in quality of governor, and made the proper dispositions for securing to himself that place. At this time Buzrûk Umid Al Rûdbâri, in imitation of his predecessor, took several assassins into his service; some of whom barbarously murdered Al Emir Akfankar, the sâheb of Aleppo.

Nothing remarkable happened, the following year.

The 520th year of the Hejra, according to Ebn Shohnah, did not prove favourable to the Franks. Having assembled a very considerable force, they moved towards Damascus, in order to form the siege of that city, and advanced first to Shafjab, where they encamped. Tagantakîn, the Moslem governor of Damascus, being informed of their approach, marched against them at the head of

The most material transactions of the year 520;

^d Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 379. 380. Ebn Shohnah, in MS. Oxon. inedit. ad ann. Hej. 518. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 218. 505.

his troops, in order to give them battle. His horse soon came up with them, but were broken and dispersed by the cavalry of the Franks; who pursued them with so much ardour, that they left their foot to take care of themselves. The Moslem infantry, seeing them thus deserted by their horse, fell upon them with such fury, that they were entirely routed; they then penetrated to the enemy's camp, plundered it, and put all the Christians they met with to the sword. The cavalry of the Franks, upon their return from the pursuit, finding their foot defeated, and the Moslems in possession of their camp, betook themselves likewise to a precipitate flight. This blow obliged the Franks to lay aside all thoughts of attacking Damascus, and in the utmost confusion to abandon the Moslem territories. The same year, Kofaimo'ddawla Akfankar Al Borsaki, the fâheb of Al Mawfel, was assassinated by some Batanists, one Friday, in the great jâma', or *royal temple*, of that city. After this event 'Azzo'ddîn, or Ezzo'ddîn, Ma'sûd, his son, who came from Aleppo for that purpose, took possession of Al Mawfel without opposition ^e.

*and of the
year 521.*

In the 521st year of the Hejra, 'Azzo'ddîn Mas'ûd Ebn Akfankar sent Al Emîr Kinaz as his governor to Aleppo, to preside over the people there; he having been obliged to leave that place, in order to take upon himself the government of Al Mawfel, after his father's death. This year is remarkable for being the first of the dynasty of the Atâbeks of Irâk, founded by Omâdo'ddîn, or 'Amâdo'ddîn, Zenki, the son of Akfankar; who was established in the government of the city of Baghdâd, by sultân Mahmûd. His brother 'Azzoddîn Mas'ûd dying, the same year, 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki became possessed of Al Mawfel, and its dependencies. Al Emîr Kînaz behaving extremely ill at Aleppo, the inhabitants deposed him, and substituted in his room one Solimân, who had formerly ruled them with more equity and moderation ^f.

*The principal trans-
actions of
the year
522;*

In the following year, being the 522d of the Hejra, sultân Sanjâr, who came for that purpose out of Khorasân, and sultân Mahmûd, his nephew, had an interview at Al Ray, where they sat very amicably together upon the same throne. This year, 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Akfankar made himself master of the city and castle of Aleppo, according to Abu'l Faraj. That fortress, as we are told by Nicetas Choniates, was ineffectually besieged by the forces

^e Ebn Shohnah, in MS. Oxon. inedit. ad ann. Hej. 520. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 380. ^f Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra. Ebn Shohn. ad ann. Hej. 521. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Atabekian Erak, p. 142. & art. Cothbeddin, p. 276.

of the emperor John Comnenus, who had concluded a treaty of alliance with Raymond, the prince of Antioch.

Next year, being the 523d of the Hejra, Atâbek 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Akfankar, who had before reduced Harrân, Senjâr, Nâfîbîn, and Jazîra Ebn Omar, in Mesopotamia, possessed himself of Hama, or Hamah, in Syria. Having sent an ambassador to Tawzi Ebn Tagantakîn, the atâbek of Damascus, in order to procure his assistance against the Franks, the atâbek dispatched his son Sunaj, then his deputy at Hama, to have a conference with him: but Sunaj no sooner appeared than Zenki took him prisoner, and carried him to Hama; whither he immediately marched with a body of troops, and seized upon that city. He then returned to Al Mawfel, attended by his prisoner Sunaj; and afterwards overthrew the Franks with great slaughter, near the castle of Al Atârab, which he reduced, and levelled with the ground, before the end of this prosperous campaign.

In the 524th year of the Hejra, soltân Sanjar passed the Jihûn, and entered Mawara'nahr, in order to reduce Ahmed Ebn Solimân, the governor of Samarkand, who had rebelled, and refused to pay the usual tribute. He was obliged to surrender after a vigorous siege; but the soltân spared his life; only depriving him of the government, which he gave to one of his slaves. Nevertheless Ahmed, finding means to ingratiate himself with Sanjâr, was in a little time restored. The same year, Al Amer Beahcami'llah Abu Ali Ebn Al Mosta'li, the khalif of Egypt, was assassinated by several Bâtanists, supposed to have been hired by some of the grandees of his court for that purpose, on the second of Dhu'lkaada, as he returned from taking a walk. As he left no son behind him, he was succeeded by Abu'l Maimûn Abd'al Majîd, the son of Abu'l Kafem Ebn Al Mostanser, his cousin-german, who assumed the title, or surname, of Al Hâfedh Bedini'llah. However, he was not inaugurated in form, nor would the Egyptians take the oath of allegiance to him, before it should appear, whether the child, of which the khalif's widow was then big, were a son or not. In case the infant proved a son, Al Hâfedh Bedini'llah was however appointed to act as his deputy. It is asserted, that no less than ten Bâtanists were employed in the assassination of the khalif Al Amer Beahcami'llah, by some of the friends of Al Afdal, the late wazîr, as was believed, in order to revenge that minister's death. This year there were seen at Baghdâd scorpions with wings, and a double sting; which struck all people with terror, and did much damage in that place.

place. Ebn Shohnah relates, that Al Amer Beahcam'illah, the tenth Fâtemite khalif, was thirty-four years old at the time of his death; and that he reigned twenty-nine years five months and fifteen days ^z.

and in 525. The 525th year of the Hejra proved fatal to foltân Mahmûd Ebn Mohammed Ebn Mâlec Shâh, who died in the month of Shawâl, at Hamadân. He was twenty-seven years old, of which he reigned thirteen, at the time of his death, according to Abu'l-Faraj. He was a prince of a very handsome person, and a generous soul; affable, prudent, and merciful; though the love of women and hunting in some degree impaired the great character and reputation he had acquired. He has been particularly censured for squandering away the best part of his finances upon his hunting equipage, which frequently rendered him destitute of money, and incapable of paying his troops. Notwithstanding which, he never fleeced his subjects in order to recruit his coffers; nor would he ever suffer his favourites to offer them any injury. He forbore to punish those who spoke ill of him. No prince ever studied the art of reigning with greater attention. He is said to have been skilled in grammar, poetry, and chronology: he was also very eloquent, and wrote a beautiful hand. We are farther told, that he was versed in the art of oneirocritic, and had by him at his death a collection of the interpretations of dreams. He left for his successor foltân Togrol, his brother, surnamed Rocno'ddin or Rucno'ddin, and called Dawd and David, by Abu'l-Faraj. His brother Mas'ûd nevertheless disputed the crown with him, and several battles were fought between them, in the space of three or four years which he reigned. It appears from Khondemir, that foltân Togrol II. had a son also named Dawd, whom some of his subjects at Hamadân endeavoured to elevate to the throne, after his death, but without effect ^h.

The atâbek Zenki is defeated by the khalif.

In the following year, being the 526th of the Hejra, foltân Sanjâr wrote to 'Amâdo'ddin Zenki, the atâbek of the Arabian Irâk, and Dobais Ebn Sadeka, the sâheb of Hella, commanding them to march into Irâk, against the khalif Al Mostarshed. Accordingly they advanced into

^z Khondemir, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 380, 381. Ifm. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 524. Ebn Shohn. ad ann. Hej. 524. Al Makrizi, D'Herbel. Biblio:h. Orient. art. Sangiar, p. 756. & art. Amer Beahkâm Allah, p. 108. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 495, 496.

^h Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 381. Ifm. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 525. Khondemir apud D'Herbel. p. 537. Ebn Shohn. in MS. Oxon. inedit. ad ann. 515, & ad ann. 525.

that

that province, and encamped at Al Manâriya, which belonged to Dojayl or Dokhayl, the country extending itself to a considerable distance, along the Tigris, to the north of Baghdâd. The khalif, having received advice of their approach, passed the Tigris with all his forces, and pitched his tents at Al Abbâsiya, on the western bank of that river. The armies faced each other at Hadrâ Al Barâmaca, where they came to a general action. Atâbek Zenki attacked the khalif's right wing, in which Jamâlo'ddawla Akbâl was posted, and put it to flight; but the khalif, supported by Nafr Al Khâdem (the eunuch), who commanded his left wing, assaulted the enemy's right with such fury, that after a sharp dispute, he defeated it, killed a great number of the rebels upon the spot, and took many prisoners. This year, the atâbek Al Shahîd recovered Ma'ra Al Na'mân in Syria, or Al Shâm, from the Franks, according to Al Makîn; and Tawzi, surnamed Taj Al Molûc, the son of Tagantakîn, the atâbek of Damascus, departed this life, in that city. He left his kingdom by will to Shams Al Molûc Ismael, his eldest son; and to his other son, Shamso'ddawla, he assigned Baalbec, with its district and dependencies. At this time Shams Al Molûc Ismael grew very powerful at Damascus, and took Bânîas or Paneas, together with its castle, from the Franks, by capitulation. He also wrested Hamah out of atâbek Zenki's hands, which he carried by storm. These conquests struck the Franks with such terror, that they retired from the Moslem frontiers, and were obliged to act entirely on the defensive. We must not forget to remark, that Al Amer Beahcami'llah's widow having been brought to bed of a daughter, Al Hâfedh, who had been placed before at the head of the administration at Al Kâhirah, was proclaimed khalif of Egypt; though Abu Ali Ahmed, Al Afdal's son, then wazîr and commander in chief of the Egyptian forces, endeavoured to seize the sovereignty for himself, but without effect¹.

Next year, being the 527th of the Hejra, the khalif Al Mostarshed sent a severe message to atâbek Zenki, by Al Sheikh Bahâo'ddîn Abu'l Forûh Al Esfarâyeni; who, relying on the power and authority of his master, added several reproaches of his own. For which insolence, Zenki ordered him to be arrested, and treated with great indignity. Al Mostarshed, having received advice of the

Al Mostarshed besieges Al Mawjel.

¹ Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 526. Khondemir, Ebn Shohn. ad ann. Hej. 526. Al Makîn, ubi sup. p. 293. 295. Al Makrizi, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Mostarsched, p. 634. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 503, 504, 505.

insult

insult offered him in the person of his ambassador, marched with an army of thirty thousand men from Baghdâd towards Al Mawfel; and was met by Zenki, at a small distance from the latter of those places, with part of his forces, the rest being left, under the command of Nassiro'ddin, his deputy, in the town: but not being able to oppose the khalif, that prince invested the city of Al Mawfel, in the month of Ramadân, and afterwards besieged it in form. Whilst he pressed the place closely without, a company of plaisterers within agreed to betray it to him: but being discovered, and executed, he raised the siege, after he had carried it on ineffectually about three months, and returned to Baghdâd. About this time, the repose of the army, as well as of the court, in Egypt, was disturbed by factions; one of which was headed by Abu Ali Al Hâkem, Al Hâfedh's son, who endeavoured to excite the emirs to revolt. The soldiers were divided into two powerful parties; some of them espousing the tenets of the Sonnites, and others those of the Shiites: this division occasioned the points in debate between those two sects to be controverted amongst the troops, already inflamed against one another by political broils, with so much heat, that they came to an engagement, and many on both sides were slain ^k.

*A peace
concluded
between
Zenki and
the khalif.*

In the 528th year of the Hejra, a peace was concluded between atâbek Zenki and Al Mostarshed Bi'llah, the khalif of Baghdâd. The distractions, owing to Abu Ali Al Hâkem's conduct, still continued in Egypt; every thing at this time, according to Ebn Khalecân, and other writers of reputation, being in great confusion.

*The khalif
Al Mostar-
shed is as-
sassinated
by the Bâ-
tanists.*

The 529th year of the Hejra proved fatal to sultân Togrol and the khalif Al Mostarshed. The former of those princes, who was the eighth sultân of the Seljûks of Irân, died at Hamadân, in the month of Al Moharram; being about twenty-five years old, of which he had reigned three, at the time of his death. He was just and valiant, good-natured and liberal: he perfectly well understood the art of governing, and did nothing unbecoming a prince. Upon Togrol's death, his brother Masûd, then at Baghdâd, was invited by his friends at Hamadân to repair immediately to that city, in order to assume the government, and a courier was dispatched to him for that purpose. In the mean time, another party, formed at

^k Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 381, 382. Al Makrizi, Renaud. ubi sup. p. 504.

court, sent an express to Dawd or David, the son of Togrol, with the same view : but the uncle being more expeditious than the nephew, and reaching Hamadân first, Mas'ûd was unanimously saluted sultân by the grandees, and Dawd entirely forgotten. Mas'ûd being apprized in the city of Al Ray, where he then held his residence, that the khalif of Baghdâd, in violation of his engagements, had ordered his name to be suppressed in the public prayers, and deprived him of the title and quality of sultân, he advanced at the head of a powerful army into the Arabian Irâk ; where he was met by Al Mostarshed, accompanied by a great number of the principal nobility, and lords of his court. The two armies came to a general action, on the 10th of Ramadân ; when the khalif's left wing deserting to the sultân, he was surrounded and taken, whilst his right wing, after a slight opposition, fled. After this defeat, Baghdâd opened its gates to Mas'ûd, without making any resistance. The sultân, meditating another expedition, carried Al Mostarshed with him into the province of Adherbijân. Being arrived at Marâga, the khalif was confined in a tent at some distance from the army, near the gate of that city ; where messages passed between him and the sultân relating to peace. At length it was agreed, that Al Mostarshed, besides paying annually four hundred thousand dinârs, should remain in Baghdâd, and not raise any other troops besides his ordinary guards. The agreement being ratified, the khalif was permitted to ride on horseback, with the harness of a horse, in token of honour, carried before him. He was even upon the point of returning to Baghdâd, when intelligence being brought of the arrival of an ambassador from sultân Sanjâr, the people followed Mas'ûd to meet him, and amongst the rest some of those who had the care of the khalif. The defenceless condition of that prince, who was now left without a guard, excited twenty-four Bâtanists, to rush into his tent, and assassinate him, by giving him no less than twenty wounds. Not satisfied with the perpetration of this horrid crime, they barbarously cut off his nose and ears, and left him, by way of contempt, naked upon the spot. Many believed, with great reason, that Mas'ûd was at the bottom of this affair ; and amused him with the appearance of an accommodation, only in order to conceal his design. Al Mostarshed was of a thin habit of body, but enjoyed an excellent constitution. He was very eloquent, and had the talent of expressing himself forcibly in a few words. Ebn Shohnah affirms he was a prince of a pacific disposition,

tion, and a fine writer. He was murdered on Thursday, the 17th of Dhu'lkaada, in the forty-fourth year of his age, after he had reigned seventeen years and seven months. Mirkhond, on the other hand, relates, that this khalif was a man of a military genius, and fought several battles with sultân Mas'ûd Al Seljûki, with various success. He also farther assures us, that Mas'ûd, having routed Al Mostarshed, in a decisive action near Tauris or Tabriz, the capital of Adherbijân, took him prisoner; and soon after caused him to be put to death¹.

*Al Râshed,
Al Mostar-
shed's son,
ascends the
Moslem
throne, at
Baghdâd.*

The khalif Al Mostarshed having been cut off by the Bâtanists, hired for that purpose by sultân Mas'ûd, Abu Jaafar Al Manfûr, his son, was declared emir al mûmenîn, or *commander of the faithful*. The new khalif, immediately after his accession, took the title or surname of Al Râshed Bi'llah, and received the oath of allegiance from his subjects. He had before been acknowledged successor to the preceding khalif, by the people of Baghdâd, and therefore met with no opposition, after Al Mostarshed's tragical exit, in his elevation to the Moslem throne. He had not long been inaugurated, when Dobais Ebn Sadeck, the saheb of Hella, was assassinated by a young Armenian, employed by sultân Mas'ûd; who cut off his head, as he was stooping, before his tent, near the city of Khûnej: for Mas'ûd was jealous of his power, and had only employed him as an instrument to oppose Al Mostarshed. The same year, Shams Al Molûc was assassinated by some of his servants, at the instigation of his mother. Shahâbo'ddîn, the son of 'Taj Al Molûc Tawzi, succeeded him, at Damascus, which was soon after attacked by atâbek Zenki; though, a truce being concluded between him and Shahâbo'ddîn, the atâbek retired into his own dominions. The troubles in Egypt, occasioned by Abu Ali Al Hâkem's defection, still remaining, and the minds of the soldiery being alienated from him, they solicited Baharâm or Bahrâm, surnamed Tâjo'ddawla, an Armenian, who presided over the western part of the Fâtemite empire, to come to Al Kâhirah, take upon himself the office of wazîr, as well as that of general of the khalif's forces, and restore the public tranquillity, which had been so long disturbed. Bahrâm, upon their application, though the post of wazîr by

¹ Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 382. 383. Khondemir, Ism. Abu'l-fed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 529. Al Makin, in MS. Oxon. inedit. Ebn Shohnah, ad ann. Hej. 530. Ebn Khalecan, Mirkhond, apud Teixeira. p. 303. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Mostarshed, p. 634. & art. Tabriz, p. 834.

no means pleased him, found himself obliged to comply with their request, and therefore proceeded to Al Kâmirah, as soon as the solicitation reached him; where he arrived, according to some good authors, during the present year. He professed the Christian religion, and accompanied Bedr Al Jemâl out of Syria into Egypt. As he had gone through all the posts of the army with great reputation, and had raised himself to the supreme command solely by his own merit, he was so beloved by the troops, that as soon as he entered Al Kâhirah, Al Hâkem abandoned the palace. This desertion gave Al Hâfedh, the Fâtemite khalif, his father, an opportunity of repossessing himself of his dignity; he having been expelled by the intrigues of his rebellious son. In testimony, therefore, of the grateful sense he retained of the service done him, he appointed Bahrâm his general and wazîr, the very day on which, by the assistance of this generous benefactor, he had been so happily restored.

In the following year, being the 530th of the Hejra, Bahrâm Shâh, sultân of the house of Gazni, whose kingdom extended from the province of Gazna, to the east of Khorasân, a vast way into Indostân, formed an intention to shake off the Seljûkian yoke; of which design sultân Sanjâr receiving advice, he entered the territories of Gazna with a numerous army. But Bahrâm, finding himself too weak to resist so great a force, sent ambassadors to pay the usual tribute, and to do homage for his crown, by which means he diverted the impending storm. The same year, sultân Mas'ûd having sent to demand of the khalif Al Râshed the money due to him for tribute from Al Mostarshed; the Moslem pontiff was so incensed at this demand, that, finding himself supported by the inhabitants of Baghdâd, he resolved to drive from that capital all the friends, relations, and domestics of sultân Ma'sûd. At this juncture, happily for the khalif, Dawd Ebn Mahmûd, a Seljûk, but an enemy to Ma'sûd, arrived at Baghdâd, with a body of troops from Adherbijân, and followed by atâbek Zenki, with a reinforcement from Al Mawfel. The khalif, being strengthened by these succours, thought himself obliged in point of gratitude to dignify Dawd with the title of sultân, and order his name to be published in the mosques, in the room of that of Mas'ûd. The sultân, having been informed of the khalif's conduct, advanced with a powerful army to Baghdâd, and besieged that city above fifty days. But, finding, notwithstanding all his efforts, that he could do nothing against it, he resolved

*The most
memorable
occurrences
of the year
530.*

solved to return to Hamadân. He was actually making the necessary dispositions for carrying this design into execution, when Tarentây, the sâheb of Wâset, arriving with a great number of barks, he resumed the military operations, and pushed on the siege with the utmost vigour. At the same time, the princes who had assembled at Baghdâd, quarrelling amongst themselves, king Dawd returned home, and the rest dispersed. The khalif, seeing himself pressed in his capital, began to think in earnest of making his escape: he accordingly retired out of the city, took the route of Naharwân, which he found open and unobstructed, and arrived at Al Mawfel; or rather, if we follow Abu'l-Faraj, passed the Tigris, directed his course to atâbek Zenki's camp, which was on the west side of that river, and was conducted by the atâbek himself to his metropolis. Soltân Mas'ûd immediately entered Baghdâd, fixed his seat in that city, assembled the kâdis, or judges, witnesses, and those learned in the law, before whom he laid the oath made to him by Al Râshed, in his own hand-writing, and drawn up in the following terms: "I, in case I shall assemble any forces, march out, or put to the sword any of soltân Mas'ûd's adherents, depose myself from the empire." Accordingly he was, by their sentence, deposed; and his name suppressed in the pulpits both of Baghdâd and all the provinces dependent on that capital. The soltân then assembled another council, who, after declaring Al Râshed unworthy of the khalifat, elected Al Moktâfi Beamri'llah, the son of Al Mostadher, supreme imâm and commander of the Moslems. In the course of this year, according to Ebn Shohnah, a body of atâbek Zenki's troops marched from Hamah and Aleppo, and made an irruption into the territories of the Franks; ravaging all the country through which they marched in a dreadful manner, and carrying off an immense quantity of spoil. Al Râshed Bi'llah, the thirtieth khalif of the house of Al Abbâs, if we believe the last mentioned author, reigned only eleven months and ten days^m.

*Al Moktâfi
Beam-
ri'llah
succeeds Al
Râshed.*

After the juridical assembly of the kâdis and doctors of the law, convoked by soltân Mas'ûd for that purpose, had declared Al Râshed unworthy of his exalted station, on account of his oppressive conduct, and formally deposed him, the soltân consulted the grandees of Baghdâd about

^m Khondemir, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 384, 385. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 550. Ebn Shohnan, an. Hej. 530. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 710, 756. Renaud. ubi sup.

a proper person to preside over the Moslems in his room. The wazîr gave a high character of Mohammed Ebn Al Mostadher, on account of his prudence, lenity, continence, and regular performance of all religious duties; upon which, being brought before the sultân and the wazîr, they took the oath usual upon such occasions. Then Mas'ûd re-assembled the princes, kâdis or judges, and doctors of the law, who acknowledged him for khalif and imâm; and being inaugurated, he assumed the title or surname of Al Moktafi Bêamri'llah, according to Abu'l-Faraj. As this khalif was entirely sultân Mas'ûd's creature, he did not exercise the least power or authority during that prince's life; but, after his death, he asserted his independency, and continued the remainder of his days absolute master of the Babylonian Irâk.

Next year, being the 531st of the Hejra, Al Hâfedh, the khalif of Egypt, removed Bahrâm from the post of wazîr; and substituted Redwân Al Wakhshî, in his room. Though no administration was ever better calculated for the welfare and happiness of the people than that of Bahrâm, yet some of the most rigid Moslems exclaimed loudly against him, for filling many of the public offices of the diwâns, and the principal posts in the state, with Armenian Christians. These discontented Moslems raised a tumult in Al Kâhirah, and advanced to the palace at the head of a large body of men, armed with lances, having copies of the Koran affixed to them. Bahrâm, though with his Armenian cavalry and archers, who were entirely at his devotion, he could easily have dispersed them, resolved to retire into Upper Egypt, rather than be the occasion of bloodshed by maintaining himself in his office by force. The kingdom of Egypt belonging to the Moslems, he thought it would be iniquitous to carry on a war, in order to plunder and pillage them in that country. Wherefore he judged it more expedient for him to retire into Thebais, Al Sa'id, or the Upper Egypt, to his brother, who presided over the city and district of Kûs. But Redwân, the principal ring-leader of the seditious Moslems, who aspired to the office of wazîr, which he soon after obtained by violence, had before sent messengers to Kûs, to excite the Mohammedans to revolt; whose suggestions had such an effect upon them, that they cut to pieces Yasal, Bahrâm's brother, their governor, and, to treat his body with the greater indignity, buried it in a dunghill. They then shut their gates against Bahrâm, who besieged the place for several days; but his troops deserting him, he

*The principal events
of the year
531,*

he retired into a monastery, and became a monk. Abu'lfeda adds, that Redwân, who succeeded him, pursued Bahrâm with a considerable body of troops into Al Sa'id, and took him prisoner; but understanding that he had entered upon the monastic state, he presently released him. Some authors report, that, after his return from Al Sa'id, he entered Mefr with his army, destroyed great part of that city, gave up the houses of the Christians to be plundered by his troops, and pillaged all the churches both in the suburbs and the town. He burnt the Armenian convent, called Zaheri; and, to demonstrate the hatred he bore the nation to which it belonged, massacred the patriarch, who had been lately ordained, and all the monks that fell into his hands. The deposed khalif, Al Râshed, not thinking himself safe at Al Mawfel, retired to Hamadân, where he found king Dawd, who had endeavoured to support him in the preceding year. He afterwards went to Esfahân, where he was assassinated by some of his domestics, who came out of the province of Khorasân, or, as Khondemir asserts, by the Bâtanists, at noon, while asleep, after his recovery from a fit of sickness, towards the end of the month of Ramadân, being then about forty years of ageⁿ.

*and of the
year 532.*

In the 532d year of the Hejra, the atâbek Zenki came to Hamah, and sent from thence to Shahab'oddin, the sâheb of Damascus, desiring he might marry his mother Zamorrod Khatûn, daughter of Al Jâwali, the same lady who built the college without Damascus, near the river Barada; and the nuptials were celebrated accordingly. His motive to the marriage was, that, as the affairs of Damascus seemed to be under her direction, he was in hopes thereby to gain that city, with the country subject to it; but when he found himself disappointed in his expectations, he immediately left her. Soltân Mas'ûd having been informed, before his return to Baghdâd, that the governor of Fars made some difficulty to recognize the authority of the khalif Al Moktafi, he sent his brother Seljûk Shah, with the atâbek Karafankar, to reclaim him to a sense of his duty. But the atâbek had no sooner made one day's march, than he gave the soltan to understand that he would proceed no farther, unless he sent him Pîr Mohammed Khazen, his prime wazîr, on whose death he

ⁿ Al Makrizi, Ebn Shohnah, *ad ann. Hej. 531.* Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 386. Khondemir, *Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 531.* Al Makin, ubi sup. D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 710. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 505, 506, 507.

was determined. This wazîr managed state affairs extremely well; but was accused of being too inflexible and haughty in his carriage, which rendered him very disagreeable to the lords of the court. Mas'ûd would not consent at first to so unreasonable a demand; but as Karafankar had all his forces at his devotion, he was obliged at last to send him the wazîr's head. The atâbek, satisfied with this compliance of the sultân, resumed his march, but did not long enjoy the fruit of his revenge, for he died a few days after he had cut off his enemy. The sultân now gave his command to Ildighîz, who held the first rank in the dynasty of the atâbeks of Adherbijân, with the almost absolute government of that province and Curdistân. He likewise bestowed upon him in marriage his sister-in-law, who had been promised formerly to sultân Togrol, his brother and predecessor. By this princess Ildighîz had afterwards two sons, Mohammed and Kezel or Kozul Arslan; both of whom succeeded him in the dignity of atâbek, and governed the province of Adherbijân with unlimited power. Soon after Ildighîz's elevation, Al Abbâs, the governor of Al Ray, with some other conspirators, rose in favour of Solimân Shâh, brother of Mas'ûd, and set him on the throne. But this revolt was soon suppressed, and Mas'ûd remained in peaceable possession of the sultânat to the day of his death. About this time Redwân, the khalif of Egypt's wazîr, excluded the Christians from all the offices of the diwâns and other eminent posts in the state. He commanded them all to wear girdles, that they might be distinguished from the Moslems; forbade them the use of horses, as some of the khalifs had formerly done; and doubled their tribute as well as that of the Jews. The tributaries he divided into four classes; those in the best circumstances paying annually four dinârs a head, and those in the meanest one dinâr°.

In the following year, being the 533d of the Hejra, Shahâbo'ddîn, the sâheb of Damascus, was assassinated upon his couch, by three of his domestics; one of whom escaped, but the other two were taken, and put to death. Jamâlo'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Tawzi, his brother, the sâheb of Baalbec, upon receiving advice of what had happened, repaired immediately to Damascus, in the month

What happened in the year 533

° Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 387. Ebn Shohnah, ad an. Hej. 531. Khondemîr, Al Makrizî, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Massoud, p. 563. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 507.

of Shawâl, and took upon him the government of that city. Atâbek Zenki, being informed of Jamâlo'ddîn's departure from Baalbec, marched with an army against that place, battered its walls with stones, discharged out of fourteen military engines formed for that purpose, and, in the month of Dhu'lkaada, forced it to surrender, by capitulation : however, he was no sooner possessed of the town than he broke the capitulation, and put great numbers of the inhabitants to death.

and in 534. Next year, being the 534th of the Hejra, Jamâlo'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Tawzi Ebn Tagantakîn, the sâheb of Damascus, departed this life, and was succeeded by Mo-jîro'ddîn Abu Mohammed Ebn Tawzi Ebn Tagantakîn, his brother. About the same time atâbek Zenki besieged Damascus, but without effect : however, he afterwards took Shahrazûr, or Shahrezûr, a town placed by Abu'lfeda in the Belâd Al Jebâl, and by Sharif Al Edrisî in Adherbijân, communicating its name to the circumjacent territory, from Kafjak Ebn Alb or Alp Arslân Shâh, the sâheb of it, before the close of the campaign.

Ebn Khâkân dies.

The principal event of the 535th year of the Hejra, recorded by the Moslem writers, is the death of Abu'l Fatah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Khâkân, who was killed in the trenches of Mârâkesh or Morocco, according to Ebn Shohnah. He was a person of great abilities, and wrote many books. In one of these, entitled the Golden Collar, he mentions a great number of philosophers, poets, and learned men, who, by their valuable works, had rendered themselves famous over the whole Moslem world.

Redwân, the khalif of Egypt's wazîr, is deposed.

In the 536th year of the Hejra Redwân, the khalif of Egypt's wazîr, who had suffered the Mohammedans to demolish the church of the Christians called Moniat Rafti, which Michael, the bishop of Sahariet, had caused with great expence to be repaired, was driven, by a seditious party formed against him, out of Egypt, and obliged to fly into Syria. Having assembled a body of troops, composed of Arabs and others, he returned into Egypt ; and in the first battle defeated his enemies, but was routed by them in the second. After which, Al Hâfedh, the Fâtemite khalif, for his farther security, took him into the palace ; but deprived him of his office, and would not permit him to exercise the least authority. We are told by an author of some credit that, after the deposition of Redwân, the khalif sent to Bahrâm, his former minister, and desired him to accept of the post of wazîr ; but that he begged to be excused from concerning himself in public affairs, as he had

had entered upon the monastic state, and ought to be considered not in the light of a soldier or statesman, but that of a monk : however, continues this writer, he was prevailed upon to come to the palace, where he spent the remainder of his days ; and, after his death, was carried to the church of the Armenians called Zaheriat in great pomp, and there interred ^p.

In the 538th year of the Hejra, beginning July 16, 1143, atâbek Zenki concluded a treaty of peace with soltân Mas'ûd. He also made himself master of all the fortresses in Diyâr Becr that had been taken by the Franks. The same year, Atfîz encroaching still more upon soltân Sanjar's authority, this last found himself obliged to take the field against him ; having reduced several passes and forts, besieged him in his capital city. Atfîz, finding himself reduced to the last extremity, sent very rich presents to Sanjar, intreating pardon, which was granted by the generous soltân ; who, on his renewing the oath of fidelity, left him in possession of his government. But this clemency had no effect on the ambitious mind of Atfîz : Sanjar receiving advice from several parts that he was raising forces, and paid no regard to his orders, sent Adib Sâber, one of his grandees, to inform himself of the conduct of Atfîz ; who, on his arrival in Khowârazm, set guards over him, and sent assassins to Mêrû to kill the soltân. But Adîb, having received information of his design, gave notice to Sanjar ; so that the ruffians were discovered, and put to death. Atfîz, concluding that his scheme was frustrated by Adîb, caused him to be thrown headlong from the top of his castle into the Jihûn or Amû. At this period Dawd, the son of soltân Mahmûd Ebn Mohammed Ebn Mâlec Shâh, was murdered by a gang of assassins, whose name and places of abode were unknown.

The most material occurrences of the year 538 ;

The 539th year of the Hejra, commencing July 4th, 1144, did not prove very favourable to the Franks. The atâbek 'Amâdo'ddin Zenki took from them the cities of Al Rohâ or Edeffa, and Sarûj, together with all the other places they occupied to the east of the Euphrates. He also formed the siege of Al Bira, a strong castle of Mesopotamia upon the Euphrates ; but when he was upon the point of reducing it, an express arriving with an account that Nasîro'ddin, his deputy in Al Mawfel, was slain, he broke up his camp, and departed. However, the Franks, dreading his return, sent to Nojmo'ddîn, successor to Ho-

and of the year 539.

^p Al Makrizi, Renaud. ubi sup. p. 507.

fâmo'ddîn Tamartâsh Ebn Ilgâzi, the lord of Maredîn, and delivered it up to him. Nay, so intimidated were they, if we credit Ebn Shohnah, at Zenki's success, that they fled by night into their own territories with the utmost precipitation.

*Atâbek
Zenki is
assassinated
by his
slaves;*

In the 540th year of the Hejra, the atâbek 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Akfankar, the sâheb of Al Mawfel and Al Shâm, or Syria, was assassinated, whilst he was carrying on the siege of the castle of Ja'bar, by some of his slaves. William of Tyre relates, that he was intoxicated when this accident happened. The assassins, after the perpetration of the horrid fact, fled to the castle: the besieged, rejoicing on this occasion, called out to the army, informing them that their general was slain. Upon which, entering his tent, they found him breathing his last, and soon after he expired. Atâbek Zenki was more than sixty years old at the time of his death. He was a prince of a fine person, though he began to grow grey, and of a swarthy complexion. With regard to his disposition, he behaved with great gravity both towards his army and his subjects, and was perfectly skilled in the art of governing. Ebn Shohnah relates, that he was not only possessed of Al Mawfel, and the territory appertaining to it, but likewise of every part of Syria, except the district belonging to Damascus and its capital. It has been before observed, that he was called Sanguin, which is an apparent corruption of Zenki, by the western historians^q.

*and succeeded by
Nûro'ddîn Mah-
mûd, his
son.*

Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki, who was in the camp, when his father was slain, drawing the ring off his finger, went immediately to Haleb, or Aleppo, and took possession of that city. Soon after this event, Saïfo'ddîn Gâzi, Nûro'ddîn's brother, hastened from Shahrazûr, which had been before assigned him as his share of atâbek Zenki's dominions, to Al Mawfel, whither he had been invited by Zîno'ddîn Ali Cûjec, his father's deputy. Upon his arrival, he was saluted sâheb of the place, and presided over the people of it about four years. In the mean time, Nûro'ddîn, who had fixed his residence at Aleppo, having received advice that the Franks, who had been lately reinforced by a large body of fresh troops from Al Almân, or Germany, and Constantinople, were pushing on the siege of Damascus, he advanced at the head of his forces to the assistance of Mojiro'ddîn Abu Mohammed Ebn

^q Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 387, 388. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 540. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 142.

Tawzi, or, according to Abu'l Faraj, Bûzi, the fâheb or rather atâbek of that city. The Franks having been informed, that the succours, under the command of Nûro'ddin Mahmûd Ebn Zenki, were advanced to Hems, did not think fit to wait their approach; but immediately decamped, and retired into their own territories. That they suffered considerably in this attempt, there is great reason to believe; though Ebn Shohnah, who has mentioned their retreat, has given us no particular account of the loss they sustained.

In the 542d year of the Hejra, Mikhâyel Ebn Dakalti, *What happened in the year 542.* the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, was poisoned by some monks of the convent of Ebn Haidara; in revenge, because he introduced, not only by reproofs, but likewise by stripes, a very strict and severe discipline amongst them. The Jacobite Christians of Egypt, or the Copts, exercised their religion without the least molestation, either from Al Hafedh, the Fâtemite khalif, or his wazîrs, during the short time he sat in the patriarchal see. The same year, soltân Sanjar undertaking once more to punish the treason of Atfîz. He marched with a powerful army to the castle of Hezar Asb, where Atfîz had posted himself with a body of troops; it being the strongest place, according to Khondemir, in the country of Khowârazm. Soltân Sanjar gave several assaults to the place, and at last took it by storm: however, Atfîz, after he acquired the glory of making a very vigorous defence, found means to escape to his capital. This city, which as well as the province bears the name of Khowârazm, was not in a condition to sustain a long siege; so that Sanjar, who pursued him thither, would have possessed himself of it with much more facility than he found in reducing the castle of Hezar Asb. But, either on account of his being tired with the fatigues of the campaign, or through his aversion on all occasions to the effusion of blood, he listened to Atfîz's proposals of peace; and at last, by the intervention of a derwîsh, or religious man, named Ahûpûsh, employed by Atfîz in the negotiation, pardoned him, on condition only that he should repair to the bank of the Jihûn opposite the soltân's camp, and there prostrating himself, kiss the earth. But the performance of this trifling condition, which was so shining an instance of the soltân's moderation, notwithstanding the need he stood in of a

r Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi. sup. p. 388, 389. 392. Ebn Shohn. ubi sup.

pardon, Atfîz endeavoured as much as possible to evade. He came, indeed, to the place appointed ; but, without alighting from his horse, only stooped forward, and bowed his head, to salute the sultân. Sanjar, unmoved by this arrogance, granted him the pardon he had promised. After this slight submission, all hostilities ceased between them, during the remainder of the days of Atfîz ; who died, in the year of the Hejra 551. It ought to be observed here, that the ceremony of kissing the earth, which the Persians call rowi zemin, that is, *the visage towards the earth*, was that custom used by subjects, when they did homage to their princes, and prevails in Persia at this very day*.

The chief transactions of the year 543 ;

The 543d year of the Hejra, did not produce many remarkable events in the Moslem world. However, Modhaf-fero'ddîn Moshaker Ebn Mawdûd Al Salgari, who is placed at the head of the first branch of the dynasty of the atâbeks of Fârs, now began to reign. These princes fixed their residence at Shîrâz, in that province. They were originally Turkmans, and of the family of Salgar. After they had invaded Persia, they assumed the title of kings. As they were descended from Salgar, the Turk-mân, they are frequently called Salgarians by the eastern writers. Their dynasty continued in Persia, according to one of the Oriental historians, about one hundred and twenty years. Redwân, who had formerly been the khalif of Egypt's wazîr, escaped out of the imperial palace, where Al Hâfedh had for some time detained him in a friendly state of confinement. Upon his arrival at Mefr, he was joined by the Blacks, and others of his old adherents, who raised a tumult in his favour ; which enabled him, without much difficulty, to seize upon the city. However, though Al Hâfedh, the Fâtemite khalif, did not oppose him, but kept himself shut up in his palace, Redwân, in the sedition, was cut to pieces by some of the Blacks themselves. After his death, according to the author followed by M. Renaudot, Al Hâfedh governed his people, without the assistance of a wazîr.

and 544.

In the 544th year of the Hejra, Saïfo'ddin Gâzi, the son of atâbek Zenki, and sâheb of Al Mawfel, died in that city. He enjoyed the sovereignty of Al Mawfel, with its territory, and Al Jazîra, about four years. When he

* Al Makrizi, Renaud. ubi sup. p. 516. Khondemir, D'Herbel. ubi sup.

found himself in danger, he sent for Awhado'zamân Abul Baracât, a celebrated physician, then at Baghdâd; who prescribed for him, after his arrival at Al Mawfel, but without effect. He died the last day of the Latter Jomâda, and was succeeded by his brother Kotbo'ddîn Mawdûd. Ebn Shohnah has conferred upon Shaifo'ddîn, the character of a generous and magnanimous prince. Nâro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki, his elder brother, who presided over the people of Haleb, or Aleppo, and Hamah, in Syria, marching into Al Jazîra, took Senjâr without any opposition; his brother Kotbo'ddîn, to whom that place belonged, not being in a condition to resist him. But peace being afterwards concluded between them, Nûro'ddîn resigned Senjâr, and received in lieu of it Hems and Rahaba, upon the Euphrates, in Syria. He then besieged Hârem, invaded the territories of the Franks in the neighbourhood of Antioch, and defeated them, after a bloody battle, in which Raymond, the prince of Antioch was slain. His son Baymond, or Boamund, being called to the succession, his mother, as he was an infant, and incapable of holding the reins of government, ruled the kingdom during his minority. The same year likewise died Al Hâfedh Ledini'llah, the khalif of Egypt, after he had reigned, according to Ebn Shohnah, twenty years and five months. He was about seventy-seven years old, at the time of his death; after which, Abu Mansûr Ismael, his son, was saluted khalif. Abu Mansûr had no sooner ascended the Fâtemite throne than he assumed the title of Al Dhâfer Beamri'llah, and advanced Nojmo'ddin Ebn Mesâl, one of his father's greatest favourites, to the honourable post of wazir. But Ali Ebn Selâr, one of the grandees of the court, who was viceroy, or emir, under the khalif, of Alexandria, and the district appertaining to it, having drawn together a body of troops out of the western provinces, which was reinforced by the neighbouring garrisons, he had formed a powerful army, with which he advanced directly to Al Kâhirah. Having entered that city, he expelled from thence Nojmo'ddin Ebn Mesâl, and obliged the new khalif, then only about seventeen years of age, to confirm him in the wazîrat; which, after the expulsion of his predecessor, he had seized. In the mean time, Nojmo'ddin, having armed the Blacks, was determined to attempt driving Ali Ebn Selâr from the khalif's councils; but being soon after killed in battle, his head was cut off, and carried through

all the streets of Al Kâhirah upon the point of a spear¹.

Little material happened in 545.

Ali Ebn Selâr, however, had not long taken upon him the office of wazîr to Al Dhâfer Beamri'llah, the Fâtemite khalif, before he, by the advice of several of the Mohammedan doctors, abolished all those infamous marks of distinction which had been imposed upon the Chriftians by some of his predecessors; hoping, by this indulgence, to draw a considerable sum of money from them. But, finding, in three days time, that they neither contributed then, nor gave any reason to believe that they ever afterwards would, he revived the old edicts that had been issued against them. This wazîr, surnamed Al' Adel, or *the Just*, was afterwards deposed and murdered, by Nafr Ebn Al Abbâs; whose father Al Abbâs presided over the city of Belbeis, and the neighbouring district. Al Abbâs, after Eli Ebn Selâr's death, marched at the head of all his forces to Al Kâhirah, and, by the indefatigable endeavours of his son Nafr, occupied the post of wazîr; no one, at that time, being powerful enough to oppose him.

The principal events of the year 546;

In the 546th year of the Hejra Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki made an irruption into the territories of Jûsîn, or Joscelîn, the earl of Edessâ, which lay to the north of Aleppo; and being met by that accomplished and valiant knight, was, after an obstinate battle, entirely defeated. A great number of the Moslems perished in the action, and many of them were taken prisoners. Amongst the latter was Nûro'ddîn's armour-bearer, whom Jûsîn sent with Nûro'ddîn's arms to Al Mâlec Mas'ûd Ebn Kelij Arslân, the sâheb of Koniya and Akfarâ; saying, "This is your son-in-law's armour-bearer; after him something more will come to you." Nûro'ddîn, greatly incensed at this conduct of Jûsîn; resolved to be revenged on him. Accordingly, sending for some of the chiefs of the Turkmâns, he by large gifts engaged them to seize Jûsîn, knowing he was not able to cope with him in battle. The Turkmâns, therefore, keeping a watchful eye upon him, surprised him one day as he was hunting, and brought him in chains to Nûro'ddîn, who, according to William of Tyre, confined him in the castle of Aleppo, where he afterwards died. Nûro'ddîn hereupon immediately took the castles of 'Ain Tâb, 'Azaz, Kûres, Al Râwandân, Borj Al Refâs or

¹ Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 389. Ebn Shohn. ad ann. Hej. 544. Al Makrizi, Ibn. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 544. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 519.

the

the Tower of Lead, Dolûc, Mara'sh, Nahr Al Jawr, Tel Bâthar, or Tel Bâsher, Tel Khâled, Hodr Al Bârah, Cafar Sud, Cafar Lâtha, and several other considerable places. It may not be improper to observe, that count Jûslin transferred his residence from Al Rohâ, or Edeffa, to Tel Bâsher, a castle of great strength, seated in a very fertile tract, about two days journey from Aleppo, and adorned with gardens and fountains in a most beautiful manner; for which reason we find him stiled the saheb of Tel Basher by Abu'l-Faraj *.

The 547th year of the Hejra was distinguished by several very remarkable events. Soltân Mas'ûd Ebn Mohammed Ebn Mâlec Shâh died before the close of it, at Hamadân. He appointed Mâlec Shâh, his brother Mahmûd's son, to succeed him; whose name Al Emîr Kasbec took care to have mentioned in the mosques; and for some time had the sole management and direction of all public affairs; but aspiring at the sultanat himself, he afterwards seized upon Mâlec Shâh's person, and sent for Al Mâlec Mohammed, his brother, then in Khûzestân, intending to treat him in the same manner. Upon that prince's arrival Kasbec placed him upon the throne, and gave him the title of sultan; but Mohammed having been informed of his traiterous designs, killed him, and Zenki his armour-bearer, two days after, with his own hands, and exposed both their heads in the public streets, till they were devoured by dogs. Mohammed having thus dispatched Khaibec, was saluted sultan, and assumed the government without opposition. Mas'ûd, who was about forty-five years old at the time of his death, reigned eighteen years and six months. He was a great lover of pious and learned men, humble and affable; but for religion, clemency, justice, and bravery, superior to all the Seljûkian princes. He is said to have often defeated armies at the first onset, and killed lions with one stroke. He frequently, when a boy, was in battles, and fought hand to hand with the enemy. He always proved victorious in the wars with his brothers; the people lived in ease and plenty through the whole course of his reign; he disregarded treasures, distributing them amongst his courtiers, which was the reason that he almost perpetually wanted money, and left none in the treasury behind him. This

* Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 373. 390. Ebn Shohnah, ad ann. Hej. 546. Theophil. Sigefrid. Bayer. Hist. Osrhoen. & Edeffen. ex Num. Illustrat. lib. v. p. 349. Petropoli, 1734. Alb. Schult. Ind. Geographic. in Vita Salad. Lugduni Batavorum, 1732.

prince

prince was the last of the Seljûkian sultâns that had any power in the Arabian Irâk; for, upon his demise, Al Moktâfi, the thirty-first khalif of the house of Al Abbâs, deprived the Seljûkians of all authority in the city of Baghdâd; for this reason Ebn Shohnah places the expiration of this dynasty in 547, and adds, that Mas'ûd's son, who survived him, had neither dominions nor a name. Mâlec Shah II. surnamed Mogayaho'ddin, who succeeded Mas'ûd, was, according to Khondemir, the son of Mohammed, son of Mâlec Shâh I. But the author of the *Lebtarikh* and Abu'l-Faraj affirm, that he was the son of Mahmûd, son of Mohammed, and consequently great-grandson of the first Mâlec Shâh. Be that as it may, his reign was of no long continuance. The short account of him preserved by Abu'l-Faraj, inserted here, accuses Al Emîr Khasbec of an intention to depose Mohammed, after he had dethroned his brother Mâlec Shâh II. in order to seize upon the sultânat for himself; but from the other historians, especially Khondemir, we learn, that Mâlec Shâh II. having rendered himself, by his attachment to pleasures, unworthy of the crown, grew jealous of the authority of Khasbec, surnamed Belingheri, who had been in great esteem with Mas'ûd, and passed for one of the most valiant men of his time. Under the influence of this malevolent passion, continues Khondemir, he proposed to arrest Khasbec; but the whole court thinking such a proceeding unjust, Al Hafan Kandar, one of Khasbec's best friends, resolved to prevent the blow; and, under the pretence of giving the sultân a grand entertainment, kept him three days in a continual debauch, in the midst of which he secured his person, and confined him in the castle of Hamadân. They sent then for his brother Mohammed out of Khûzestan, and substituted him in his room. Some time after, Mâlec Shâh finding means to escape out of prison, fled to the province from whence his brother had been called to the throne, where he remained till the death of Mohammed, when, hastening to Esfahân, he was acknowledged for sultan by his former subjects. This year proved fatal to the race of the Gazni sultâns, descended from Sabektekin. The last of these princes was Khosrû Shâh, the son of Bahrâm, or Baharâm, Shâh; who was stript of his territories by Alao'ddin Al Hosein Ebn Al Hosein Al Gauri, and taken prisoner, with his son, by Gayatho'ddin Mohammed, Al Hosein's nephew. This Alao'ddin Al Hosein, denominated by some Alao'ddin Al Hafan, founded the dynasty of Gaur, or the Gaurids,

rids, upon the ruins of that of Gazni, and assumed the title of Al Soltan Moazem, *the Great Soltân*, if Ebn Shohnah may be depended upon. We are likewise informed by this writer, that the monarchs of the family of Gazni, of whom he gives an exceeding good character, governed their large and extensive empire, and particularly the proper territory of Gazna, with the adjacent part of Al Ajem, or Persia, two hundred and thirteen years. He farther relates, that Alao'ddîn, the first sultân of the Gaurids, or Gaurides, left Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed, one of his nephews, to take upon him the government of Gazna, and Shahabo'ddîn, the other, that of Syria; as also that the sultâns of this race conquered a very considerable part of India, Hind, or Hindostân, which had not been subdued by any of the descendants of Sabektekîn, and attained such a height of power as none of the Mohammedan monarchs had ever possessed before. In the course of this year the kingdom of the Hamadites in the African province of Bajayah, was abolished by Abd'almûmen Al Garb, surnamed Al Mohdi, who marched with a powerful army from Morocco to Bujiyah, and expelled Yahya Ebn Al Azîz Bi'llah Ebn Al Mansûr, of the house of Yusef Belkîn Ebn Zeir Al Sanhâji, the last of the Hamadite princes.

In the 548th year of the Hejra sultân Sanjar was unfortunately led, against his inclination, to chastise the Turkmâns, who refused to pay the usual tribute of sheep; for his whole army was defeated, and himself taken prisoner, by that rabble, to the great dishonour of the house of Seljûk, which was so much revered by all the Turkish tribes. According to the author of the Lebtârikh, the Gaz, or Turkmâns, crossing the Jihûn, towards the end of Sanjar's reign, suffered great misery; notwithstanding which the sultân resolved to attack them. The Gaz implored peace in the most suppliant manner; each family offering a piece of silver, with which the sultân was content; but the grandees obstructing the treaty, an action immediately ensued. The Gaz, or Turkmâns, not knowing what to do with the person of so great a prince, placed him in the day-time on a throne, and enclosed him at night in an iron cage; in which state of confinement, says the same writer, he remained till the year 551. Ebn Shohnah, however, has given us a different account of this matter. He reports, that sultân Sanjar entered this year into a war with the Atrâk, or Turks, in which his arms were at first attended with success; but that he was afterwards routed by

The most remarkable occurrences of the year 548.

by them, forced to abandon his kingdom, and became a monk. He adds, that the Gaz, or Atrak, subdued Khorasan, and other adjacent territories, demolished all the mosques they found, and put many kâdis and imâms to the sword. The Moslems hereupon applied for assistance to Al 'Adel, one of Sanjar's slaves; who marched with a body of troops he had assembled against these Barbarians, and obliged them to quit the provinces they had seized. Al 'Adel, continues he, being soon after joined by Abakaj, another of Sanjar's slaves, they grew formidable to all the neighbouring princes. The same year the Franks reduced the city of Askelan, or Ashkelon, and expelled the Egyptian forces, as we learn from Abu'l-Faraj.

and 549.

In the following year, being the 549th of the Hejra, Al Dhâfer Beamri'llah Ebn Al Hasedh Ledini'llah, the khalif of Egypt, was assassinated, either by Al Abbâs Al Sanhâji, his wazîr, or Nafr, that minister's son, in the month of Al Moharram. Al Abbas Al Sanhaji had formerly been the governor of Belbeis, and, by the assistance of his son Nafr, found means to deprive Nojmo'ddin Ebn Mefal, his predecessor, both of his office and his life. After which Al Dhâfer, being a young man, and entirely attached to his pleasures, became so desperately enamoured with Nafr, who was a very beautiful youth, that he could not be easy one moment, either by day or by night, without his company. This circumstance induced his subjects to believe, that Nafr was the object of the khalif's unnatural desire, which rendered both of them infamous, and excited Al Abbâs Al Sanhâji, the wazîr, to persuade his son to murder the person who had brought such a disgrace upon him. To this action he was farther impelled by what Nafr had told him; viz. that Al Dhâfer had instigated him to kill his father, promising him, if he would perpetrate so horrid a crime, to make him wazîr in his room. Al Abbâs and Nafr, therefore, in pursuance of the plan they had formed for the destruction of the khalif, invited him, and two of his most intimate favourites, to a private entertainment one night at the wazîr's house, dispatched them all three, and threw their bodies into a well. The next morning Al Abbâs went to the imperial palace, and enquired for the khalif, who not appearing, the wazîr ordered Yusef and Gabriel, his brothers to be executed, together with Sâleh, their cousin-german, for having embrued their hands in the blood of their sovereign. He also cut off a great number of other persons, whom he pretended to suspect of being accessory to the same crime. He then went

went to the seraglio, took Al Dhâfer's son Iſa, then only five years old, from amongst the women, gave him the title or surname of Al Favez Benazri'llah, and placed him upon the throne. The boy, to whom Al Abbâs obliged all the grandees of the court to take the oath of allegiance, seeing the carcases of those whom the wazîr had commanded to be slain, was so shocked at the sight, that he became altogether stupified, and could never afterwards exercise his reason in a proper manner. Al Abbâs himself did not long remain unpunished; for it being soon rumoured over the whole Fâtemite empire, that Al Abbâs Al Sanhâji and his son Naſr were the real authors of the khalif's murder, the principal officers of the army, and even the ladies of the seraglio, who were all greatly concerned at the barbarous treatment Al Dhâfer and his brothers had met with, applied to Talây' Ebn Zarîc, the Armenian, then possessed of Al Kâhîrah, for his assistance. Upon which the wazîr and his son fled into Syria, carrying with them their jewels, money, and every thing valuable acquired by Al Abbâs during the course of his administration. Of which circumstances Al Dhâfer's sister being apprized, she immediately wrote to the generals of the Franks, who had lately made themselves masters of Askalân, and promised them a great reward if they would seize upon the two traitors, and secure them in such a manner that they might be brought to condign punishment. Upon the receipt of the letter, some small detachments were sent out of Askalân to intercept them; one of which attacked the party that escorted them. Al Abbâs Al Sanhâji himself was killed in the action, and Naſr taken prisoner. All the rich spoils belonging to them fell into the hands of the Franks, who immediately sent Naſr under a guard to Al Kâhîrah. The ladies of the seraglio soon getting possession of him, he was put to a most cruel death. The sister of the late khalif crushed to pieces his right hand, with which he had assassinated that prince. The other ladies beat and bruised him most unmercifully with their shoes, and even devoured his flesh, which was pulled off the bones with pincers. He was then affixed alive to a gibbet, erected for that purpose, and after his death his body was reduced to ashes. We are told, that the women of the seraglio cut off locks of their hair, and sent them, fastened to lances, to Talây' Ebn Zarîc, as a token of their grief, and to excite that commander to revenge the barbarous murder of the khalif. Al Fayer Benazri'llah conferred the post of wazîr upon Talây'

Talay' Ebn Zarîc; who, by the direction of one of Al Abbâs Al Sanhâjî's servants, discovered Al Dhâfer's body, together with those of his two favourites, who had been assassinated with him. That of the khalif he soon after caused to be interred with exceeding great funeral pomp, and was no sooner confirmed in his office, than he assumed the title or surname of Al Mâlec Al Saleb. The same year, in the month of Safar, Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki obliged Mojiro'ddîn Artak Ebn Mohammed Ebn Tawzi, or Bûzi, Ebn Tagtakîn, or Tagantakin, the saheb of Damascus, to surrender that city; having before received advice that the Franks were advancing towards that place in order to annex it to the territories they occupied in Syria. As Mojiro'ddîn did not give Nûro'ddîn much trouble in the reduction of Damascus, he first conferred upon him the government of Hems, and afterwards that of Balis, a small town of Syria upon the Euphrates, about seven stations from Salamiyah. He did not, however, remain long at Balis, but retired to Baghdad, where according to Ebn Shohnah, he at last ended his days *.

What happened the following year.

In the course of the next year, being the 550th of the Hejra, Khofrû Shâh, the son of Bahrâm, the last of the Gazni sultâns, ended his days in a castle, where for several years he had been confined. 'Talây' Ebn Zarîc, the Fâtemite khalif's wazîr, rendered himself odious to the Egyptian Moslems, as well as to the Copts, by his infamous exactions; fleecing his master's subjects, in order to gratify his avarice, after a most shameful manner. He was also a bitter enemy both to the Christians and the Jews; obliging them to wear certain marks of distinction on the tops of their turbants, or caps, that they might be distinguished from the Mohammedans, and listening to every false accusation that was brought against them. At this time a powerful prince reigned over the Kera-its, a tribe of Oriental Turks, or Tartars, settled in the remotest part of Turkestan, bordering upon Khotan, Katay, which comprized the northern provinces of China, and the kingdom of Tibet, styled Onk or Awank, Khân. This prince, the third who bore that title, together with all his subjects, professed the Christian religion, and made a very considerable figure. Some years before, he defeated in a great battle the Seljûks or Moslems that occupied Al Jazira, Fârs, Belâd Al Jebâl, and Adherbijân; and, according to

* Greg. Abu'l Faraj. ubi sup. p. 391, 392. Ebn Shohnah, ad an. Hej. 549. Al Makrizi, Renaud. ubi sup. p. 519, 520, 521. Ism. Abu'l fed. in Descript. Arab. p. 20. Oxon. 1712.

some

some good authors, extended his frontiers from the farthest limits of the eastern Tartary to the banks of the Tigris. This conqueror was likewise named by the Arab writers King John, and by European travellers Prester John. His son David, who succeeded him, was vanquished and killed in battle by Jenghiz Khân. The princes of this family were also dignified with the title of kings of India*.

The 551st year of the Hejra was rendered memorable by the death of *Atsiz*, in the valley of Khabûshân, one of the most delightful places of Asia. During his last illness, he once heard the voice of a man reading; upon which, he ordered the people about him to listen; and they heard the following passage of the Koran, "No man knows in what country he shall die." These words made such an impression upon his mind, that he did not doubt but his death would happen on the very spot where they were heard. And this melancholy reflection, during the short remainder of his life, grew every day stronger and stronger in his imagination. *Refhîdo'ddîn Abd'aljelîl*, the Persian poet, generally called *Refhîdi*, or *Rafhîdi*, who was a native of Balkh, followed his corpse to the grave, and pronounced his funeral elogy in verse. *Atsiz* is said to have reigned twenty-nine years; though, according to some of the eastern writers, he ruled only eighteen years with absolute and unlimited authority. He was not only famed for his bravery and military skill, but likewise for his learning and liberality. As he gloried in nothing more than in being the patron and protector of learned men, his praises were celebrated by the principal writers of the age. He had almost completed his sixty-first year at the time of his death; and was succeeded by *Il Arslân*, his son. The word *Il*, prefixed to this sultan's name, denotes *Strong* and *Brave*, in the language of *Khawârazm*. He bore the title of *Khawârazm Shâh*, which was hereditary in his family, reduced part of the Transoxanian provinces and *Khorasân*, and made a very considerable figure. The same year died likewise *Tarkân Khâtûn*, the sultana of the *Seljûks*; who governed *Sanjar's* dominions, during the confinement of that prince. However, soon after her death, sultan *Sanjar*, by the assistance of *Al Emir Elias*, one of his confi-

*Atsiz and
Tarkân
Khâtûn die.*

* *Khondemir*, *D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 164, 996, 256.* *Mirkhond & Al Emir Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatif Al Kazwini*, apud *D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 364.* *Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, in Hist. Dynast. p. 427, 428. et alib. Jo. Laurent. Moïsem, Histor. Tartaror. Ecclesiastic. p. 23—27. Helmutadii, 1741.*

dents,

dents, and Al Emir Ahmed Komaj, the governor of Termed, escaped out of the hands of the Turkmâns, who had detained him as a prisoner amongst them, ever since the year of the Hejra 548, and was conducted by Ahmed's troops to Merû, at this time the capital of Khorasân. The sultân finding the city of Merû, and all the country through which he passed in a very bad condition, on account of the incursions made by the Turkmâns during his captivity, fell first into a deep melancholy, and afterwards into a distemper which deprived him of life.

*The most
considerable events
of the year
552 ;*

Sanjar fought nineteen battles, of which he gained seventeen; and was much feared by all, though his clemency and liberality greatly endeared him to his subjects. He was diligent in matters of government, but hated kingly pride; wearing, for the most part, a coat made of skins. However, he lived with great magnificence; appointing Korbo'ddin Mohammed Ebn Tacash Ebn Arslân and his son Atsiz, shâhs of Khowârazm, successively his cup-bearers, and assigning them the revenues of the large province of Khowârazm for the salary of their office. We meet with the elogy of sultân Sanjar in several parts of the works of Selmân, the Persian poet, composed with great elegance and beauty. It has been remarked, that this prince established Saad Ebn Zenki, who had been his governor, lieutenant-general of all his dominions, under the title of atâbek; which signifying *Father of the Prince*, and being given to the tutors of the Seljûkian princes, became afterwards a title of dignity. All the Oriental historians praise sultân Sanjar for his valour and justice, magnanimity and goodness. He was so well beloved by his subjects, that they continued to publish his name in the mosques for a whole year after his death, as if he had been still alive, and on the throne. They gave him also the surname of Eskander Thani, that is, *Alexander the Second*; and his name of Sanjar has passed for that of Alexander amongst his posterity. After this prince's decease, Mahmûd, his sister's son, according to Khondemir, succeeded in Khorasân; but, at the end of five years, Moyedabia, one of his lords, who had formerly been Sanjar's slave, rebelled against him, fought several battles with him, seized his dominions, and deprived him of sight. The sultân or shâh of Khowârazm, whose dynasty rose whilst Sanjar swayed the sceptre of the Seljûks, taking advantage of these divisions in Khorasân, made himself master of a considerable part of that country, whilst the other remained in the possession of the rebels, and the sultâns of the race of Gaur. So

So that the Seljûks, who still maintained their power in both the Irâks, had no longer any footing in Khorasân. Sanjar, according to Ebn Shohnah, was born in the year of the Hejra 479, and was consequently about seventy-three years old at the time of his death. This writer likewise reports, that Sanjar was prayed for in the mosques within his jurisdiction, as sultân, forty years; and twenty as king or rather governor of Khorasân, before he succeeded sultân Mohammed. The same year Abu Sâ'id Ebn Abd'almûmen, who commanded the forces of the Al Mo'hades, reduced the city of Cordova in Andalusia, and afterwards drove the Almoravides out of Spain. He also took Al Raya from the Franks, after it had remained in their hands about twenty years. Whilst the Al Mo'hâhedun were extending their conquests in the western parts of the world, Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki dispossessed Sahâc Al Bokâ'ye of Baalbec, in the territory of Damascus. Many violent shocks of an earthquake were felt in Syria this year, in the month of Rajeb, which almost entirely destroyed Hems, Hama, Shaizar, Cafar Tâb, Al Ma'ra, Apamia, Hîsn, Al Acrâd, 'Arcâ, Laodicea, Tripoli, and Antioch: an incredible number of people perished on this occasion, who were all buried under the ruins of the above mentioned towns. A school fell down at Hama, the master being then absent on some particular business, and crushed to pieces all the scholars, and none of their parents came afterwards to enquire for any of them; a circumstance which renders it probable that they all likewise met with the same fate. When the last shock happened at Shaizar, the sâheb of that place was circumcising his child; the whole family of the Beni Monkad, who were masters of the town, being assembled at his house, in order to attend the ceremony: when the house being thrown down, only one of them escaped; who was afterwards killed by the kick of a horse, as he attempted to go out at the gate. Of this terrible disaster Al Mâlec Al 'Adel Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki receiving advice, detached a body of troops to take possession of that city; which, upon their arrival, they immediately occupied, without the loss of a man.

y Khondemir, Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'aljaafar Al Kozwini. in Nighiarist. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 392. Selman, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 757. ut et ipse D'Herbel. ibid. & art. Atabekian Fars, p. 143. Ebn Shohnah, ad an. Hej. 552. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 284, 285. Renaud ubi sup. p. 529, 530.

and of the
year 553.

The following year, being the 553d of the Hejra, seems not to have been very fruitful in memorable events, at least not many accounts of such events have been preserved by the Eastern writers. However, that the affairs of the Seljûks continued to decline, and those of Il Arslân, the third sultân, or shâh of Khowârazm, to wear a promising aspect, through the whole course of it, we may infer from what has been observed by Khondemir, the Persian historian.

*The principal
actions of
the year
554.*

Next year, being the 554th of the Hejra, Mohammed, surnamed Gayâtho'ddîn, having received advice that his uncle Solimân Shâh had assembled a powerful army in Mazanderân, and been joined by the khalif Al Moktâfi and the atâbek Ildighîz, who became afterwards the first atâbek of Adherbijân, with all their forces, he met him on the banks of the Arras or Araxes, overthrew him with great slaughter, and obliged him to retire to Al Mawfel. After this victory, sultân Mohammed was inclined to have attacked Al Moktâfi, who took Solimân Shâh under his protection; but considering that he had another enemy, Mâlec Shâh II. his brother, to fear, he judged it requisite to come to an accommodation with the khalif. Upon which, that prince gave the sultân his daughter, named Kermân Khâtûn, in marriage; who set out, with a splendid equipage, from Baghdâd for Mohammed's court. The sultân himself went to meet her; but a hectic fever, which attended him, put an end to his days on the road to Hamadân, after he had lived thirty-two years, and reigned seven. Mohammed has always passed for a most accomplished prince, who possessed all the virtues military and civil. He was esteemed, through the whole course of his reign, as an uncommon patron of men of learning, piety, and merit; the very reverse of his brother Mâlec Shâh, who re-ascended the throne after his decease, and survived him not many days. This last sultân was succeeded by his uncle Solimân Shâh, surnamed Moazo'ddîn, or Moezzo'ddîn, Abu'l Hâreth Kafem, the son of sultân Mohammed Ebn Mâlec Shâh. Being at Al Mawfel, when his two immediate predecessors died, the great lords, after some debate amongst themselves, sent for him, and placed him upon the throne. Mohammed is reported to have quitted life with extreme regret; insomuch that, before he expired, he ordered his troops, his court, and all his treasures, to pass before him, as it were in review, and, after he had considered all these things, said, "How is it possible that a power as formidable as mine is not able to diminish the weight

weight of my disorder one single grain, nor to prolong my life only for a moment!" He then, according to the same author, concluded his reflection with the following remarkable words: "Unhappy is that person who spends his time in amassing those things which he must leave, and does not make the principal object of his attention and regard that Being in whom all things are to be found." This year, on the eighth of the latter Rabî, there happened a dreadful inundation of the Tigris; which laid under water and destroyed a very considerable part of the city of Baghdâd. Ebn Shohnah relates, that Abd'almûmen, the general or chief, of the Al Moahedûn, took Al Mohdia, at this time, from the Franks, after it had remained in their hands about twenty years.

The 555th year of the Hejra was rendered memorable by the death of Al Moktafi Leamri'llah, the khalif of Baghdâd. That prince, who reigned twenty-four years and three months, was sixty-six years old at the time of his decease. We are told, that as he owed his elevation to the credit and authority of Mas'ûd, he had no share in the government of his state during the life of that sultân; but that, after his death, he asserted his independency, and would not permit Mâlec Shâh II. to have any power or command in the sultânat of Baghdâd. He remained sole master in his dominions, which comprehended Arabia and the Babylonian Irâk. In short, it was under this khalif that the power of the Seljûks, who had been masters of all the forces and possessions of the khalifs, began to decline, and, by degrees, became extinct. On this occasion, it has been remarked by Abu'l Faraj, that Al Moktafi was the first who reigned in the Arabian Irâk without a sultân, and governed his armies, as well as subjects, according to his own will, since the time that the mamlûks or slaves, that is, the Turkish militia, began to dispose of every thing in the khalifat, and consequently to deprive of their just authority the successors of Mohammed, under Al Montâser Bi'llah, the eleventh khalif of the house of Al Abbâs. It appears from Mirkhond, that Al Moktafi recovered almost all that sultân Mas'ûd had possessed himself of in the provinces of Fârs and Al Jebâl, or the mountainous part of the Persian Irâk; and that no considerable tumults, or commotions, disturbed his repose, during the remainder of his prosperous reign².

*The khalif
Al Moktafi
dies.*

² Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 555. Al Makin, in Op. Part. inedit. ad an. Hej. 555. Ebn Shohnah, ad an. Hej. 555. Greg. Abu'l Faraj. ubi sup. p. 393.

*Al Mostan-
jed Bi'llah
is raised to
the khalif-
sat.*

The khalif Al Moktafi Leamri'llah appointed his son Yusef to succeed him, a little before his death. One of his concubines, by whom he had a son, surnamed Abu Ali, formed a design to assassinate Yusef in his last illness; hoping, by that means, to advance her own son to the supreme dignity: for this purpose she armed a great number of the women of the palace with knives, and hired them to kill him when he went to visit his father: but the conspiracy being discovered to Yusef by a little eunuch, whom he constantly sent to enquire after the old khalif's health, and who once on his return saw them with the knives in their hands, he put on a coat of mail, took his sword in his hand, and went directly to the imperial palace. This he no sooner entered than the women attacked him; but he defended himself so bravely that he wounded several of them, and at last, by the assistance of the governor of the palace, to whom he had before communicated the affair, and some of the grooms of the khalif's bed-chamber, put them to flight. Abu Ali and his mother, who both fell into his hands, he caused afterwards to be imprisoned; but the female assassins he treated in a more severe and rigorous manner: some of them were publicly executed, and others thrown into the Tigris. Al Moktafi dying on the second of the Former Rabi, Yusef was saluted khalif, and inaugurated in form; after which ceremony, he assumed the title, or surname, of Al Mostanjed Bi'llah.

*Al Fâyez
Isa Ebn Al
Dhâfer,
the khalif
of Egypt,
dies.*

This year died Al Fâyez Isa Ebn Al Dhâfer Ismael, the sâheb of Egypt, styled also the Fâtemite khalif, after he had presided over the Egyptian Moslems about six years. He was succeeded by Abd'allâh Ebn Yusef Ebn Al Hâfedh, who took upon him the title or surname of Al 'Aded Ledini'llah, and the prenomens of Abu Mohammed. He was the eleventh and last of the Fâtemite khalifs of Egypt. Mâlec Shâh II. the sultân of the Seljûks, who, after his brother Mohammed's death, hastened to Esfahân, in order to resume the government of the Seljûkian dominions, died in the beginning of the present year^a.

*The most
memorable
occurrences
of the year
556.*

In the 556th year of the Hejra, Solimân Shâh, the twelfth sultân of the Seljûks of Irân, departed this life, at the age of forty-five. He succeeded his nephew Mâlec Shâh II. in the beginning of the preceding year; but as he gave himself up entirely to voluptuousness, and the company of women, without regarding the affairs of the

^a Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 398. Ism. Abu'lfed. Ebn Shohnah, Kondemir, & Al Makin, ubi supra. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Malekschah fils de Mohammed fils de Malekschah, p. 544, 545. Renaud. ubi supra, p. 522. 530.

kingdom, the nobles seized and imprisoned him at the end of six months; advancing, in his room, his nephew Arslân. Notwithstanding Solimân's ill conduct, for which he was deposed, he did not want some good qualities: he was very familiar with those about him; was polite in his behaviour, had an agreeable person, and possessed a great share of eloquence. His successor, sultan Arslân, was the son of Mohammed Ebn Mâlec Shâh, and surnamed Zeyno'ddîn, or Zîno'ddîn by Khondemir; but he is styled Rucno'ddawla, or Rocno'ddawla, by the author of the *Lebtârîkh*. He is commonly called Mâlec Arslân by the eastern historians. He was proclaimed sultan at Hamadân, by the influence of the Ildighîz, the first atâbek of Adherbijân, who began to reign the same year. From the time he ascended the throne, Kîmar, the governor of Esfahân, and Enbancj, or Inanj, who presided over the people of Al Ray, revolted against him; setting up for sultan one of his cousins, named Mohammed Seljûk Shâh; with whom, at the head of a great army, they advanced to Hamadân. Arslân went to meet them as far as Kazwân, engaged them in the neighbourhood of that city, and gained a complete victory. The new sultan was killed in the battle, and his two supporters fled to Al Ray; from whence they were constrained afterwards to retire into the province of Mazanderân. Arslân had no sooner terminated this war than he found himself obliged to enter upon another: for the prince of the Abkhâz, who was a Christian, situated between Georgia and Cherkassia, invading Adherbijân, ravaged that country as far as Kazwân. The sultan, turning his victorious arms on that side, defeated him near the strong castle of Kâk, which he had taken and fortified; but being afterwards taken by the Seljûk troops, was demolished. This year, in the month of Ramadân, Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Talây' Ebn Zarîc Al Armeni, or the Armenian, surnamed Abu'l Gârât, that is, the *Father of Expeditions*, Al 'Aded Ledini'llah's wazîr, was assassinated by some ruffians, whom Al 'Aded's aunt had hired to murder him, when he entered the palace. They were armed with knives, and attacked him at the time and place appointed. He did not die upon the spot; but, being carried home, dispatched a messenger to Al 'Aded, to upbraid him with being the cause of his death. Al 'Aded denied with an oath, that he had been either consenting, or in any manner privy, to the horrid design; and, in order the more effectually to exculpate himself, put his aunt, who had been the sole contriver of the execrable scheme, into Talây' Ebn Zarîc's hands. The wazîr, having got the impious woman in his

power, immediately cut off her head; and, after he had obtained of Al 'Aded Ledini'llah, the last khalif of Egypt, the post of wazir for his son, who assumed the title or surname of Al Mâlec Al 'Adel, or the *Just King*, almost instantly expired. In the course of the present year soltân Alâo'ddîn Al Hofein Ebn Al Hafan Al Gauri, called also Al Hafan Ebn Al Hofein, and furnamed Jehânfûz, or the *Person who set the World on Fire*, the first monarch of the dynasty of Gaur, a country lying between Gazna and Khorasân, represented by some of the eastern writers as a very just and excellent prince, departed this life, and was succeeded by his nephew Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed in the sovereignty of the territories of Gaur.

and of the
year 557.

The following year, being the 557th of the Hejra, seems not to have produced many remarkable events. However, during the course of it, Shâwer, who had been employed by 'Talây' Ebn Zaric, met with very injurious treatment from Al Hafan, the prefect of Moniat Beni Khafib, 'Talây' Ebn Zaric's sister's son; and thereupon made his complaints to Zaric, Razic, or, as he is denominated in some of the MS. copies of Ebn Shohnah, Arzic, the Fâtemite khalif's wazîr, but without effect. Al Hafan, finding he might repeat his insolence with impunity, sent Shâwer, as a present, a little chest of elegant workmanship containing some thongs of leather such as the Moslems at that time used when they scourged their slaves. This emblem giving Shâwer to understand, that he had every thing to fear from Al Hafan, who was supported by the wazîr, he retired with some of his adherents into the solitude of Lowakat, and maintained himself there against all the forces the wazîr sent to reduce him, for the space of three months. From thence he marched, through the desert of Alwak, to the pool or fish-pond near Alexandria, and posted himself at Mehallet Abd'alrahmân; moving from that place to Belkina, a neighbouring village ^b.

What hap-
pened in
the year
558.

The next year, being the 558th of the Hejra, the khalif Al 'Aded Ledini'llah advanced Shâwer, one of 'Talây' Ebn Zâric's eunuchs, to the high office of wazîr. This Shâwer had been at Belkina scarce three days when he was joined by a great number of Arabs, and soldiers, that flocked to him from the western parts of Egypt, and other places, especially the desert; insomuch that he soon found himself at the head of an army, consisting of ten thousand

^b Ebn Shohnah, ad ann. Hej. 557. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 234. Alb. Schult. in Geographic. in Vit. Salad. Lugd. Bat. 1732. Renaud. ubi supra, p. 522, 523.

horse.

horse. The Arabs, addicted to rapine, and accustomed to robberies, he detached, in different parties, to ravage and plunder all the lands belonging to those who persisted in their attachment to Zariç Ebn Takây', Al'Aded's wazîr; giving them the spoils they should acquire on this occasion, that they might be the more active in their depredations. The Arabs, animated by this concession, executed Shâwer's orders with great alacrity and success; who thereupon pursued his march almost to the very gates of Al Kâhirah and Mefr, and there encamped. The wazîr and his friends were so terrified at Shâwer's approach, that they immediately abandoned the metropolis; but, before his departure, he put all his jewels, of inestimable value, and even equal to the annual revenues of Egypt, into one little bag, or purse, and a thousand dinârs into another, which he placed under the saddle of his horse; and then fled towards the desert alone, with the utmost precipitation. Falling into the hands of the Arabs, he was stripped and plundered by them, and left naked in the desert; where he remained, till he was almost perished with hunger and cold. However, being at last known, Yakûb, the Arab emir, commanded him to be brought into his tent, and to be conducted from thence under an escorte to Shâwer at Al Kâhirah. Here he was received as a friend, had proper apartments assigned him in the wazîr's palace, enjoyed the company of his favourite concubine as well as that of his sons, and was attended by some of his own domestics. Indeed, Shâwer, who had succeeded him in the post of wazîr, and assumed the title of Emîr Al Joyûsh, that is, the *Commander of Armies*, frequently conferred with him, and even invited him to his table: but being some time after accused of meditating a flight, and of exciting the Egyptian emirs to a revolt, he was thrown into irons; which endeavouring to file off, Tay, Shâwer's son, entered the place of his confinement with a sword in his hand, and, to the great regret of his father, who was not privy to the affair, immediately cut off his head. Shâwer had not been long possessed of the supreme authority, before Al Dargâm, an officer of rank, endeavoured to drive him from the Fâtemite khalif's councils; and at last, after a decisive action, in the month of Ramadân, obliged him to fly into Syria. Here he implored the assistance and protection of Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki; promising to remit him yearly the third part of the annual revenues of Egypt, if he would march a formidable army into that country, and reinstate him in the important office of wazîr.

In the mean time, Al Dargâm, who killed Tay, Zarîc Ebn Talây's son, in the first engagement between him and his predecessor, assumed the government of the Fâtemite empire, with the title of Al Mâlec Al Afdal; conferring upon one of his brothers that of Al Molhem Al 'Adel, and upon the other that of Nafr Al Moslemîn. As for Shâwer, after his arrival at Damascus, he lived with Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki, and was treated with uncommon marks of distinction by that prince. Abu'lfeda relates, that Al Dargâm, after he was vested with the supreme authority, cut off many commanders who were in Shâwer's interest, in order to secure to himself the power he had acquired; and that, by this measure, he so weakened the kingdom or empire of Egypt, that it was afterwards wrested out of his hands. Ebn Shohnah writes, that a very considerable number of the Egyptian emirs, at this time, lost their lives; a circumstance which proved such a blow to the Fâtemite power, that the khalifat erected by the descendants of Ali in Egypt was thereby reduced to a feeble and languishing condition. The same year Abd'almûmen Al Garbi died in his capital, after he had reigned a month above thirty-three years. He put Cashîah Ebn Tomart to death for a slight offence, and occasioned an incredible effusion of human blood. In general, however, if Ebn Shohnah may be credited, he was a good governor; and drew many of the Al Garbians, or *People of the West*, over to the tenets of Mâlec Ebn Ans, in jurisprudence; and to those of Ebn Al Hafan Al Ashâri, in Afiûl or metaphysics. He farther informs us, that Abd'almûmen killed upon the spot every Moslem in the mosque, whose attention was not fixed upon his devotions.

- and in the
year 559.

The 559th year of the Hejra, commencing November 30, 1163, produced several memorable actions, a brief account of which has been given us by the Oriental writers. Shâwer informed Nûro'ddîn, a most implacable enemy of the Christians, in order to bring him into his views, that the Franks had penetrated into Egypt, and made a very considerable progress in the conquest of that opulent kingdom; and therefore begged he would send an army, not only to expel them from thence, but likewise to re-instate him in the office of wazîr. As an inducement to that prince to comply with his request, Shâwer now en-

c Ifm Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 558. Ebn Shohnah, ad ann. Hej. 558. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 523. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Adhed Ledinillah, p. 60, 61. & art. Schirgoueb, p. 788.

gaged both to remit to Damascus the third part of the annual revenues of Egypt, in case success attended their arms, and to defray the whole expence of the expedition. In consequence of this engagement, Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki ordered a strong body of his troops, under the command of Afado'ddîn Shairacûh Ebn Shâdi, who was accompanied by Shâwer, to advance towards the frontiers of Egypt. Shairacûh entered that country without opposition, overthrew Al Dargâm at a place called the sepulchre of St. Naphisa, and fixed Shâwer once more at the head of the Fâtemite khalif's councils. That minister being possessed of his former post, and in a state of independency, scrupled not to violate the engagements he had entered into with Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki, by refusing to pay him any part of the stipulated sum. Afado'ddîn, justly incensed at his perfidy, seized Al Sharkiah and Belbeis or Pelusium. This step excited Shâwer to conclude a treaty with the Franks; who, in consequence of the principal article of it, sent some forces to support him. The combined army blocked up Afado'ddîn Shairacûh Ebn Shâdi three months in Belbeis, with an intention to starve him to a surrender: but Nûro'ddîn having found means to surprize the strong fortress of Hârem, in the prefecture of Aleppo, the Franks thought proper to listen to terms of accommodation, and to permit Afado'ddîn to retire without molestation to Syria. They had been entirely defeated by Nûro'ddîn in a pitched battle, and lost a prodigious number of men, killed and taken prisoners in the action; which accelerated the reduction of Hârem. Amongst the latter were the sâheb of Antioch, called Al Bornas by the Arab writers, and Al Kûmes (the count), the sâheb of Tripoli. The spoil acquired by the Moslems on this occasion was immense, if Ebn Shohnah and Abu'lfeda may be depended upon. Whether or no the treaty lately signed with Afado'ddîn, or rather Nûro'ddîn himself, was to extend to the territories of the Franks in Syria, or to be confined to the military operations in Egypt, does not certainly appear, either from the last mentioned historians or Abu'l-Faraj; though it should seem as if the war still continued in Syria, Nûro'ddîn having carried Baniâs, or Paneas, by storm, in the month of Dhu'l-hajja, after it had been in the hands of the Franks above sixteen years. But, however that may be, as both Al Dargâm and his brother were put to the sword, Shâwer had now no competitor to dispute with him the post of wazîr

wazîr to the Fatemite khalif. We are told by Abu'lfeda, that Al Sâleh 'Talây' Ebn Zarîc reposed great confidence in this minister, made him governor of Al Sa'îd, or the Upper Egypt, and advised his son Al Mâlec Al 'Adel, a little before he expired, never to remove him from that government, which rendered him extremely powerful, and even next in dignity to the wazîr : but Al Mâlec Al 'Adel, continues that writer, after his father's death, rejecting this salutary advice, ordered Shâwer to retire out of the province of Al Sa'îd ; upon which, he assembled all the forces under his command, marched against the wazîr, drove him from Al Kâhirah, and at last, having secured his person, put him to death. He then seized all the treasures that had been amassed by the house of Zarîc ; the glory and lustre of which, by this catastrophe, entirely vanished. Towards the close of this year, soltân Arslan made a progress to Esfahân. He was met by the atâbek Zenki Salgari, who commanded in that city, and took the oath of allegiance to him. This submission so pleased the soltân, that he confirmed him in his government, of which he extended the limits as far as the province of Fârs. Before the end of the present year, died Jamâlo'ddîn Abu Jaafar Mohammed Ali Mansûr Al Esfahâni, wazîr to Kotbo'ddîn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki, the sâheb of Al Mawfel. Afado'ddîn Shairacûh Ebn Shâdi, Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki's general, his faithful friend, carried his corpse, through Mecca, to Medina, where he desired to be interred. Afado'ddîn Shairacûh Ebn Shâdi appointed persons to attend the body, and proclaim prayers in every town they came to for the repose of the deceased's soul. Upon their arrival at Mecca, the body was carried round the Caaba ; from thence it was conveyed to Medina, and deposited in a little chapel, built by Jamâlo'ddîn himself for that purpose, about fifteen cubits from the tomb of the prophet. Jamâlo'ddîn repaired, or rather rebuilt, the mosque on the 'Akaba, or *Eminence*, in the valley of Mina, denominated Al Khaif, about a parasang from Mecca, and settled a very considerable annual sum both upon the khalif Al Moktâfi, the supreme pontiff of the Moslems, and the sâheb of Mecca ; for which benefactions he was dignified with the title or surname of Jamâlo'ddîn, that is, *the Beauty*, or *Excellency of the Religion*. He likewise ornamented the Caaba, erected the mosque on mount Arafât, with the stairs up to it, raised several other edifices on the same hill, surrounded the city of Medina with a wall, and constructed a bridge
over

over the Tigris, at the island of Ebn Omar, of iron, lead, mortar, and stone; though this last work was not finished, at the time of his death^d.

In the 561st year of the Hejra, Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki took from the Franks the castle of Al Moneidera in Syria; which was a place, at no great distance from Tripoli, of considerable strength. This year, Enbanej, who still kept his ground in Mazanderân, entered into an alliance with the Shâh of Khowârazm; by whom being assisted with a large body of troops, he penetrated into the Persian Irâk, and ravaged the country about Abher and Kazwîn: but Arslân, attended by Ildighîz, the atâbek of Adherbijân, coming on him by surprize, obliged him to fly to his old retreat.

Nûro'ddîn takes the castle of Al Moneidera.

Next year, being the 562d of the Hejra, which began October 27, 1166, Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki having received advice that Shâwer had concluded a treaty with the Franks, and being afraid that this would enable the Christians to make themselves masters of Egypt, he sent Afado'ddîn Shairacûh Ebn Shâdi with a body of two thousand horse into that country. He was attended by his nephew Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb, much against his inclination, if Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd may be credited, in this expedition. Nûro'ddîn's troops entered Egypt the 12th of the Former Rabî, and soon after Shairacûh possessed himself of Al Jîza with inconsiderable loss. Shâwer, having been joined by the Franks, put himself at the head of the combined army, went in quest of the enemy, and at last came up with them near a town called Al Abwân. A sharp engagement ensued, which ended in the defeat of Shâwer and the Franks. This victory put the whole district of Al Jîza into Shairacûh's hands, and facilitated the reduction of Alexandria, before which he in a short time after presented himself. Here he left his nephew Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb with a proper garrison, and then advanced with his forces towards Al Sa'îd. After his departure, the enemy shut up Salâh'addîn in Alexandria, and kept him closely besieged for the space of three months. Shairacûh therefore returned, in order to force the Franks and Egyptians to raise the siege; upon which, a negociation was set on foot, and an accommodation

Shairacûh undertakes another expedition into Egypt.

^d Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, in Mawredo'llatâfa, Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dakmak, in Al Jawhar Al Thamîn, Ebn Khalecan, Ebn Al Athir, in Al Câmel Al Tawarik. ad ann. Hej. 559. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 559. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 398, 399. Ebn Shohinah, ad ann. Hej. 559.

effected

effected between the contending powers upon the following terms: 1. Shâwer shall pay Shairacûh a stipulated sum of money, in order to enable him to defray the expence of the expedition. 2. Upon the payment of this sum, that general shall immediately withdraw his garrison out of Alexandria, and return into Syria. Both which conditions were punctually performed. The Egyptian troops retook possession of Alexandria, in consequence of this pacification, about the middle of the month of Shawâl; and Shairacûh reached Damascus with his army, extremely weakened by his conflicts with the enemy, as well as the other casualties of war. Shairacûh and Salâh'addîn had no sooner evacuated Egypt than a new convention was signed between the Egyptians and the Franks; the principal articles of which were, that the Franks should be permitted to have at Al Kâhirah a commandant and a garrison of horse, and that they should receive annually out of the public revenues of Egypt a hundred thousand dinârs*.

The most remarkable transactions of the year 563.

The 563d year of the Hejra produced two or three remarkable events. Zeyno'ddîn, or Zino'ddîn Ali Ebn Sabektekin; Kotbo'ddin Mawdûd Ebn Zenki's deputy at Al Mawfel, left that city, and retired to Arbel, the Arbela of the ancients. Zeyno'ddin was the sâheb of Arbel, and possessed of very considerable territories; all of which, except Arbel and its dependencies, he ceded to Kotbo'ddin Mawdûd Ebn Zenki, at the time of his departure from Al Mawfel. He died at Arbel, in the month of Dhu'l-hajja, in the present year. With regard to his character, he has been represented as brave, prudent, upright in all his actions, of an excellent disposition, and extremely liberal, by Abu'l-Faraj. As an instance of his liberality, that author mentions the presents he made to Al His Bis, a Moslem poet, who wrote a copy of verses in praise of him, which consisted of five hundred dinârs in money, a sumptuous vest, and other costly garments, the whole amounting to the value of one thousand dinârs. This year Enbanej, who had rebelled against sultân Arslân, and seized Mazanderân, invaded the country about Al Ray, and defeated Mohammed, the son of Ildighîz, the atâbek of Adherbijân, who was sent against him. Hereupon Ildighîz marched at the head of Arslân's forces, in order to

* Ifm. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 562. Ebn Shohnah, ad ann. Hej. 562. Bôhao'ddin Ebn Sheddad. ubi sup. p. 33. Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, in Mawredo'llatâfa, Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dakmak, in Al Jawhar Al Thamîn, Renaud. ubi sup. p. 531, 532.

re-establish his affairs. Being arrived at Al Ray, he made several propositions to Enbanej, who thereupon agreed to go with him, and make his submission to the sultân: but the night before this ceremony was to be performed, Enbanej was killed in his apartment, no one being ever afterwards able to discover either the cause or the author of this unexpected event. The sultân gave the government of Al Ray to the son of Ildighîz, who soon after married the only daughter of Enbanej. The fruit of this marriage was Kûtlûk or Cotlûk, surnamed Enbanej, or rather Fakhro'ddin Enbanej, and denominated Kiligh by M. D'Herbelot. It appears from Mirkhond, that Khozrû Mâlec, the last of the family of Sabektekîn, who had reigned at Lahawar, in Hend or Hind, that is, India, died in the present year, at Gazna, to which place he had been conducted as a prisoner by Gayâtho'ddin Mohammed Al Gauri, after he had taken Lahawar.

In the 564th year of the Hejra, Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki sent an army, under the command of Fakhro'ddin Mas'ûd Ebn Abu Ali Al Za'frânî, to reduce the castle of Ja'bar, a place of considerable strength upon the Euphrates, in the province of Diyâr Beer, and opposite to Seffein. Fakhro'ddin, having been reinforced by a body of troops, under the orders of Majdo'ddîn Abu Beer Ebn Al Dâya, Nûro'ddîn's foster-brother, laid siege to that fortress, and for some time attacked it with great vigour, but without effect. However, Nûro'ddîn having got Shahâbo'ddîn Mâlec Ebn Ali Ebn Mâlec, descended from Al Mofayyeb, the Okeilite Arab, then the sâheb of Ja'bar, into his hands, he obliged that prince to cede it to him for the city of Sarûj, with its dependencies, Al Malûh in the territory of Aleppo, Bâb-Bezâga in the prefecture of Kinnisrîn, and twenty thousand dinârs ^f.

Nûro'ddin occupies the castle of Ja'bar.

The same year, the Franks having taken (G) Belbeis or Pelusium, the first of Safar, and being grown superior to the

^f Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 564. Ebn Shonah, ad an. Hej. 564. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 400, 401.

(G) We are told by some writers, that the Franks, taking advantage of the discords and dissensions which at this time prevailed amongst the Moslem princes, made an irruption, under the command of Almeric, king of Jerusalem, into Egypt, and took by storm the city of Belbeis. If these writers can be credited, Almeric treated the inhabitants of that place, both Christians and Moslems, as well as the garrison,

*Nûro'ddîn's
forces make
themselves
masters of
Egypt.*

the Moslems in Egypt, Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenkî sent Afado'ddîn Shairacûh Ebn Shâdi, his general, to drive them from thence, with an army of eighty thousand horse. After the Franks had carried the city of Belbeis by storm, they advanced to Al Kâhirah, which they invested the 10th of Safar, and then formed the siege of that capital. Shâwer, the Fatemite khalif's wazîr, had set on fire the ancient city of Mefr, and ordered all the inhabitants to depart from thence to Al Kâhirah, before the Franks appeared in the neighbourhood of that place. This step had been taken in order to prevent them from occupying Mefr. The khalif Al 'Aded, being reduced to great distress by this irruption of the Franks, had implored the assistance and protection of Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenkî; who thereupon commanded his troops to move, with the utmost expedition, towards the frontiers of Egypt. In the mean time, Shâwer endeavoured to amuse the Franks, by

garrison, on this occasion, with uncommon cruelty; the town being given up to the soldiers to be plundered, and all the troops and people in it being either carried into captivity or put to the sword. Shâwer, continue they, receiving advice of Almeric's having traversed the vast desert between Syria and Egypt, and entered the latter of those countries with a numerous army, sent an ambassador to Nûro'ddîn to implore his assistance against the enemies of their common religion. Hereupon Shairacûh, by Nûro'ddîn's order, set out at the head of a formidable army for Egypt; and, by forced marches, arrived in the neighbourhood of Al Kâhirah, then besieged by Almeric, before Shâwer was reduced to the last extremity by the Franks. Almeric being informed of Shairacûh's approach, raised the siege, and

advanced to give him battle; but Shairacûh, being more intent upon occupying Egypt than defending it, declined an engagement, and joined the Egyptian forces under Shâwer; of which Almeric receiving advice, he made the best of his way home. Shâwer's conduct on this occasion has been considered in two different lights by the historians of this age; some accusing him of perfidy and infidelity to the Franks, and others acquitting him of that imputation. But however this may be, several authors do not scruple to affirm, that Almeric might very easily have made himself master of Al Kâhirah, had he not shamefully loitered away his time, after the reduction of Belbeis, before Shairacûh could possibly, notwithstanding the celerity of his march, have arrived with all his forces before that place (1).

(1) Vide Will. Tyr. alioſque Scriptor. apud Renaud. ubi ſup. p. 531.

paying them one hundred thousand dinars, and promising them nine hundred thousand more, if they would raise the siege; not being able, as he pretended, to collect the last mentioned sum, as long as they continued before Al Kâhirah. According to Abu'lfeda, the Franks immediately decamped, and returned home. Khondemir, however, seems to intimate, that the approach of the Moslem forces, under Shairacûh, obliged them to retire out of Egypt. Be that as it may, Nûro'ddin's army entered Egypt in the Former Rabî; being received by the Egyptian Moslems, as their deliverer, with open arms. Afâdo'd-dîn Shairacûh Ebn Shâdi, having met with nothing to impede his march, reached Al Kâhirah, then abandoned by the Franks, the 4th of the Latter Rabî, to the great joy of the khalif Al 'Aded, who invited him to the imperial palace, had a conference, and made him a present of the sultân's kaftân, or royal vest. He had before received from Nûro'ddin no less than two hundred thousand dinars, besides a sumptuous kaftan, arms, and many beasts of burden, for his own particular use. The Fâtemite khalif also loaded him with presents, as well as the principal officers of the troops under his command. Shairacûh was attended by Salah'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb, his nephew, much against his inclination, in this expedition. Shâwer, Al 'Aded's wazîr, who had failed in the performance of his engagements, by not remitting to Nûro'ddin the third part of the public revenues of Egypt, waited every day upon Shairacûh, made him large promises, and endeavoured to excuse his shameful conduct. He likewise expressed the highest regard for Shairacûh, Salah'addîn, and all Nûro'ddin's other emirs; though he had formed a design to invite them to a splendid entertainment in the wazîr's palace at Al Kâhirah, and secure all their persons. But this soon transpiring, Salah'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb and Jardîc took an opportunity of seizing him, as they were conducting him to Shairacûh, who went that morning to visit the famous Al Shâfi's tomb. Shâwer's servants, seeing what had happened to their master, immediately made their escape. After which, he was brought bound to Shairacûh, the 7th of the Latter Rabî. The khalif Al 'Aded was no sooner informed of Shâwer's perfidy and imprisonment, than he dispatched a messenger to Shairacûh to demand his head; which was instantly cut off by Shairacûh's order, and sent him without delay. Al 'Aded then honoured Shairacûh with the robe worn by the wazîr, and dignified him with
the

the title of Al Mâlec Al Manfûr. Adorned with this robe, Shairacûh repaired directly to the wazir's palace, where Shâwer had lived; and was, by an instrument drawn up for that purpose by the khalif himself, part of the form of which Abu'l-feda has preserved, settled in the high office of wazîr. Shâwer's head was fixed upon the point of a spear, and carried through all the streets of that city. When Shairacûh, however, entered the metropolis, both the populace and the soldiery rose upon him, and attacked him with unparalleled fury. Upon which, in order to pacify them, he cried out, "The khalif has given you all the immense treasures that Shâwer has amassed." This declaration diverted their rage against Shairacûh, and drove them to Shâwer's palace; which they plundered, stripped of every thing valuable belonging to that edifice. Shairacûh was now received every where with loud acclamations, and all possible demonstrations of joy. Al Camel, Shâwer's son, lived as a private person in the palace to the time of his death; so that Shairacûh enjoyed the high dignity to which he had been advanced without any opposition, or dread of a competitor. Nevertheless, the supreme authority he had acquired was not, according to the eastern historians, of any considerable duration; for he died, as some say, of a debauch, after he had governed the Fâtenite empire only two months and five days, on the 22d of the Latter Jomâdâ².

*The origin
of Shairacûh and
Ayûb, the
father of
Salâh'ad-
dîn.*

With regard to the origin of Shairacûh, and his brother Ayûb, the father of Salâh'addîn or Salâho'ddin, who attended his uncle in this expedition, they are universally allowed to have been Rawâdîan Curds, and originally of the city of Dawîn. They afterwards removed into Irâk, and offered their service to Bahrûz, the Seljûkian governor of Baghdâd and the province of Irâk. Bahrûz, finding them men of merit, made Ayûb, the elder, commandant of Técrît, and appointed his brother Shairacûh to serve under him. However, they did not arrive at this preferment before they had gone through all the military posts with great honour and reputation. The atâbek 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki having been routed by the khalif's forces, fled to Técrît, and met with many civili-

² Ism. Abu'l-feda. Ebn. Shohnah, & Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, in Mawredo'llatâfa. Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dakmak, in Jawhar Al Thamîn, Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 33, 34, 35. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Schirgoueh, ou Schirkoueh, p. 788, 789, et alib. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 532, 533.

ties and good offices, both from Ayûb and Shairacûh. Some time after, Shairacûh killed a Christian scribe, or secretary, at Tecrît; which so incensed Mojâhedo'ddîn Bahrûz, who was a great lover of justice, that he expelled both him and his brother Ayûb that city. After their expulsion from Tecrît, the two brothers retired to the atâbek Amâdo'ddin Zenki's court, and engaged in his service. That prince, remembering the favours he had formerly received from these officers, loaded them with presents, and bestowed some of his territories upon them. They had not been long at Al Mawfel, then 'Amâdo'ddin's residence, before the atâbek conferred upon Ayûb the post of commandant of the citadel of Baalbec, which he had lately reduced. After Zenki's violent death, the troops of Damascus besieged Baalbec; which Aûyb delivered into their hands, by way of exchange for several other territories and districts, that were ceded to him. This conduct so conciliated the affections of the Damascenes, that he was henceforth considered as their general and commander in chief. As for Shairacûh, he remained with Nûro'ddin Mahmûd, Zenki's son; who assigned him the government of Rahaba upon the Euphrates, Hems, and other cities. Being likewise acquainted with his bravery, and skill in the military art, he constituted him generalissimo of all his forces. Nûro'ddin being afterwards desirous of annexing Damascus, with its dependencies, to his dominions; he employed Shairacûh to write to his brother Ayûb for his assistance in this affair. Shairacûh took his measures so well, and managed this arduous point with so much address, that Ayûb prevailed upon the Damascenes to recognize the authority of that prince. These two able ministers, and great captains, presided over Nûro'ddin's councils, till the first expedition he undertook into Egypt; when none of his other generals being found so capable of conducting an enterprize of such importance as Shairacûh, he was chosen to command the troops to be employed in that expedition ^a.

Though there were many emirs superior both in years and reputation to Salâh'addîn, who aspired at the dignity of wazîr, yet the khalif Al 'Aded thought fit to promote

Salâh'addîn succeeds Shairacûh in the post of wazîr.

^a Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 400, 401. Ebn Shohnah, ubi sup. Ebn Al Athir, in Al Câmel, lfm. Abu'lfed. ubi sup. Ebn Al Farî, apud Renaud. ubi sup. p. 533, 534.

to that high employment Salâh'addîn, and to dignify him with the title of Al Mâlec Al Nâîr. That title imports, *the King the Defender*. But, notwithstanding this elevation, the other emirs, who envied him the supreme authority, refused to obey his orders, and to act in concert with him. However, they were at last all reconciled by the Fakih Ifa Al Hacâcri, except 'Aino'ddawla Al Yârûki; who declared he would never submit to Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb, and returned to Nûro'ddîn's court at Damascus. In the mean time, though Salâh'addîn acted as wazîr to the khalif of Egypt, he considered himself as Nûro'ddîn's deputy in that kingdom; nor did that prince himself view him in any other light. When he wrote to Salâh'addîn, he gave him only the title al emir al esfahselâr, or *generalissimo of his forces*, and prefixed his seal to the head of the letter, without inserting his name. Nor did he ever dispatch his orders to him alone, but addressed them to him in the following terms: Let al emir al esfahselâr, Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb and our other emirs in Egypt, do so and so. When Salâh'addîn had secured to himself the charge of wazîr, and found himself master of the khalifat of Egypt, he distributed all the immense treasures of Shairacûh, and those which he had extorted from the Fâtemite khalif, amongst the emirs and the troops; by which instance of liberality, he entirely gained their affections. He likewise abstained from wine and gaming, to which he had been before extremely addicted; and, in order to expiate his former crimes, resolved to enter upon a holy war, and attempt to drive the Christians out of the Moslem territories. He also circumvented and cut off the commander of the Blacks, or Negroes, that guarded the imperial palace, and garrisoned the citadel of Al Kâhirah; putting, after a desperate engagement, the greatest part of those troops to the sword. That officer, though an eunuch, was a person of uncommon resolution and magnanimity, and for some time singly opposed the power of the new wazîr. The destruction of this corps opened a passage for Salâh'addîn into the castle; who thereupon appointed Bohâo'ddîn Karekûsh, a white eunuch, commandant of that place, and assigned him a proper garrison for its defence. Salâh'addîn, being thus master of Egypt, begged Nûro'ddîn would send his father Nojmo'ddîn Ayû Ebn Shâdi, and all the family then at Damascus, to him; which request being granted, upon their arrival in Egypt he treated them

them with uncommon marks of distinction, made them many rich presents, and settled upon them lands and possessions of very considerable value.

The following year, being the 565th of the Hejra, proved fortunate and prosperous to the new wazîr; whose power still increased, whilst that of Al 'A'ed daily declined, in Egypt. The Franks formed the siege of Dimiyât or Damiata; which, as they had a great train of military engines with them, for some time they carried on with extraordinary vigour. However, Salâh'addîn having taken care to furnish the place with a numerous garrison, and to supply it copiously with all kinds of provisions and military stores, the besiegers were obliged to abandon the enterprize, and retire, after they had laid before the town fifty-four days, and sustained a very considerable loss. Their retreat nevertheless seems to have been in some measure owing to an impression made by Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Eben Zenki upon their territories in Syria. But, though ill success attended their arms in Egypt, they reduced the castle of A'câr, or Accara, in Syria, and loaded with irons Khotlakh, one of Nûro'ddîn's slaves, who commanded there, in the Latter Rabî; a circumstance which induced Nûro'ddîn, in order to make a diversion, to besiege Al Carac, or Al Crac, in Arabia Petræa, in the month of Shaabân, though without effect; for a strong body of Franks advancing out of Palestine to the relief of that fortress, he thought fit to decamp, without venturing a battle. This misfortune was immediately followed by the death of Majdo'ddîn Ebn Al Dâya, who departed this life at Aleppo, to the great regret of Nûro'ddîn, in the month of Ramadân. He was that prince's foster-brother, had great influence over him, as he was a person of consummate abilities, and presided over the people of Aleppo, Ja'bar, and Hârem. Majdo'ddîn Abu Becr Ebn Al Dâya being dead, Nûro'ddîn conferred the government of those places upon Ali, that sâheb's son. About this time an earthquake made dreadful havock in Syria; Aleppo, and several other towns, being almost entirely destroyed by the violence of the shocks. This excited Nûro'ddîn to make a progress through that part of his dominions; but being informed at Tel Bâsher, or Tel Bâshar, a castle of prodigious strength, with a prefecture belonging to it, two days journey north of Aleppo, that his brother Kotbo'ddîn died the 22d of Dhu'lhajja at Al Mawfel, he hastened towards that city. Kotbo'ddîn Mawdûd

The most material events of the year 565.

Ebn Zenki Ebn Akfankar, the fáheb of Al Mawfel, was carried off by an ardent fever, after he had lived forty, and reigned twenty-one years. He has been represented both by Abu'l feda and Ebn Shohnah as one of the best princes, in all respects, of the age in which he lived. In his last illness, according to Abu'l-Faraj, he first appointed his eldest son 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki to succeed him; but afterwards, as we find intimated by the same author, at the instigation of Fakhro'ddîn Abd'al Masîh, the eunuch, his prime minister, who hated 'Amâdo'ddîn, on account of his attachment to Nûro'ddîn, he transferred the succession to Al Moez Saifo'ddîn Gâzi, his younger son. Khâtûn Bint Hofâmo'ddîn Tamarâtâsh, the mother of those young princes, by acting in concert with Fakhro'ddîn in this affair, greatly contributed to the exclusion of her elder son 'Amâdo'ddîn from the throne. 'Amâdo'ddîn, as soon as the aforefaid injury had been offered him, fled to his uncle Nûro'ddîn, who hated Fakhro'ddîn Abd'al Masîh, in order to solicit succours, whereby he might be enabled to assert his right to the crown. The khalif Al 'Aded sent to Salâh'addîn, his wazir, out of his own private treasury, for the use of the garrison of Dimiyât, whilst the Franks lay before that place, no less than one million of Egyptian dinârs.

*The khalif
Al Mostan-
jed Bi'llah
dies.*

Next year, being the 556th of the Hejra, Al Imâm Al Mostanjed Bi'llah Abu'l Modhaffer Yusef Ebn Al Moktâfi, the khalif of Baghdâd, departed this life. He was born in the year of the Hejra 510, and reigned about eleven years. This prince was a great lover of justice, and one of the best of the khalifs. Having thrown a calumniator, or false accuser, into prison, and detained him long in confinement, one of the grandees of his court offered him the sum of ten thousand dinârs, if he would release this prisoner: upon which, the khalif said to him, "If you can find me another man with all his bad qualities, I will presently pay you down the same sum; for I should be extremely glad to purge my dominions of such a dangerous fellow." His death was effected in the following manner, according to Abu'l Faraj: having commanded his physician Ebn Safiya to write in his name to the wazîr, and order him to affix to a gibbet, erected for that purpose, Kotboddin Kâymâz and the prefect of the palace, Ebn Safiya, his master then being at the point of death, shewed them the letter. Perceiving their fate therefore to be inevitable, if the khalif recovered, they entered his apartment, attended by some of their friends, carried him off by force, and

and shut him up in a bath he sometimes used, where, in a short time, he expiredⁱ.

The same day that Al Mostanjed was assassinated, Abu Mohammed Al Hafan, his son, was by all Al Mostanjed's domestics saluted khalif; and, next day, the principal lords of the court, in the portico, or piazza, belonging to the imperial palace, called Al Tâj, or *the Crown*, took the oath of allegiance to him. He then assumed the title or surname of Al Mostadi Beamri'llah; and was afterwards more eminent for his distribution of justice amongst his subjects than even Al Mostanjed himself. He was also extremely liberal, and gave away vast sums of money, whilst he sat on the Moslem throne. The arts and sciences likewise flourished in every part of his dominions throughout the whole course of his reign.

*Al Mostadi
Ebn Al
Mostanjed
is proclaimed
khalif.*

In the course of the same year Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki receiving advice that his nephew Saïfo'ddîn Gâzi was entirely under the direction of Fakhro'ddîn Abd'al Mafîh, who governed his kingdom with absolute power, and being resolved to drive that minister from the young prince's councils, he advanced at the head of a body of horse to Ja'bar, passed the Euphrates, occupied Al Racca, Al Khâbûr, and Nasîbin, and laid siege to Senjâr, which he took and delivered into his nephew 'Amâdo'ddîn's hands. From thence he marched first to the city of Balad, and afterwards to the castle of Nînûi, or Nineveh, where he encamped. He then crossed the Tigris, and presented himself before Al Mawfel. Fakhro'ddîn finding himself not in a condition to sustain a siege, a very considerable part of the walls of that city having fallen down the very day that Nûro'ddîn appeared, he capitulated on the first summons. The principal articles of the capitulation were, that Saïfo'ddîn should remain in peaceable possession of Al Mawfel, with the territories belonging to it, in consideration of his paying annually, by way of tribute, a stipulated sum; that no violence should be offered either to Fakhro'ddîn, or any of his domestics; and that this minister should depart with Nûro'ddîn into Syria. The town being put into his hands, he immediately possessed himself of the citadel, and gave orders to have the

*Nûro'ddîn
reduces the
principal
towns of
Mesopota-
mia.*

ⁱ Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 402, 403. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 566. Ebn Shohnah, ad an. Hej. 566. Ebn Al Athir, Al Makin, in Op. Part. inedit. Khondemir, Al Emir Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatif Al Kazwini, in Lebtarikh. Mirkhond, apud Teixeira. p. 305. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Mostanged Billah, p. 632. Renaud, ubi sup. p. 535.

Jâma' Al Nûri erected without delay. He then acknowledged Saïfo'ddîn for the fâheb of Al Mawfel, annexed the city of Senjâr, with its dependencies, to the territories he had assigned 'Amâdo'ddîn, and took Fakhro'ddîn with him into Syria, after he had remained at Al Mawfel only four and twenty days. The tribute at first exacted of Saïfo'ddîn was afterwards remitted by Nûro'ddîn; so that Saïfo'ddîn enjoyed the sovereignty of Al Mawfel, and the districts appertaining to it, in the most full and absolute manner. Nevertheless, the division of Kotbo'ddîn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki's states between his two sons, as has been observed by Kemâlo'ddîn Al Shahrezûri, proved a mortal blow to the family of the atâbeks of Irâk; for 'Amâdo'ddîn, being Kotbo'ddîn Mawdûd's elder son, could not be prevailed upon to submit, in any respect, to his younger brother, who, being saluted by the title of king, insisted upon 'Amâdo'ddîn's obedience. Hence discords and dissensions arising between them, their enemies were thereby excited to attack a divided power; which united under one prince, as it formerly had been, would have baffled and frustrated all their designs.

Salâh'addîn gains some advantages over the Franks, and discomfences the Shiites.

This year Salâh'addîn made an irruption into the territories of the Franks, penetrated as far as Alkalân and Al Ramla, in Palestine, which for some time he blocked up, and then moved towards the frontiers of Egypt. He afterwards besieged Ela, or Aila, a maritime town on the coast of the sea Al Kolzom; which he took by storm, and gave up to his troops to be plundered. With the last exploit he finished the campaign; and, at the conclusion of it, returned home. He also converted two of the public buildings at Al Kâhirah into schools, or colleges, for the disciples of the famous Sonnite doctor Al Shâfeï; turning at the same time all the kâdis or judges of the Shiite persuasion out of their places, and substituting those that professed the tenets of Al Shâfeï in their room. Takio'ddîn Omar, Salâh'addîn's nephew, likewise purchased a most superb palace, and founded at his own expence several colleges for educating the youth trained up in the principles of Al Shâfeï, in the capital of Egypt.

The khalfat of the Fâtemites is abolished in Egypt.

The 567th year of the Hejra proved fatal to the Fâtemite empire in Egypt. Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki, who was a great favourer of the Sonnites, having been informed that Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb had posted a body of

* Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 403, 404. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 566.

troops

troops in the castle of Al Kâhirah, under the command of Karâkûsh Al Afadi, and was absolute master of the kingdom of Egypt, he ordered him to issue an edict, enjoining an omission of the name of the khalif Al 'Aded in the public prayers, and requiring the Egyptians to mention in the room of it that of Al Mostadi Beamri'llah, the khalif of Baghdâd. In answer to Nûro'ddin's letter, Salâh'addîn wrote him word, that, as the Egyptians were for the most part followers of Ali, he was afraid such a step would occasion an insurrection, and prove extremely prejudicial to his affairs in Egypt. But Nûro'ddin informing Salâh'addîn, that his order was peremptory, and that he would be obeyed, the name of Al 'Aded was omitted, for the first time, on the second Friday of Al Moharram, and that of Al Mostadi substituted, in the mosques throughout the Egyptian territories, in the time of divine service. When the edict issued by Salâh'addîn on this occasion was carried into execution, Al 'Aded was sick, and soon after expired; neither Salâh'addîn nor any of the Egyptian emirs having acquainted him with the deprivation of his authority. Al 'Aded was no sooner dead, than Salâh'addîn occupied the imperial palace, and took possession of all the immense treasures, as well as the invaluable furniture (F) found therein. To the latter appertained a noble library of books, collected by the Fâtemite khalifs; a jacinth weighing seventeen methkâls or Arabic drachms,

(F) Some writers inform us, that this furniture consisted of a great quantity of the richest tapestry, of sumptuous garments of every sort, of porcelain and crystal cups of great price, of jewels and pearls of immense value, amongst which was an emerald a palm and an half long, a string of large rubies, weighing seventeen Egyptian methkâls, and a pearl as big as a pigeon's egg, besides many other things equally rare and valuable. The library in particular is said to have contained no less than one hundred thousand volumes, bound and written in the most beautiful manner. The books were distributed, by order of the Fâte-

mite khalifs, amongst as many of the doctors of the law, and other learned men, as had occasion to consult them. Nor can this particular be matter of surprize to any one, who considers the prodigious number of pieces, formed of the works of the Moslem divines, who have interpreted the Koran, of the productions of the most eminent traditionists, professors of jurisprudence, philologers, grammarians, critics, poets, philosophers, physicians, and historians, besides the learned labours of other authors that cannot so properly be ranged under any particular class, in reputation amongst the Mohammedans.

and denominated from its enormous size the Jacinth Mountain; and a vast number of presents, made by many sovereign princes to Al 'Aded and his predecessors. With regard to the jacinth just mentioned, Ebn Al Athîr, in his *Al Câmel*, relates, that he saw it, and weighed it, and represents it as a most valuable curiosity. Abu'lfeda writes, that there was also in the palace a strange and wonderful drum, which if any one struck when he had a fit of the colic upon him, he was presently cured. This drum, continues he, was unluckily broken by some who were strangers to the salutary virtue it contained. Al 'Aded's family Salâh'addîn removed to a private and retired part of the palace, and placed a guard over them. Of the khalif's slaves some were sold, some manumitted, and others given away. As to the circumstances attending the suppression of Al 'Aded's authority in Egypt and his death, the Arab authors of the best authority are not perfectly agreed. Some of them affirm that a Persian fusi, or monk, was the first that prayed for Al Mostadi Beamri'l-lah, the khalif of Baghdâd, in one of the mosques at Al Kâhirah, no other person daring to perform the same, for fear of exciting a tumult amongst the people; and that Salâh'addîn performed the last offices usual on such occasions to Al 'Aded, at his request, in his dying moments. Others say, that Salâh'addîn ordered Al 'Aded to be confined in a tower, and afterwards put to death. Lastly, others intimate, that Salâh'addîn destroyed the Fâtemite khalif, by obliging him to suck poison out of his brother Tûrân Shâh's ring. With respect to the person who first had the courage to repeat Al Mostadi's name in one of the mosques of Al Kâhirah, we are told that he was a blind man, and went under the appellation of Al Emir Al 'Alem, by Abu'l-Faraj. According to Abu'lfeda, Al 'Aded earnestly desired to have a conference with Salâh'addîn, when he was so ill that there were scarce any hopes of his recovery; but the wazîr suspecting treachery on the part of the Fâtemite khalif, refused to see him. However, finding, after his death, that there was no foundation for such a suspicion, he was greatly concerned that he had not waited upon him. That prince died, if Bohâo'ddîn may be credited, the 12th of Al Moharram; but, if we follow Abu'l-Faraj, his death happened on the 10th of the same month. Thus ended the empire of the Fâtemite khalifs in Africa, after it had continued about two hundred and seventy-one years; above two hundred of which, as appears from the preceding part of this work, they

they had maintained themselves upon the throne of Egypt. The princes that formed this dynasty were Shiites, who asserted Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb to have been the first lawful khalif and imâm; and maintained that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, belonged to his descendents. They even deduced their origin from Ali himself and Fâtema, the daughter of Mohammed; and, in consequence of this pretension, assumed the name of Fâtémities: they also styled themselves imâmians, and imâms; intimating that they were descended in a right line from the head of that family which alone supplied the Moslem world with true and rightful imâms. They bore an implacable hatred and utter aversion to the khalifs of the house of Al Abbâs; whom they considered as intruders and usurpers, not in the least related to the family of Mohammed, and as propagators of false traditions wherever their power prevailed. As Nûro'ddîn, therefore, was a zealous Sonnite, entertained the highest regard for the khalifs of Baghdâd, and detested the Shiites, it is no wonder the abolition of the khalifat of Egypt, at this juncture, should have been his principal object. Besides, he might not only be influenced by religious but likewise by political motives in this affair; he might think that nothing could contribute more to the humiliation of the Franks, who were then grown formidable, than a re-union of the Moslems, under one common spiritual head¹.

As soon as the news of the abolition of the Fâtémite khalifat in Egypt arrived at Baghdad, and it was known that the khalif Al Mostadi Beamri'llah was prayed for throughout all the Egyptian provinces, public rejoicings, for several days, were made in that capital. Al Mostadi also dispatched 'Amado'ddîn Sandal, one of his ministers of state, with royal vests to Nûro'ddîn, Salah'addîn, and those preachers who had mentioned his name in the mosques of Egypt. He also sent them magnificent presents, and ordered the black standards, used by the house of Al Abbâs, to be carried to Al Kâhirah, where his authority was now recognized by people of all ranks and denominations. It is worthy of observation, that this revolution was effected without any effusion of Moslem blood,

¹ Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 38. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 567. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 567. Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, in Mawredo'llatafa, Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dakmak, in Al Jawhar Al Thamin, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 404, 405. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 742. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 535, 536.

or,

or, as the Arab writers express it, without so much as two goats butting each other, though the Egyptians had been, for above two hundred years, entirely attached to the family of Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb.

*Al Aded's
dream.*

Not long before the suppression of his authority in Egypt, the khalif Al 'Aded saw in a dream a scorpion coming out of one of the mosques at Mefr, called the mosque of Al 'Aded, which made directly towards him, and stung him. He instantly awaked in great terror, and sent next morning for the most eminent interpreters of dreams, in order to consult them. Upon hearing his dream, they unanimously agreed, that some person who should come out of that mosque would do him an injury. He then commanded the governor of Mefr to send the person or persons residing in that temple, who thereupon brought before him a sheikh of the sûfis, whose name was Nojmo'ddîn Al Khûbafnâni. The khalif asked him whence he came, and why he inhabited that mosque? To which interrogations he gave such plain and simple answers, that Al 'Aded could not apprehend himself to be in any danger from him. He, therefore, dismissed him with some handsome presents; and at his departure begged he would pray for him. However, Salâh'addîn, soon after aspiring at the khalifat, and meditating the demolition of the Fâtemite power, consulted many of the Moslem sages upon the legality of the point he had in view; who, by their decisions, excited him to carry his designs into execution. Amongst others that attended the wazîr's levee on this occasion, sheikh Nojmo'ddîn Al Khûbafnâni appeared, and expatiated so much upon the perfidious abandoned conduct of the Fâtemites, and represented in such strong colours the many mischiefs they had been the authors of, that he greatly contributed to their downfall in Egypt. This circumstance was considered as a clear accomplishment of the prediction exhibited by the khalif Al 'Aded's dream^m.

*Nûro'ddîn
grows jea-
lous of Sa-
lâh'addîn.*

Salâh'addîn being master of Al 'Aded's treasures, which amounted to a prodigious sum, sent part of them to Nûro'ddîn in Syria, and the rest he distributed amongst the troops, reserving not a single dinar for his own use. Not long after the Fâtemite khalif's death, Salâh'addîn advanced at the head of a large body of troops towards the frontiers of Syria, and at last invested Shawbec, a fortress of the Franks on the confines of Hejaz; but upon Nûro'ddîn's approach he raised the siege, lest the reduc-

^m Ism. Abu'lfed. & Ebn Shohnah, ubi sup.

tion of this place should have opened a passage directly for that conqueror's numerous forces into Egypt. This step was highly resented by Nûro'ddîn, who from that time grew jealous of Salâh'addîn. Some writers intimate, that Salâh'addîn was apprehensive of being deserted by the Syrian officers of his army, as soon as their old master Nûro'ddîn should appear; and that this consideration induced him to abandon the siege of Al Shawbec and retire into Egypt. However that may be, Nûro'ddîn was so incensed at this conduct, that he declared, that he intended soon to undertake an expedition against Salâh'addîn with all the forces he could assemble. Upon the arrival of this intelligence at Al Kâhira, Salâh'addîn summoned all his great officers, and amongst the rest his father Ayûb, whom he had made his lord treasurer, to attend him in the palace. He then imparted to them the advice he had received of Nûro'ddîn's intention to invade Egypt, and asked them, with no small concern, what course they would advise him to take? "If Nûro'ddîn (said Takio'ddîn) should dare to attack us, we will repel force by force." "By no means (replied the old crafty Ayûb); if Nûro'ddîn should do us the honour to pay us a visit, I would prostrate myself before him." Then, directing his discourse to Salâh'addîn, "Son, (said he) write to our master Nûro'ddîn without delay, and tell him, that if he shall be pleased to send any of his slaves with a towel to tie about your neck in order to draw you after him into Syria, you will follow him with the utmost alacrity to your sovereign's court." The council then broke up. Ayûb, however, waited upon Salâh'addîn in his own apartment, and addressed him in the following terms: "Be of good courage, son; if Nûro'ddîn attempts to penetrate into Egypt, I myself will head your forces against him; but let us keep our counsel to ourselves: for though you shall not send him so much as a single sugar-cane, if he demand it, you must not openly assert your independency. If this should be done, he will lay aside all his other designs, and particularly the war he is now meditating against the Franks, and attack you with his whole power; the consequence of which, as the issues of war are uncertain, no man can foresee: whereas, by pretending to persist in your allegiance, you will gain time, and be thereby enabled, with the divine assistance, to weather the impending storm." This salutary advice was fully justified by the event".

* Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dakmak, & Ism. Abu'lfed, ubi sup. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 537.
Nûro'ddîn

*Nûro'ddîn
takes 'Ar-
kâ from
the Franks.*

Nûro'ddîn, being satisfied with Salâh'addîn's assurance of fidelity, continued his military preparations, for a war with the Franks, in pursuance of the plan he had formed, with the utmost vigour. He dispatched orders to Saïfo'ddîn Gâzi, the sâheb of Al Mawfel, his nephew, to join him with all the forces he could assemble, that he might be thereby enabled to enter upon action without delay. After the junction of Nûro'ddîn's troops and those of Al Mawfel, that conqueror advanced to 'Arkâ, a town, having a strong castle, in the territory of Damascus, laid siege to it, and at last took it by storm, in the month of Al Moharram, of the present year °.

*The Katay-
ans make
an irrup-
tion into
Khowâ-
razm.*

The same year the Katayans, or eastern Tartars, passed the Jîhûn, and made an irruption into Khowârazm. The news of this invasion being brought to Arslân Ebn Akfar, the shâh of Khowârazm, he advanced at the head of all his forces to Amawayh, in order to give them battle; but was there taken ill and died. However, an emir or general of great reputation amongst the Khowârazmians, took upon him the command of the army, came up with the enemy and engaged them; but was defeated, taken prisoner, and carried by the Katayans into Mawarâ'lnahr. The shâh of Khowârazm himself was carried from Amawayh, where he fell sick, to his capital, and in a few days expired; and was succeeded by sultân shâh Mahmûd, his younger son. This succession so incensed 'Alâo'ddîn Tacash, or Takash, his eldest son, who was then at Jondi, that he repaired directly to the king of Katay's court, and solicited his assistance, who immediately sent an army, under the conduct of Fûmâ, his general, to penetrate into Khowârazm, and place 'Alâo'ddîn Tacash upon the throne. Fûmâ moved to the frontiers of Khowârazm, without meeting with any obstruction in his march; of which sultân shâh Mamûd and his mother having been informed, they immediately abandoned the kingdom of Khowârazm, and retired into Khorasân. This retreat enabled 'Alâo'ddîn Tacash Shâh to ascend the throne of Khowârazm without striking a stroke. It may not be improper to remark, that the country called Kitay, Katay, or Khatay, by the Oriental writers, contained the northern provinces of China, and a great part of Tartary to the north and north-west of it. The capital of this great region was Cambalu, or Khan-balik, denominated by the

° Bohao'ddîn Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 38. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Tab. Syr. Sharif Al Edrisî, par. v. clym. 3. p. 118. Alb. Schult Ind. Geographic. in Vita Salad. Lugd. Bat. 1732.

present Chinese Pekin, Pe-king, and Shun-tien-fu, the metropolis of the whole empire, and the residence of the emperor himself ^p.

In the 568th year of the Hejra, Karâkûsh, the mam-lûk, who had been one of Tâkiô'ddîn Omar Ebn Shâhin-shâh Ebn Ayûb's slaves, marched with a body of Turks out of Egypt to Tripoli in Africa, formed the siege of that city, and at last took it. He also reduced to his obedience several provinces in that part of Africa before the close of the campaign ^q.

*A body of
Turks takes
Tripoli in
Africa.*

In the course of the same year Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki led an army against Kilij Arslân II. the son of Ma-s'ûd, the Seljûkian sultân of Al Rûm, penetrated into his dominions, and possessed himself of Mar'ash, Bahnesâ, Marzabân, and Saywâs, or Siwâs, without having sustained any considerable loss. Kilij Arslân finding himself not able to oppose the atâbek's forces, and fearing to be driven even from his capital, sent an embassy to Nuro'd-dîn, beseeching peace. This Nûro'ddîn refused to grant, unless he would restore Malatîa to Dhu'lnûn Ebn Al Râneshmend, whom he had unjustly deprived of it. The restitution of Malatîa being refused by Kilij Arslân, Nûro'ddîn proposed to him in lieu thereof, the cession of Sî-wâs to Dhu'lnûn. This proposal proving more agreeable to Kilij Arslân, he complied with it; upon which, Nûro'ddîn concluded a treaty of peace with him, and then returned into Syria; but notwithstanding this treaty, after Nûro'ddîn's death, Kilij Arslân made an irruption into Dhu'lnûn Ebn Al Raneshmend's territories, besieged Sî-wâs with a body of troops that Dhu'lnûn could not oppose, and expelled him from that place ^r.

*Nûro'ddîn
leads an
army
against the
sultân of
Al Rûm.*

In the same year Salâh'addîn, having conciliated the affections of the Egyptians by his liberality, and the lenity of his administration, to a wonderful degree, invaded the districts of Al Carac and Al Shawbec, sitting down before the former of those places; but receiving advice that Nûro'ddîn was advanced to Al Rakîm, near Al Carac, in order to have an interview with him, he raised the siege of Al Carac, and retired with great precipitation towards the borders of Egypt. However, he sent Nûro'd-dîn some very rich presents, and acquainted him with his

*Salâh'ad-
dîn besieges
Al Carac,
or Crac.*

^p Greg. Abu'lfaraj. ubi sup. p. 405. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Turk, p. 897. & art. Khathai, p. 991. Jos. Sim. Asselman. Dissertat. de Syr. Nestorian, p. 534. Romæ, 1728. Du Halde's Description. of the Empire of China, &c. p. 66. ^q Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 568. ^r Idem ibid.

father Ayûb's illness, and the danger he was in of losing Egypt, if that consummate statesman should die; a circumstance which he assigned as a reason for his hasty retreat. This Nûro'ddîn thought fit to admit, though he was no stranger to the motive of Salâh'addîn's conduct. As for Ayûb Ebn Shâdi, his father, a man of an exceeding good character, famed for his wisdom and rare virtues, whose death was occasioned, or at least accelerated, by a fall from his horse, he died at this period, after he had languished in his palace a few days.

*Nûro'ddîn
Mahmûd
Ebn Zenki
dies.*

In the following year, being the 560th of the Hejra, Al Mâlec Al 'Adel Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki, the sâheb of Al Shâm and Al Jazîra, or Syria and Mesopotamia, as well as of several other provinces, departed this life. He died of a quincy, or squinancy, in the castle of Damascus. He was then upon the point of invading Egypt, in order to deprive Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb of the sovereignty of that kingdom; having appointed Saïfo'ddîn Gâzi, his brother's son, to command the army destined to act against the Franks, whilst he undertook the Egyptian expedition. By his demise, therefore, soltân Salâh'addîn was delivered from all apprehension of so formidable an enemy and competitor, and fixed upon the throne of Egypt. Nûro'ddîn was tall, with a majestic person, and a swarthy complexion. He had no whiskers, but only a small beard on the lower part of his chin. His dominions were very extensive: he was prayed for not only in Syria, Mesopotamia, Al Yaman, when that country was subdued by Tarân Shâh Ebn Ayûb, and the two Harâms, or *Sacred Cities*, that is, Mecca and Medina, but likewise in Egypt. He passes amongst the Moslems, even at this day, not only for one of their greatest princes, but also one of their saints: he acquired the highest reputation for his justice and probity; having united in his person piety and valour, qualities which seldom meet in the same subject. He frequently spent much of the night in prayer, and amidst his immense riches considered himself only as the depositary of the public treasure, from whence he drew an exceeding small sum for his household expences, insomuch that his domestics often complained of being in want of common necessaries. Notwithstanding which parsimony with respect to every thing regarding the public, he was liberal to a great degree. He built several colleges for the disciples of the celebrated imâms Abu Hanîfa and Al Shafeï. He himself adopted the principles of the sect of Abu Hanîfa; but without any tincture

ture of bigotry, according to some of the best Moslem writers. He, at his own expence, raised the walls of the cities of Damascus, Haleb or Aleppo, Hems, Hamah, Shaizar, Baalbec, and others, which had been thrown down by the violent shocks of earthquakes. Some authors relate, that he was the first Moslem prince who established a chamber of justice against the violence offered the lower part of his subjects by the nobility, and gave the name of Dar Al 'Adel, or *the House of Justice*, to this commission. Nûro'ddîn having made Damascus his residence, and his court being composed of many emirs or commanders of his troops, who kept a vast number of servants, Shairacûh, Salâh'addîn's uncle, allowed those belonging to him great liberty, who thereupon arrived at such a pitch of insolence, that complaints were carried to the kâdi Kemâlo'ddîn of their behaviour every day, without his being able to apply any remedy, on account of their master's powerful protection. The sultân being informed of these disorders, and intending to bring back the emirs themselves to a sense of their duty, ordered the commissioners he had nominated on this occasion, to enquire with the utmost rigour into the injuries and wrongs suffered by the people from the grandees, and to punish the guilty with severity, without any regard to the rank and quality of the offender. Shairacûh, perceiving that this tribunal was levelled particularly at him, ordered all his domestics, upon pain of death, to pay an exact obedience to the ordinances of the police issued by the kâdi, that they might not be brought before this court of justice, of which he himself was even afraid. Such a prudent and equitable institution endeared the sultân to his subjects, and rendered his memory in the highest degree grateful to them. This affection appeared from the following accident that happened some time after his death. A man of Damascus having received some outrage, for which he could obtain no redress, cried out, as if he had been imploring his assistance, "O Nûro'ddîn, where are you?" Salâh'addîn, who then reigned, having been apprized of the action, commanded immediate satisfaction to be made, and every subject of complaint removed; but neither did this reparation, however ample it might seem, dry up the complainant's tears; who answered the persons demanding the cause of them in these terms: "I lament the loss of that great king who was so just and so equitable; for since his death we have not lived the life of men, but that of beasts." The colleges erected at Damascus, Al Mawfel,
Hems,

Hems, Aleppo, and other considerable places under his jurisdiction, he very richly endowed. He also built a large number of splendid mosques, and settled very considerable revenues upon them. Nor was he less conspicuous for his temperance than for his justice, liberality, and real piety. The many hospitals he founded for the reception both of the poor and infirm, in several parts of his dominions, were monuments of his extensive charity. In short, he seems to have wanted nothing requisite to the formation of one of the best, as well as one of the greatest princes that ever lived, as he was adorned with many singular virtues, and void of every vice but a profession of the true religion ^p.

*Al Mâlec
Al Sâleh
Ismael
Mahmûd,
his son, suc-
ceeds him.*

Nûro'ddîn's death was no sooner known than Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ismael Mahmûd, his son, then only eleven years old, was appointed to succeed him, in the sovereignty of his extensive dominions; and the troops of Damascus, where he proposed to reside, accordingly took the oath of allegiance to him. Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb, having received advice of his accession, acknowledged himself his vassal, and ordered prayers in all the mosques within the Egyptian territories to be offered up for him. Money likewise was coined in his name; but, being incapable of holding the reins of government, Al Emîr Shamfo'ddîn Mohammed, commonly called Ebn Al Mokaddem, had the management and direction of all public affairs. Al Mâlec Al Sâleh had not long ascended the throne, before Saifo'ddîn Gâzi Ebn Kotbo'ddîn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki, the sâheb of Al Mawfel, invaded Al Jazîra or Mesopotamia, and took possession of every part of that large province.

*The principal exploits
of Salâ-
h'addîn, in
the year
569.*

Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb having been informed that Nûro'ddîn was making the necessary preparations to attack him, and being desirous of having a place to retire to, in case he should be obliged to abandon the kingdom of Egypt, projected the conquest of Nubia; and sent his brother Mâlec Shamfo'ddawla Tûrân Shâh, with a powerful army, thither for that purpose: but Tûrân Shâh, after he had penetrated into that barren and uncultivated country, finding Nubia not worth conquering, on account of its sterility, returned with his forces into Egypt; and was ordered by Salâh'addîn to undertake an expedition into Al

^p Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 569. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 405, 406. Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 39, 40. Ebn Shohnah, ad ann. Hej. 569. Al Makin, in Op. Part. inedit. ad ann. Hej. 569. Khondemir, Ebn Al Athîr, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 679, 680, & alib. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 538.

Yaman, which then groaned under the tyranny of Abd'al-nabi, an emir who was descended from the ancient inhabitants of that country. Tûrân Shâh having entered Al Yaman without opposition, and brought Abd'alnabi to a general action, entirely defeated him, took him prisoner, and threw him into irons. He likewise made himself master of Zabîd, overthrew Yafîr, the sâheb of 'Aden, and imprisoned him. He also carried the city of 'Aden itself by assault, plundered it, and reduced to the obedience of Salâh'addîn about eighty castles or fortresses; of considerable strength. Some authors pretend, that Salâh'addîn employed in this war his brother Tûrân Shâh, a man of a turbulent and haughty disposition, with the troops under his command, that were extremely prone to mutiny and sedition, lest they should have meditated a revolt. The same writers observe, that Nûro'ddîn himself approved of this enterprize; though he soon after dispatched Ebn Al Kai-far to Al Kâhirah, with an order to Salâh'addîn to send him a minute and particular account of all the treasures, and valuable curiosities, amassed by the Fâtemite khalifs. Salâh'addîn not only complied with this order, but likewise made Nûro'ddîn a present of a large sum of money; though he had before sent him many things (G), out of the

(G) The following list of these presents has been preserved by Al Makrîzi. Five tents made of silk embroidered with gold, having golden rings, clasps, and joints; some jewels of an unusual size; fifty phials of most exquisite balsam; forty vases or vessels of porcelain, of Chinese workmanship, extremely beautiful to the eye; a large piece of odoriferous lignum aloes, with which the Orientals perfume themselves; and two fragments of amber, one of which weighed thirty, and the other twenty pounds. Hence it appears, that the Egyptians, at this time, carried on a flourishing commerce both with the Indians and the Chinese; the former supplying them with odoriferous lignum aloes, from the peninsula of Comar, from

whence the promontory called by the Europeans cape Comorin derives its name, and the latter with the most beautiful earthen ware. But that the Moslems trafficked with the Indians and the Chinese, three hundred years before the period that we are now treating, and that all these nations kept their ports open to one another, is evident, from a piece written upon this very subject by Mohammed Al Sirâfi, whose native city Sirâf, upon the Persian gulph, was then the great emporium of the East, and the place to which the riches, that were the produce of those remote countries, at that time came. As for the aloes, or lignum aloes, above mentioned, this was either brought to Egypt directly from the Indian ocean, by the way

the imperial palace in Al Kâhirah, of almost inestimable value. To this condescension he was excited by the conduct of the Egyptians, who had conspired against him, and formed a design to restore the Fâtemite family to the khalifat of Egypt : but the conspiracy being detected, Salâh'addîn caused all the persons concerned in it to be crucified.⁹

*Al Canz or
Al Cand
rebels a-
gainst Sa-
lâh'addîn.*

Next year, being the 570th of the Hejra, Al Canz or Al Cand, called by some authors Kenaz or Kenazo'ddawla, the governor of Afwân, having assembled a considerable body of Negroes, rebelled against Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb, the sâheb or soltân of Egypt. The Egyptians crowding to him from all parts, he formed a powerful army, and advanced into the territory of Kûs : but here the rebels were intercepted by Al Mâlec Al 'Adel Saifo'ddîn, Salâh'addîn's brother ; who attacked them with so much bravery, that he put them to flight, killed a great number upon the spot, and so effectually dispersed the remainder that they could never afterwards be rallied : Al Canz or Kenaz himself fell upon the field of battle. The Egyptians were excited to this revolt, by the prospect of placing one of the late khalif Al 'Aded's sons upon the Fâtemite throne.

*The Franks
raise the
siege of
Alexan-
dria.*

The same day that Al Canz was defeated by Salâh'addîn's troops in the territory of Kûs, the Franks, under the command of William II. king of Sicily, raised the siege of Alexandria ; abandoning their camp with so much precipitation, that they left all their baggage and military engines behind them. William, according to the Moslem writers, appeared off that place with a fleet of six hundred sail, having thirty thousand land forces on board. He carried on his attacks with great vigour and resolution for

⁹ Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dakmak, Ism. Abu'lfed. Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, Ebn Al Athir, & Ebn Shohnah, ubi sup. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 538.

of the Red Sea ; or else it was carried from the Persian gulph to the port of Al Kofir, a town about three days journey, through a frightful desert, from Kûs, a famous city of Al Sa'îd or Thebais, and conveyed from thence into the Lower Egypt

by means of the Nile. The presents, which were returned to Salâh'addîn, after Nûro'ddîn's death, were valued, according to Al Makrizi, at no less than two hundred thousand dinârs (1).

(1) Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, in Mawredo'llatâf. Mohammed Al Sirâfi, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 814.

three

three days, but without effect: for Salâh'addîn advancing with a formidable army to the relief of the town, the Franks being struck with a panic on his approach, immediately abandoned the siege, after they had sustained considerable loss. Al Makrizi writes, that the Christians having been exceedingly harassed by the sallies of the Moslem garrison, and lost several of their ships, found themselves obliged to relinquish the enterprize. William of Tyre informs us, that this expedition, which he places in the 1173d year of Christ, or the 569th of the Moslem æra, continued only six days; and that it miscarried, through the ill conduct of the officers who commanded the Christian troops.

This year, Shamso'ddîn Ebn Al Dâya, who resided at Aleppo, invited Sa'do'ddîn Camosh Takîn and Al Malec Al Sâleh Ismael Ebn Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki to that city. Soon after their arrival from Damascus, Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ismael assumed the government of Aleppo, and fixed his residence in that place; but as he was incapable of conducting public affairs, by reason of his tender age, not being above twelve years old, Sa'do'ddîn Camosh Takîn, his prime minister, ruled with absolute power. This minister being jealous of Shamso'ddîn Ebn Al Dâya, ordered both him and his brothers to be put under arrest. He also secured the persons of Ebn Al Khefhâb, the prefect of Aleppo, and his brothers; which conduct giving Al Mokaddem and the other officers of the troops at Damascus dreadful apprehensions of his power, they immediately wrote to Salâh'addîn, and begged that he would accept of the sovereignty of their city. This application was no sooner made than Salâh'addîn proceeded with the utmost celerity to Damascus, at the head of a chosen detachment of seven hundred horse. Upon his arrival, he was received by the citizens with open arms, and instantly repaired to the house of his father Aÿûb, named Al Akîkî. However, the citadel for some time refused to surrender: but having seduced Rîhân, Al Mâlec Al Sâleh's commandant, he at last made himself master of the place as well as of all the riches deposited in it. Having settled his affairs at Damascus, and appointed his brother Saif Al Islâm Tagtakîn Ebn Ayûb to preside over the people of that city, he began his march for Hems, which he invested. Having possessed himself of the town, he left a body of troops to block up the castle, and advanced to Hamah; which, on the first of the Latter Jomâda, opened its gates to his army. Al Emîr 'Azzo'ddîn Jordîc, one of Nûro'ddîn's mamlûks, or

Salâh'addîn reduces Damascus, and several other places in Syria.

slaves, commanded at this time in the citadel. Salâh'addîn summoned him to surrender, assuring him, that he had no other view in this expedition than to govern that and the neighbouring provinces as Al Mâlec Al Sâleh's deputy, and that he was desirous of sending him with a letter to Aleppo. This assurance so pleased Jordîc, that he took the oath of fidelity to Salâh'addîn, as Al Mâlec Al Sâleh's deputy; and, having assigned the command of the castle of Hamah to his brother, departed for Aleppo, with the soltân's letter. He had not been long there, when Camosh Takîn ordered him to be seized and thrown into prison; advice of which being received at Damascus, his brother, without hesitation, delivered up the citadel into Salâh'addîn's hands. The soltân then marched with his army to Aleppo, and besieged that city; but the citizens, being entirely in Al Mâlec Al Sâleh's interest, repulsed Salâh'addîn in several attacks, and made a very vigorous defence. Camosh Takîn likewise hired Sinân or Senân, the chief of the Ismaelians or Bâtanists, to assassinate Salâh'addîn; and this chief sent a party of the ruffians he usually employed on such occasions for that purpose to the soltân's camp: but they perished in the attempt; having all been cut to pieces, if Abu'lfeda may be credited, upon the spot where they would have perpetrated this execrable fact. Another writer, however, relates, that an Ismaelian or Bâtanist, attacked the soltân, and wounded him, in the following year; but adds, that he held the assassin till some of his guards came up, who presently dispatched him. Two others, according to this author, afterwards fell upon him, and experienced the same fate. Salâh'addîn continued the siege of Aleppo till the first of Rajeb; but being then informed, that the Franks had invested Hems, he immediately decamped, and reached Hamah, the eighth of the same month. From Hamah he pursued his march to Hems, with a resolution to engage the Franks; but they raised the siege, and retired at his approach. Being master of the town and district of Hems, the soltân obliged the castle, which he was not able to reduce before, to submit to his arms, the 21st of Shaabân. This conquest was followed by the surrender of Baalbec. The rapid progress of Salâh'addîn's arms alarming Al Mâlec Al Sâleh, he solicited succours of his kinsmen Saïfo'ddîn Gâzi, the sâheb of Al Mawfel, and 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Mawdûd, the sâheb of Senjâr; but the latter of these refused to assist him. This refusal so incensed Saïfo'ddîn, that he marched with a body of his troops towards Senjâr, in order to lay siege

to that place; and sent the rest of his forces, under the command of his brother 'Azzo'ddîn Mas'ûd Ebn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki and 'Azzo'ddîn Mahmûd, one of his best generals, on whom he had conferred the title of Selfandâz, to join the army at Aleppo. Salâh'addîn, knowing the fate of war to be uncertain, offered to cede Hems and Hamah to Al Mâlec Al Sâleh, and to govern Damascus only as his lieutenant, in order to pave the way to an accommodation; but these proposals being rejected, a bloody battle ensued on the eminences near Hamah, which terminated in the entire defeat of Al Mâlec Al Sâleh and his allies. Salâh'addîn, with the victory, gained an immense quantity of spoil, and pursued the flying enemy to Aleppo, where he shut them up. This step produced a peace; by which Salâh'addîn remained master of all Syria or Al Shâm, except only the city and territory of Aleppo, which were left to Al Mâlec Al Sâleh. After the conclusion of this treaty, the sultân departed from Aleppo to Damascus; and would neither permit Al Mâlec Al Sâleh to be prayed for in the mosques of Syria, nor to have money coined with his name impressed upon it. He also wrested the castle of Bârîn, in the district of Hamah, from Fakhro'ddîn Mas'ûd Ebn Al Za'farâni, one of Nûro'ddîn's principal commanders, towards the close of Shawâl, in the present year.

The 571st year of the Hejra, proved likewise favourable to the arms of Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb; who at this time not only meditated the conquest of all the lesser Mohammedan states, but also the expulsion of the Franks out of Syria. He defeated, with great slaughter, at Tel Al Soltân, Saïfo'ddîn Gâzi Ebn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki, the sâheb of Al Mawfel, the lord of Hîfn Caifâ, a small fortress at the foot of Mount Carmel, the sâheb of Mâredîn, and several other princes, who entered into a confederacy against him. The sultân, however, did not gain this battle without considerable loss; his left wing having, in the beginning of the action, been broke by Saïfo'ddîn's right, commanded by Modhaffero'ddîn Ebn Zino'ddîn, a very famous general: but this repulse served only to animate Salâh'addîn's men; who, being rallied by the sultân, attacked Zîno'ddîn's corps with such fury, that they dispersed them, and soon after drove all the enemies forces out of the field. Fakhro'd-

The principal events of the year 571;

^r Ifn. Abu'lfed. ubi supra. Ebn Shohnah, ad ann. Hej. 570. Bohao'ddîn Ebn Sheddad, ubi supra, p. 41, 42, 43. Greg. Abu'lfaraj. ubi supra, p. 406, 407. Al Makrizi, ubi supra. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 742. Renaud. ubi supra. Alb. Schult. Ind. Geograph. in Vit. Salad. Lugd. Bat. 1732.

dîn Abd'almafih and other persons of distinction, who were taken prisoners, Salâh'addîn released; and gave 'Az-
zo'ddîn Fakhrûshâh the fâheb of Al Mawfel's tent. Sai-
fo'ddîn himself fled to Al Mawfel with so much precipita-
tion, that the sultân could not come up with him: but
thinking himself by no means safe in that place, he would
have abandoned his capital to the victorious enemy, had he
not been dissuaded from so pusillanimous an action by his
wazîr. In the mean time, Salâh'addîn having made him-
self master of the enemy's camp, and secured all the rich
spoil, advanced to Bezâga, which he besieged and took.
He then marched to Manbij, which he also invested. Kot-
bo'ddîn Yenâl Ebn Hafan Al Manbijî, the fâheb of the
town and district of Manbij, the Hierapolis of the ancients,
an inveterate enemy to Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb; who
carried the city by assault, threw Kotbo'ddîn himself into
irons, and entirely plundered his palace. However, he
was afterwards released, went to Al Mawfel, and met with
a very favourable reception from Saifo'ddîn Gâzi Ebn
Mawdûd Ebn Zenki, who treated him with uncommon
marks of distinction, and made him a present of the city
of Al Rakka upon the Euphrates. From Manbij Salâh'ad-
dîn directed his march to 'Azâz, or Azâza, a strong fort-
ress situated in the most pleasant and delightful part of the
territory of Aleppo, and obliged it to capitulate. After
the surrender of 'Azaz, Salâh'addîn advanced at the head
of his forces to the gates of Aleppo, and invested that
place again, about the middle of Dhu'lhajja. Whilst he
lay encamped before the town, the daughter of Nûro'ddîn
Mahmûd Ebn Zenki, his former master and benefactor,
Al Mâlec Al Sâleh's sister, a little girl, was brought into
his tent. The sultân took the child up in his arms, kissed
her, and, after he had bestowed many valuable presents
upon her, asked her what he should farther give her? To
which question, having been before instructed for this
purpose, she replied, "The fortress of 'Azâz." Where-
upon he evacuated that place, and departed from Aleppo
with his army. Before the defeat at Tel Al Sultân, Saifo'd-
dîn had battered the walls of Senjâr, which belonged to
his brother 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Mawdûd, who had
submitted to Salâh'addîn, with his military engines, in or-
der to make a breach, that he might be thereby enabled to
storm the place; but without effect. The victory obtained
over the combined army of the allies by Salâh'addîn near
Hamah, the 19th of Ramadân, the preceding year, had
animated the garrison to defend the town with the utmost
vigour,

vigour, and forced Saïfo'ddîn, much against his inclination, to conclude a peace with his brother. After which, he passed the Euphrates, and marched to Aleppo; where he had an interview with Al Mâlec Al Sâleh, the sâheb of that city. Having encamped for some time at 'Ain Almo-bâreca, and joined the forces of Aleppo, he entered the citadel with a chosen detachment of horse, and was nobly entertained at the expence of Al Mâlec Al Sâleh. From Aleppo he advanced to Tel Al Soltân, with the auxiliaries of Diyâr Beçr and other provinces, that had reinforced his army; but was not able to engage with the victorious troops of Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb, the conqueror of Syria and Egypt*.

In the 572d year of the Hejra, Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb, after he had retired from Aleppo, made an irruption into the country of the Ismaelians; which he ravaged with fire and sword. He also besieged the castle of Masiât, a strong place seated on Mount Al Sekkîn, on the coast of Syria, not far from Tripoli, in the very center of the Ismaelian dominions. This fortress he took sword in hand, slew most of the inhabitants of Masiât, and levelled the walls and houses with the ground. Sinân, the chief or prince of the Ismaelians, finding himself not in a condition to resist Salâh'addîn, sent to Shahâbo'ddîn Al Hâremi, the sâheb of Hamah, Salâh'addîn's uncle, entreating him to intercede with the sultân, and procure him a peace. Shahâbo'ddîn having implored pardon of Salâh'addîn, in Sinân's name, for the wicked attempts of his subjects upon the sultân's life, without much difficulty prevailed upon his nephew to conclude a treaty with the Ismaelian prince, and even to consider him as an ally. After which pacification he resumed his march for Egypt; and, before the expiration of the present year, began to erect the famous wall that surrounded the cities of Mescr and Al Kâhirah, together with the castle or fortrefs on Mount Al Mokkattem. This wall, however, which, according to Ebn Shohnah, was either twenty-nine thousand, or twenty-nine thousand three hundred cubits in circumference, he left unfinished at his death. He likewise founded the school, or college, near the sepulchre of the imâm Al Shafei, in the city of Mescr, and ordered the hospital at Al

* Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 571. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra. Ebn Shohnah, ad ann. Hej. 571. Bohao'ddîn Ebn Sheddad, ubi supra, p. 43, 44, 45. Al Makrizi, ubi supra. D'Hérbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 742. Golii Not. ad Alfragan, p. 132, 249. 260, & alib. pass.

Kâhirah to be built, this year, after his return to Egypt. Some authors relate, that a great number of rebels, consisting for the most part of the black people of Al Sa'id, assembled at this time near Keft, or Coptos, a very ancient city of the Upper Egypt, under the command of Ebn Abd'alkûah, who pretended to personate Dawd, the son of Al Adel, the last Fâtemite khalif: but the rebel general was taken and cut off, the place of their rendezvous almost entirely destroyed, and no less than three thousand of the rebels were hanged. Salâh'addîn reached Al Kâhirah in the Latter Rabî; and, before his departure from Syria, appointed his brother Shamsoddawla Tûrân Shâh Ebn Ayûb to preside over the people of Damascus. He also suppressed the tribute exacted of the pilgrims going to Mecca by the emir of that city, Jodda, and 'Aidâb, assigning him on its abolition yearly two thousand dinârs, besides a large quantity of wheat sent him from Egypt.

Salâh'addîn is defeated by the Franks.

In the following year, being the 573d of the Hejra, Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb marched with a formidable army out of Egypt to the maritime parts of Palestine, in order to expel the Franks. He arrived at 'Askalân with his numerous forces, if Abu'lfeda may be depended upon, the 24th of the Former Jomâda; Al Bornas, or Arnold, who had been taken prisoner by Nûroddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki, and ransomed afterwards at Aleppo, being at this time, according to Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd, the principal commander of the Christian troops. The sultân having posted himself at 'Askalân, sent out several detachments to ravage the adjacent country. The Franks taking the advantage of the absence of these parties, by which the Moslem army was considerably weakened, attacked the sultân with such fury, that he was entirely defeated. However they met at first with a pretty vigorous resistance; Ahmed Ebn Takio'ddîn Ebn Shâhinshâh charging them with so much bravery, that he slew a great number of the enemy, and forced the rest to retire: but soon returning to the charge, they broke the body he commanded, killed him upon the spot, and even penetrated almost to the post occupied by Salâh'addîn himself; a circumstance which struck him with such terror, that he abandoned his camp to the Franks. The terrified Moslems fled with such precipitation, that, having no neighbouring garrisons to receive them, they traversed the extensive desert between Palestine and Egypt in the utmost confusion, and scarce halted before they reached Al Kâhirah itself. The greatest part of the Egyptian army perished in

in the action and the pursuit. No water being to be found in the desert, most of the beasts of burden died of thirst, before the fugitives arrived on the confines of Egypt. As for the soltân's detachments, sent out to forage and pillage the neighbouring districts, they were either cut to pieces or taken prisoners by the Franks. Among the prisoners was found Al Fakîh Isâ Al Arari, one of Salâh'addîn's most intimate friends; who was two years afterwards ransomed, by the soltân, for sixty thousand dinârs. 'Azzo'd-dîn Ali Ebn Al Athîr, in his *Al Câmel*, or *Universal History*, relates, that he saw a letter written by Salâh'addîn with his own hand to his brother Tûrân Shâh, the governor of Damascus, which contained a full and ample description of this battle. Amongst other things the soltân says, that he was more than once in the most imminent danger; and that God, as he apprehended, had delivered him, in order to reserve him for the execution of some grand and most important design.

The Franks, elated with the complete victory they had gained, resolved to lay siege to Hamah. To this enterprize they were likewise farther encouraged by the absence of Salâh'addîn, who entered Al Kâhirah, about the middle of the Latter Jomâda; by the few troops he had left with his brother Tûrân Shâh, the governor of Damascus, who was also of a very voluptuous and effeminate disposition; and by the infirmity of Shahâbo'ddin Al Hâremi, Salâh'addîn's uncle and deputy at Hamah, who was at this time very ill in that city. Animated, therefore, by a favourable concurrence of circumstances, they formed the siege of Hamah; and made so vigorous an assault, that they were upon the point of carrying the place by storm: but they were at last repulsed, and driven to their camp, with incredible bravery, by the besieged: so that, after they had attacked that fortress four days, they decamped, and retired towards Hârem.

The Franks besiege Hamah, but without success.

The affairs of Al Mâlec Al Sâleh, who resided at Aleppo, were at this time in an indifferent situation. He had thrown Camosh Takîn, his prime minister, into irons, for arrogating the supreme authority to himself. This minister having possessed himself of Hârem, a fortress and prefecture in the territory of Aleppo, the garrison refused to deliver it up into Al Mâlec Al Sâleh's hands. They per-

The situation of Al Mâlec Al Sâleh's affairs.

† Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi supra, p. 46. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad. ann. Hej. 573. Ebn Shohnah, ad ann. Hej. 573. Ebn Al Athîr. in *Al Câmel*, Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrisî, in *Mawredo'llatâfa*, Renaud. ubi supra, p. 542.

sisted in their refusal, when Camosh Takîn himself commanded them to evacuate the place. They chose to see him tortured, and even at last to expire under the tortures he suffered, by Al Sâleh's order, rather than submit. The Franks receiving advice of these dissensions, after their repulse at Hamah, first surrounded Hârem, and then besieged it in form. Having pushed on the siege for the space of four months, and reduced the garrison to the last extremity, the town must have been obliged to surrender, had not Al Sâleh, by paying them a sum of money, prevailed upon the besiegers to conclude a treaty of peace with him, and retire. After the departure of the Franks, Al Mâlec Al Sâleh made Serkhac, one of his father's mam-lûks, or slaves, commandant of the place.

*The most
material
occurrences
of the year
574;*

Next year, being the 574th year of the Hejra, Tûrân Shâh, requested of his brother Salâh'addin the government of Baalbec; which had been conferred by the sultân upon Shamso'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Abd'almâlec, generally called Al Mokaddem, when he appointed Tûrân Shâh, to govern the people of Damascus. This favour Salâh'addin could not refuse; and therefore orders were immediately dispatched to Al Mokaddem to cede to Tûrân Shâh the city and territory of Baalbec; but Al Mokaddem, being pleased with his situation, would not admit Tûrân Shâh into the town. Hereupon a body of troops, by the sultân's command, advanced to Baalbec, and besieged Al Mokaddem a considerable time in that city. However, an equivalent being at last allowed him for his former post, he delivered up the place to Tûrân Shâh; who, without any farther opposition, took possession of his predecessor's palace. This year, a dreadful famine raged in Syria, and the neighbouring countries; which was followed by a pestilence, that swept away great numbers of people.

*and of the
year 575.*

The 575th year of the Hejra, produced some memorable events which merit the attention of an historian. Sultân Salâh'addin took by storm a fortress erected by the Franks, at the fords of Al Ajrân, near Bâniyâs or Bânîâs, the Paneas of the ancients. Kilij Arslân Ebn Masûd, the Seljûkian sultân of Al Rûm, assembled a body of twenty thousand horse, in order to besiege the castle of Ra'bân, then possessed by Shamso'ddîn Ebn Al Mokaddem; which Kilij Arslân, for reasons that have not transpired, was extremely desirous of reducing. Takîo'ddîn Omar Ebn Shâhînsâh,

^a Bohao'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd, Ism. Abu'lfed. Ebn Shohn. Ebn Al Athir, ubi supra. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 407. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Tab. Syr. Alb. Schult. ubi supra. Renaud. ubi sup.
having

having received advice of this intended irruption, advanced against him with only one thousand horse, engaged him, and put him to flight. The Seljûks of Al Rûm being thus routed by a handful of men, Takîo'ddîn could not forbear boasting, that with one thousand men he had defeated twenty thousand; whence it appears, that he greatly valued himself upon this exploit. Having obtained permission of the sultan, to change the government of Baalbec for that of Alexandria, he resigned the former of those posts to 'Azzo'dîn Fakhr Shâh Ebn Shâhinshâh Ebn Ayûb, on whom it had been conferred by Salâh'addîn; then he went to Alexandria, where he governed to the day of his death. The second of Dhu'lkaada, according to the most approved Moslem writers, died Al Mostadi Beamri'llah Abu Mohammed Al Hasan Ebn Al Mostanjed Bi'llah, the khalif of Baghdâd. *Al Mostadi's death.*

This khalif, whose mother was an Armenian concubine, *His character.* has been represented as an excellent prince both by the Arab and Persian historians. He was generous, merciful, though at the same time a lover of justice, pious, an encourager of learned men, and of a most amiable disposition. It has been remarked, that he was the only khalif, after Ali's eldest son, who bore the same name, being called Al Hasan; and that this second Al Hasan perfectly imitated the virtues of the first, and particularly his liberality, distributing amongst his subjects the immense treasures his father had amassed. Towards the close of his reign, according to some of the eastern writers, Koto'ddîn Kimar, his general, usurped such power, that he disposed of many things without consulting the khalif. But Zehir Ebn Al Attâr, the wazîr, whose counsels Al Mostadi generally followed, opposed to the utmost of his power all the enterprizes of Kimar. This opposition so exasperated the general, who plainly saw that the wazîr was the author of all the vigorous resolutions taken against him, that he caused Ebn Al Attâr's house to be invested by the troops under his command. The wazîr, however, having been apprized of Kimar's design, abandoned his house to the pillage of the soldiery, and took refuge in the khalif's palace. The general, having missed his blow, ordered his men to advance towards the imperial palace; thinking to get the wazîr into his hands. But, as soon as Al Mostadi heard the noise of the troops attending Kimar, he shewed himself on one of the balconies of his palace, and addressed himself to the people, who had been excited to assemble tumultuously on this occasion, in the following terms:

terms: "You cannot but see, my children, the insolence of Kimar, and in what manner, he incroaches daily on my authority: for this reason, in order to punish him for this fresh outrage, I give up to you entirely all his wealth and substance, reserving only to myself the chastisement of his person." The people no sooner heard the words of the khalif, than they quitted the palace, and ran to Kimar's house. This circumstance obliged the troops to follow them, to prevent its being plundered. But the mob increasing every hour, nothing could resist them; the general's house was therefore forced and pillaged; and himself obliged to make a breach in the wall, to facilitate his escape to Al Mawfel, where he soon after died. The khalif Al Mostadi, notwithstanding his natural clemency, is said to have rendered justice to all his subjects; and to have so effectually patronized men of letters and genius, that the liberal arts and sciences flourished in his dominions through the whole course of his reign. Al Mostadi was born in the year of the Hejra 536; and succeeded his father Al Mostanjed Bi'llah, in the 566th of the Moslem æra. Though the lawful authority of the Mohammedan pontiffs was re-united in his person alone, by the abolition of the khalifat erected by the Fâtemites in Egypt, yet he seems not to have been immediately concerned either in that or any other memorable event: for which reason, probably, we find it intimated by Mirkhond, that nothing remarkable happened, during the whole course of his reign *.

S E C T. X.

From the Death of Al Mostadi to the Accession of Al Dhâker Bi'llah.

*Al Nâser
Ledini'llah
Abu'l
Abbâs
Ahmed
Ebn Al
Mostadi
created
khalif.*

AL Mostadi's death was no sooner publicly known than Dhahîro'ddîn Ebn Al 'Attâr, the wazîr, by his activity and address, prevailed upon the grandees of the court, and the principal citizens of Baghdâd, to take the oath of allegiance to Al Nâser Ledini'llah Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed,

* *Ism. Abu'lfed. Ebn Shohnah, Al Makin, Ebn Al Athir, Ebn Khalecan, Takio'ddin, Ahmed Al Makrizi, Mirkhond, Al Emir Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatif Al Kazwini, Khondemir, & Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'dal Jaafar, Al Kazwini, ubi sup. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 407, 408, 409. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. ubi sup. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 542.*

his

his son. That prince was therefore inaugurated in state, and universally acknowledged khalif. After the ceremony of inauguration, Al Nâser conferred the post of master of the palace and judge of the empire upon Majdo'ddîn Abu'l Fadl Ebn Al Sâheb; who, arrogating to himself the supreme authority, caused the wazîr to be first put under an arrest in his own house, and afterwards to be conducted to Al Taj, a place belonging to the imperial palace at Baghdâd, where he was thrown into irons. Not content with this severity, Majdo'ddîn forced him to deliver up all his effects into his hands; and at last ordered him to be put to death. In the night, his body was carried by a common porter out of Al Taj into the street; when the mob immediately rose, took it off the porter's shoulders by force, tied a cord about the privities, and dragged it through the city of Baghdâd. Then they put an old spoon, covered with ordure, into one of the defunct wazîr's hands, to represent a pen; and said, "Sign us, O lord and master, the patent that we want." After these and many other indignities offered the dead body of the unhappy minister, it was wrested out of the hands of the mob, and decently interred. The unparalleled barbarity of the populace on this occasion was the more remarkable, as the wazîr was an excellent governor, a person of great temperance, probity, and honour, and had never injured any one either in his property or reputation. This, therefore, is a most flagrant instance, and convincing proof, of the more than brutal disposition of the lower sort of people of Baghdâd, the capital of the Moslem empire, when Al Nâser Ledinî'llah, the thirty-fourth khalif of the house of Al Abbâs, ascended the throne *.

In the 576th year of the Hejra, the khalif Al Nâser Ledinî'llah sent the patent of investiture, the kaskân of soltân, and other ensigns of royalty, to Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb; constituting him, by those presents, prime minister, emir al omra or soltân. The defeat he received from the Franks, in 573, together with the plague and famine that raged the following year, had prevented that prince from undertaking any enterprize of moment before.

The most remarkable transactions of the year 5763

* Ism. Abul'dfed. Ebn Shohnah, Al Makin, Ebn Al Athir, Ebn Khalecan, Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makizi, Mirkhond, Al Emir Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatif Al Kazwini, Khondemir, & Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'al Jaafar Al Kazwini, ubi sup. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 409, 410. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Nasser Ledinillâh Ben Mostadhi Beirillâh, p. 663. Renaud, ubi sup.

the

the year 576. Being now solicited for succours by Kilij Arslân, the Seljûkian sultân of Al Rûm, who sent ambassadors to him for that purpose, he led a powerful army to his assistance against Ebn Lâûn, or Ebn Leon, the Armenian, and advanced to Karâ Hifâr, where he encamped. Having been joined by the forces of Aleppo, in conformity to one of the articles of the treaty concluded some time before with the sâheb of that place, between Bahnesa and the castle of Mansûr, he penetrated into the Armenian territories, ravaged a considerable part of them, took and demolished Ebn Lâûn's principal fortrefs, and obliged him to submit to an accommodation with Kilij Arslân upon the terms he thought fit to prescribe; and he effected by the terror of his arms a general pacification amongst the neighbouring princes, in which the sâhebs of Al Mawfel and Diyâr Beer were included. On the third of Safar, this year, died of a consumption Saifo'd-dîn Gâzni Ebn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki, the sâheb of Al Mawfel and Al Dyâr Al Jazîra, after he had reigned ten years and three months; being about thirty years old, at the time of his decease. He was a prince of a beautiful aspect, proper stature, and a fair complexion. He was also prudent, just, and abstemious; though jealous to such a degree, that he would suffer none but eunuchs who were boys to be with his women, dismissing them as soon as they grew up. He never fleeced his subjects, nor even so much as touched their property; though, on some occasions, he discovered signs of an avaracious disposition. He left to his brother 'Azzo'ddîn Mas'ûd Ebn Mawdûd all his dominions, except Jazîra Ebn Omar, with the castles erected thereon; which he bequeathed to Sinjâr Shâh, his son. In the course of the same year, Shamso'd-dawla Tûrân Shâh Ebn Ayûb, Salâh'addin's elder brother, departed likewise this life at Alexandria; the government of which city, together with that of almost the whole kingdom of Al Yaman, which he himself had conquered, this prince had obtained of the sultân. He was so liberal, or rather profuse, that he not only spent the immense treasures brought him from Zabîd, Aden, and other places in Al Yaman, as well as the money that came annually to his share out of the public revenues of Alexandria, but likewise great sums that he found himself obliged to borrow, and could never afterwards pay. For, notwithstanding the opulent posts he was possessed of, he died two hundred thousand Egyptian dinârs in debt; which his brother Salâh'addin very honourably paid, on his return

turn to Al Kâhirah, in the month of Shaabân, after he had appointed 'Azzo'ddîn Farkh Shâh Ebn Shâhinshâh Ebn Ayûb, his nephew, the sâheb of Baalbec, his deputy in Syria. Tûrân Shâh is said to have been a great warrior, but at the same time insolent, libidinous, addicted to drunkenness, cruel, and rapacious to the last degree ^r.

In the following year, being the 577th of the Hejra, Al Bornas or Arnold, the Frank, the sâheb of Al Carac, a strong fortress of Al Hejâz, not far from the confines of Syria, formed a design to make himself master of the city of Medina, and all its territory. Of which design 'Azzo'ddîn Farkh Shâh, the governor of Damascus, having received advice, he assembled a body of troops, penetrated into the district of Al Carac, and ravaged a considerable part of it. This irruption obliged Al Bornas to remain at home for the defence of his own dominions, and lay aside all thoughts of the intended expedition. This year died at Aleppo, of the cholic, Al Mâlec Al Sâleh, the son of Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki, the sâheb of that place, being about nineteen years old at the time of his demise. Finding his end approaching, he obliged the grandees of his court to take the oath to his cousin 'Azzo'ddîn Mas'ûd, the sâheb of Al Mawfel, as his successor, and expired in the citadel of Aleppo. He was chaste, abstemious, and religious; and not in the least tainted with any of those vices to which youth have generally so strong a propensity. During his last illness, the physicians ordered him to drink a little wine, apprehending that might be good for his distemper; but out of a principle of religion, he chose to die rather than taste it. He was no sooner dead than the officers of state dispatched a courier to 'Azzo'ddîn Mas'ûd at Al Mawfel to inform him that the city and district of Aleppo had been bequeathed him by Al Mâlec Al Sâleh, and that his subjects there impatiently expected to see him. In consequence of this intimation, he set out for Aleppo, in company with Mojâhedo'ddîn Kaymâz, to take the government into his hands; lest Salâh'addîn might be induced, by his absence, to attempt possessing himself of that place. However, by Kaymaz's advice, he agreed to exchange Aleppo for Senjâr with 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Mawdûd, the sâheb of the latter of those cities; which be-

^r Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 46, 47. Ifm. Abul'fed in Chron. ad an. Hej. 576. Ebn. Shohnah, ad an. Hej. 576. A Makin, in Op. Part. inedit. ubi sup. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 410. Takio'ddîn Amedin Ahmed Al Makrizi, in Mawredo'l-latâfa, Renaud. & Alb. Schult, ubi sup.

ing at no great distance from Al Mawfel, was much more defensible and tenable with his Mesopotamian dominions than the other. Meanwhile he repaired to Aleppo, and seized Al Mâlec Al Sâleh's treasures, deposited in the citadel. He also married Al Sâleh's mother; then, having left his son and Modhaffero'ddîn Ebn Zîno'ddîn with a sufficient garrison in the castle, he departed from Aleppo, and had an interview with his brother 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Mawdûd at Al Rakka upon the Euphrates, where a convention relative to the above mentioned exchange between them was signed. One of 'Azzo'ddîn's officers was immediately admitted into Senjar, with a detachment of that prince's troops; and the town and citadel of Aleppo were delivered up to 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Mawdûd, who entered the latter of those places, in consequence of this cession, the 13th of Al Moharram, 578. Some authors relate, that an ambassador from the Greek emperor arrived now at Al Khâirah, and brought about a peace between his master and the sultân. They also give us farther to understand, that Salâh'addîn concluded a truce, or temporary cessation of arms, with the count of Tripoli; and that the khalif Al Nâser Ledini'llah himself aspired at the sovereignty of Aleppo in vain ^z.

Salâh'addîn returns from Egypt to Damascus.

Next year, being the 578th of the Hejra, Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb set out from Al Kahirah for Damascus. Soon after his arrival he undertook an expedition against Bayrût or Beyrût, the Berytus of the ancients, and laid siege to that place; but without effect. Upon his return to Damascus, he was informed that the sâheb of Al Mawfel had sent an embassy to the Franks, in order to solicit their assistance, and instigate them to a rupture with him. Whereupon he came to a resolution to chastise that prince, for his infraction of the late treaty, and even to make himself master, if possible, of his capital; that the Moslems, being united under one chief, might be thereby enabled to act more vigorously against the Franks. 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Mawdûd, the sâheb of Aleppo, having received intelligence of the sultân's design, and of his great military preparations, dispatched an express to Al Mawfel, to apprize his brother 'Azzo'ddîn Mas'ûd Ebn Mawdûd of the storm that was gathering, and to advise him to put himself in a posture of defence without delay. In the mean time,

^z Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad. an. Hej. 577. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 410, 411. Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 48, 49. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 577. Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, in Mawredo'llatâfa, Renaud. ubi supra.

Salâh'addîn,

Salâh'addîn, with a numerous army, presented himself before Aleppo, and invested that city. For the space of three days he furiously attacked the place; but being repulsed with very considerable loss, he found himself obliged to desist, and retire towards the Euphrates. He afterwards advanced to Harrân, and entered into an alliance with Modhaffero'ddîn, the sâheb of that place; who being afraid of the growing power of the sâheb of Al Mawfel, for his future security judged it proper to join his arms to those of the sultân. Strengthened by this alliance, Salâh'addîn reduced the cities of Al Rohâ, Al Rakka, Nâsîbin, and Sarûj. He also placed a commandant in Al Khâbur, and marching at the head of his army to Al Mawfel, encamped before that capital. The sâheb and people of Al Mawfel, finding themselves in this distressed situation, applied both to the khalif Al Nâser Ledin'i'llah and Mohammed Pehelawân for succours, but without success, neither of those princes being inclined to embroil themselves with the sultân. However, Salâh'addîn having spent several days ineffectually in making his utmost efforts to carry the place, was forced to abandon the siege. This disappointment did not discourage him from sitting down before Sinjâr or Senjâr, the 16th of Shaabân, which at last, after reiterated assaults, he took by storm, the 2d of Ramadân. The garrison, which was pretty numerous, commanded by Sharfo'ddîn Ebn Kotbo'ddîn, a detachment of the sultân's troops, by his order, escorted to Al Mawfel. Having left his nephew Takio'ddîn, with a sufficient force, at Senjâr, he directed his march towards Nâsîbin, which, after having sustained a short siege, together with its citadel, had before surrendered to him. Nâsîbin, with the territory belonging to it, he had given to Abu'l Hîjâ, an emir that generally attended him in his expeditions; but, for what reason we have not been told, deprived him it, towards the close of the campaign.

The sâheb of Al Mawfel's affairs at this juncture wearing a very indifferent aspect, he sent an embassy to the sâheb of Akhlât in Armenia, in order to solicit succours of that prince, who thereupon moved from Akhlât, at the head of a considerable body of troops, to his assistance. He first advanced to Khorzem, and from thence dispatched a courier to Al Mawfel, to inform 'Azzo'ddîn Mas'ûd Ebn Mawdûd of his approach. The Armenian forces soon after joined the troops of Al Mawfel and Aleppo, as well as those of the sâheb of Mâredin, one of 'Azzo'ddîn Mas'ûd Ebn Mawdûd's allies: after which junction, the combined

The prince of Akhlât, in Armenia, moves to the assistance of the sâheb of Al Mawfel.

bined army made the proper dispositions for taking the field: but before the confederates entered upon action, the prince of Akhlât sent Boctemar or Baçtamar to the sultân, with proposals for an accommodation; which being rejected, Salâh'addîn advanced towards the Armenian camp, in order to attack it. In the mean time the sâheb of Akhlât having received advice of the sultân's march, and dreading his superior force, deserted his allies, and returned home without striking a stroke. This event obliged 'Azzo'ddîn Mas'ûd Ebn Mawdûd to fly to Al Mawfel, upon which the army that was to have acted under his command immediately dispersed. Salâh'addîn, meeting with no enemy to oppose him in the field, presented himself before Ahmed or Amida, and formed the siege of that place; which, after it had been battered by the sultân eight days, surrendered the first of Al Moharram in the following year. The city itself he made a present of to Nûro'ddîn Ebn Karâ Arslân, but the riches and valuable spoil acquired by this conquest he gave to Ebn Nîsân. With the reduction of Ahmed the sultân concluded the operations of this campaign ^a.

*Saif Al
Islâm, Sa-
lâh'addîn's
brother,
undertakes
an expedi-
tion into
Al Yaman.*

In the course of the same year Saif Al Islâm Tagtakîn, Salâh'addîn's brother, marched with an army into Al Yaman, by the sultân's command, in order to quell some commotions. Although Hettân Ebn Câmel Ebn Morîkad Al Kenâni, the governor of Zabîd, and 'Azzo'ddîn Othmân Al Zenjîli, who presided over the people of 'Aden, had been obliged by the emir, sent thither by Salâh'addîn for that purpose the preceding year, to submit to the sultân, they had since found means to recover the prefectures they had formerly enjoyed, and render themselves independent on his lieutenant. Hettân, having been apprized of Saif Al Islâm's approach, abandoned Zabîd, and retired into a fortress of great strength at some distance from that place. Saif Al Islâm, however, decoyed him from thence into his hands, and, after much difficulty, gave him leave to retire into Syria. Having sent his baggage and valuable effects before, he waited upon Saif, in order to take his leave; when, to his great surprize, that prince caused him to be put under arrest, commanded his baggage to be brought back, and seized upon all the wealth he had amassed. Saif found in his palace no less than seventy iron chests full of dinârs; all which he appropriated to his own use, and afterwards

^a Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 51.

confined Hettân in a strong castle, where he at last ended his days. Azzo'ddîn Othmân Al Zenzîli, being terrified at Hettân's fate, posted away with the utmost celerity into Syria; having before sent his riches into that country by sea. But the vessel being taken by one of Saif's ships, all the treasure he possessed fell into that prince's hands. Thus he appeased all the tumults and commotions in Al Yaman without any effusion of human blood, and restored peace to that fertile and delightful country^b.

This year Arnold the saheb of Al Carac fitted out a strong fleet on the sea of Aila, or the Red Sea, which he divided into two squadrons, with a proper number of land forces on board. One of these blocked up Aila or Ela, and the other steered its course towards 'Aidâb, as the place of its destination, in order to ravage the maritime coasts of Hejâz. As the Franks had never before appeared with a fleet in the Red Sea, the Moslems did not suspect any enterprize of this kind, and consequently had made no preparations to oppose them. But Al Mâlec Al 'Adel Abu Bâcr, Salâh'addîn's brother, the viceroy of Egypt, being informed of their design, in a very short time equipped a considerable fleet on the sea of 'Aidâb, and gave the command of it to Hosâmô'ddîn Lûlû, his hâ-jeb, an officer extremely skilful in naval affairs. Lûlû, who at this time had the sole management and direction of the marine of Egypt, first attacked the Squadron that blocked up or rather besieged Aila; and, after an obstinate engagement, entirely defeated it, killing and taking prisoners most of the men on board. Then he sailed after the other without delay, and came up with it off Rabig, on the coast of Al Khaurâ; upon which, a most fierce and bloody conflict ensued: at last, however, after the most vigorous efforts on both sides had been made, victory declared in favour of the Moslems; who sunk many of the enemy's ships, slew an incredible number of their men, and took most of the rest prisoners. Some of the latter Lûlû sent to the valley of Main, where they were inhumanly butchered; and the remainder to Egypt, where they to a man met with the same fate. We are told that Arnold actually formed the siege of 'Aidâb, and that he penetrated so far into the province of Hejaz, that he was not above a day's journey from Mecca; but was forced to return on board his ships for want of water: It is farther added, that he

*Other
events of
the year
578.*

^b Ism. Abu'lfed. Ebn. Shohn. Al Makrizi, & Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup.

put a large number of the Mohammedan pilgrims, or Hadji's to the sword, threatened the demolition of the temple of Mecca, and spoke of Mohammed himself in very opprobrious terms; a circumstance which probably occasioned Lûlû's cruel treatment of the Christian prisoners that fell into his hands. Be that as it may, the Moslem writers, in the accounts they have given of this expedition of the Franks, are far from being perfectly agreed.

Salâh'addîn extends his conquests.

The 579th year of the Hejra, which commenced April 26th, 1183, proved as favourable as the preceding to the sultân's arms. The city of Amed in Mesopotamia surrendered to him after a siege of eight days. 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Mawdûd, the sâheb of Aleppo, about this time, advanced with a body of troops to A'zâz, in order to seize upon and pillage that fortress. He had before possessed himself of Caferlâthâ, a castle at the foot of mount 'Amila, in the territory of Aleppo; which he had taken by force from Bocmash, one of Salâh'addîn's allies. He had also attacked Bâshar, in the possession of Duldurm Al Yârûki, another of the sultân's allies, but without effect. These violences, which animated the Franks to make incursions into the Moslem territories, so incensed Salâh'addîn, that he resolved to lay siege to Aleppo. 'Amâdo'ddîn receiving intelligence of the sultân's design, after he had reduced Corzîn, a fortress in the district of Aleppo, returned to his capital, and made the proper dispositions for sustaining a siege. Salâh'addîn, in pursuance of the plan he had formed, marched first to Tel Khâled, a castle at no great distance from Aleppo; which he took with very inconsiderable loss. From Tel Khâled, he moved to Aleppo itself, and incamped before that capital. As the sultân's army was extremely numerous, and he pushed on the siege with the utmost vigour, 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Mawdûd capitulated, about the middle of Safar; and therefore sent Hofâmo'ddîn Dhimân, as his agent and interpreter, to settle the terms of the capitulation with the sultân. The principal articles were, that 'Amâdo'ddîn should be permitted to retire with all his riches and valuable effects; that in lieu of Aleppo, with its castle and dependencies, Salâh'addîn should cede to him Sinjâr, Nâsibîn, Al Khâbûr, Al Rakka, and Sarûj, in Mesopotamia, most of which places had formerly been subject to him; and that he should be always ready to attend the sultân at the head of his troops, whenever called upon, without presuming to offer any excuse for his absence. The negotiation, which terminated in this convention,

tion, was carried on with so much secrecy, that nothing relative to it transpired before the capitulation was actually signed. After which, 'Azzo'ddîn Jordîc was sent out of the city to treat with the soltân, on the part of the people and the troops; whom Salâh'addîn took under his protection, when the oath of allegiance had been administered to him; presenting, at the same time, the principal of them with most sumptuous vests. The 23d, died Tâj Al Molûk Salâh'addîn's brother, of a wound he received in the siege; an event which overwhelmed the soltân, who had the most tender regard for him, with grief. The same day, 'Amâdo'ddîn evacuated the citadel, paid his duty to Salâh'addîn, and was magnificently entertained by that prince in his tent. He also received from the soltân, as did likewise every one of his companions, a present of a royal kaftân or vest, and a beautiful horse. 'Amâdo'ddîn having taken the route of Karâ Hifâr, in his way to Senjâr or Sinjâr, Salâh'addîn took possession of the citadel of Aleppo. Then he reduced Hârem, where he left Ibrahim Ebn Sherwah in garrison, and marched to Damascus. He did not, however, continue long here; for, on the 8th of the Latter Jomâda, he advanced to Al Fawâr, and from thence to Al Kofâir, where he pitched his tents for one night. Next morning by day-break he passed the ford of Al Kofâir, and marched to Beisân; which the inhabitants abandoned at his approach. Having pillaged Beisân, and burnt all the spoil he could not carry off with him, the soltân proceeded to Al Jâlût, or 'Ain Al Jâlût, a very neat and well-peopled town, with a delightful fountain, between Neapolis and Beisân; from whence he sent a detachment, under the command of 'Azzo'ddîn Jordîc, to reconnoitre the Franks. That general falling in with a party of the troops of Al Carac and Al Shawbec, a small town on the confines of Al Hejâz, inhabited by Christians, attacked them with so much bravery, that they were soon put to the rout, and had most of their men killed upon the spot. The soltân, animated by this first instance of success, drew up his forces in order of battle, and led them against the Franks; who having assembled their whole army at Seforiya, or Sepphoris, the strongest city of Galilee, marched to Al Fawla, and moved from thence towards the Egyptian forces, with an intention to engage them. But finding them more numerous than they at first imagined, and being a little dejected by the ill success they had experienced in the late skirmish, they thought fit to decline an engagement. Nor could the soltân, by all the

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methods

methods he could devise, bring them to a general action. They, therefore, gradually retreated to Al Fawla, after they had lost in one or two rencounters a considerable number of men; and from thence retired into their own territories, where they seemed to be apprehensive of a speedy visit from the enemy. But though the sultân could not force them to a battle, he killed abundance of their men, carried off many into captivity, entirely dismantled 'Aferbalâ, Beisân, and Zer'in, three of their strongest towns, laid waste a very large extent of country belonging to them, and concluded the campaign on that side with the reduction of Al Fawâr. Abu'l'seda farther relates, that Salâh'addîn presented himself before 'Aintâb, a city occupied by Nâfero'ddîn Mohammed, the brother of Al Sheikh Ismael, and Nûro'ddîn's treasurer, who had ruled in that place to this time; and that Nâfero'ddîn, by surrendering it to him, became one of the sultân's favourites, was confirmed in the prefecture he before enjoyed, and ranked amongst the principal commanders of the Egyptian armies.

Other remarkable occurrences that happened according to the Moslem writers this year.

Salâh'addîn having fixed his son Al Mâlek Al Dhâher or Al Thâher Gâzi, in the government of Aleppo, and left a sufficient garrison in the castle, as well as at Hârem and A'zâz, returned to Damascus. From thence he afterwards advanced to the Jordan, passed that river, laid Beisân in ashes, drove the Franks out of the field, and formed the siege of Al Carac. In order to render this enterprize successful, his brother Al Mâlec Al 'Adel had joined him with a large body of the Egyptian troops: but the place being defended by a numerous garrison, he found himself obliged to abandon the siege. The season being now something advanced, Salâh'addîn returned to Damascus. He had not been long in that capital, when he commanded his son Al Mâlec Al Thâher to leave Aleppo, and repair immediately to Damascus; who, in obedience to that command, though much against his inclination, departed with Saifo'ddîn Yâzcuj and Ebn Al 'Amîd, for the latter of those cities, which he reached the 18th of Shawâl, and met with a most gracious reception from the sultân. This young prince, the best beloved of any of his children, was, according to Bohâo'ddîn, possessed of the finest intellectual endowments: he was a person of the utmost sagacity, the most ready parts, the quickest apprehension, the greatest application, especially to all affairs of government, and perfectly exact in every point of filial duty. Before the close of this year, embas-

sies

ties came to Salâh'addîn from all parts of the world, and particularly from Sanjar Shâh, the fâheb of Al Jazîra, and the prince of Arbel, who desired to be admitted into the number of his confederates and friends: which favour having obtained, they returned to their respective courts. After the cession of the city and territory of Aleppo to Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûd, Mohîo'ddîn Ebn Al Zakki, the kâdi of Damascus, observed in an encomium he wrote upon the sultân, that the conquest of Aleppo in the month of Safar presaged that of Jerusalem in the month of Rajeb; which both Abu'lfeda and Ebn Shohnah consider as a prediction that was afterwards fulfilled, and for that reason assign it a place amongst the remarkable occurrences of the present year^c.

In the 580th year of the Hejra, Salâh'addîn assembled both the Syrian and Egyptian forces, in order to attempt once more the reduction of Al Carac; and appointed Nûro'ddîn Ebn Karâ Arslân, who came with Al Mâlec Al 'Adel to Damascus, towards the close of the Former Rabî, to command the troops to be employed in that expedition. Upon their arrival they met with a most gracious reception from the sultân; who was just recovered from an illness that had confined him to his apartment for some time. Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer reached Damascus from Egypt the 19th of the Latter Rabî; bringing his family, and all his treasures, along with him. Nûro'ddîn Ebn Karâ Arslân, having been reinforced by the Mesopotamian troops, advanced to Al Carac; and invested that place. He soon after began to batter it with military engines, and attacked it with the utmost vigour. The Franks receiving advice that the Moslems had opened the campaign with the siege of Al Carac, marched to Al Wâlih, a place not far from that fortress, and there encamped. As Al Carac in a great measure cut off the communication between Syria and Egypt, Salâh'addîn was determined at all events, if possible, to carry it; and therefore moving towards them, posted himself at Mâ 'Aîn, in the neighbourhood of Al Wâlih, where he made the necessary dispositions for an engagement, being resolved, if an opportunity offered, to give them battle. But finding this impracticable, and be-

The sultân attacks Al Carac in vain.

^c Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 56, 57, 58. Ifm. Abu'lfeda. Ebn Shohnah, Ebn Al Athir, Ebn Khalecan, & Al Makrizi, ubi sup. Hyde, in Not. ad Albertum Bobovium, de Peregrinat. Meccan. p. 16. ut et ipse Albert. Bobov. ibid. Sale's Prelim. Disc. p. 150, 151. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Salaheddin Josef Ben Aioub, Ben Schadi, p. 742. Renaud. ubi sup.

ing informed, that the Franks, who decamped from Mā' Ain, had thrown a body of fresh troops into Al Carac, he abandoned the lower town, which Nūro'ddīn Ebn Karā Arslān had taken, and immediately raised the siege. However, after having harassed the enemy's rear, he penetrated into Palestine, took Nāblos or Naplofa, the Neapolis and Sichem or Shechem, of the ancients, ravaged the neighbouring tract, put many of the inhabitants to the sword, and carried a vast number of them into captivity. He also possessed himself of Janīn or Jīnīn, a little town between Nāblos and Beisān, near the banks of the Jordan; and penetrated to Sebastiya or Sebaſte, where John the Baptist's remains are supposed to have been deposited. Here he released some Moslem prisoners, who had been thrown into irons by the Franks. He was not, however, able to reduce to his obedience the two castles of Nāblos. After this expedition, he returned to Damascus, where he made his public entry on the 7th of the Latter Jomāda; being accompanied by Al Mālec Al 'Adel and Nūro'ddīn Ebn Karā Arslān. In the same month an ambassador from the khalif Al Nāſer Ledini'llah arrived at Damascus from Baghdād, waited upon Salāh'addīn, and brought him a royal vest, or the kaſtān of ſoltān. Salāh'addīn's brother, his son Afado'ddīn, and Nūro'ddīn Ebn Karā Arslān, were also honoured by the khalif, before the close of the month, with a ſimilar preſent. About this time an embassy came to the ſoltān from Ebn Zīno'ddīn, with the news of an irruption made by Mojāhedo'ddīn Kāymāz, with the army of Al Mawſel, reinforced by the troops of Kozul, into the diſtrict of Arbel; ſoliciting ſuccours of him, that Ebn Zīno'ddīn might be thereby enabled to drive the enemy out of his dominions. Mojāhedo'ddīn had encamped before Arbel, and laid waſte a conſiderable part of the adjacent territory with fire and ſword. Notwithſtanding which ſucceſs, Ebn Zīno'ddīn had routed that general, and obliged him to retire from Arbel in the moſt precipite manner^d.

Before the cloſe of the 580th year of the Hejra, Abu Yakūb Yūſef Ebn Abd'almūmen, ſoltān of the Al Moāhedun, in Spain, departed this life; being engaged, according to Ebn Shohnah, in a ſacred expedition againſt the Franks, at the time of his demife. His remains were carried to Aſhbelia, Aſhbiliah, or Seville, and there in-

^d Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi ſup. p. 58, 59. Iſm. Abu'lſed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 580. Ebn Shohnah, ad an. Hej. 580. Ebn Khalecan & Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, ubi ſup. Renaud. ubi ſup. p. 543. Alſ. Schult. Ind. Geographic, it Vit. Salad. paſſ.

tered. After this prince's death, his son Yakûb Ebn Yûsef Ebn Abd'almûmen was proclaimed sultân of the Al Moâhedun in his room. 'Azzo'ddîn Mas'ûd, the sâheb of Al Mawfel, at this period, released Mojâhedo'ddîn Kâymâz out of prison, and received him again into favour, and Salâh'addîn ordered the sons of Al 'Aded, the last Fâtemite khalif, to be confined more closely than ever, for fear of a sedition in Egypt, where they were by the body of the people extremely revered.

In the following year, this conqueror having received advice of the hostilities committed by Mojâhedo'ddîn with the combined army, consisting of the forces of Al Mawfel and those of Kozul, against the territories of the sâheb of Arbel, one of his allies, marched at the head of a numerous army in order to lay siege to Al Mawfel. Having passed the Euphrates he was met at Al Bîra by Modhaffero'ddîn, and from thence advanced to Harrân. Here he arrived the 22d of Safar; having sent before Saïfo'ddîn Al Meshtûb, with the main body of the army to Râs Al 'Aîn, called by Ptolemy Rhæfena. The 26th of the same month the sultân ordered Modhaffero'ddîn to be put under arrest, for not appearing when he was commanded to attend, and for having in other respects offended him. He was likewise deprived of the government of the citadel of Harrân, and Al Rohâ, or Edeffa; but Salâh'addîn conferred the former of those posts a second time upon him, made him a present of a royal vest, and took him again into favour. Soon after the sultân had reached Râs Al 'Aîn, an ambassador from Kilij Arslân had an audience of him; in which he informed him, that all the kings of the East had formed a confederacy against him, and were determined to come to an open rupture, if he did not desist from his enterprize against Al Mawfel and Mâredîn; but this formidable alliance by no means intimidating him, he marched to Dunîser, where he was joined by 'Amâdo'ddîn Ebn Karâ Arslân, with the troops of Nûro'ddîn, the sâheb of Mâredîn, the 8th of the last mentioned month. Having treated that general with great marks of distinction, the sultân advanced to Al Mawfel, encamped before that city, and for some time vigorously besieged it; but 'Amâdo'ddîn Ebn Karâ Arslân being obliged to return to Mâredîn, on account of his brother Nûro'ddîn's death, and the people of Khalât, or Akhlât, being desirous of submitting to the sultân, he raised the siege of Al Mawfel, and moved towards Shâh Armen's, or the prince of Akhlât's frontiers without delay;

Al Mawfel is effectually besieged by Salâh'addîn in the year 581.

lay; but Boctemar, who succeeded shâh Armen Sokmân Ebn Tabîro'ddîn Ibrahim Ebn Sokmân Al Kotbi in the sovereignty of Khalât, being drawn from his first attachment to Salâh'addîn by Al Pehelawân Mohammed, the sâheb of the Belâd Al Jebâl, Al Ray, Esfahân, Arrân, and Adherbijân, who for that purpose had given his daughter in marriage to him, the sultân found it impossible to possess himself of Aklât, and therefore laid aside all hopes of carrying into execution his former design. However, as he had invested Mayyâfârakîn, he pushed on the siege of that place with the utmost vigour, and obliged the commandant, notwithstanding his brave defence, to surrender the place. Whilst Salâh'addîn was engaged in the operations before Al Mawfel, Sakmân, or Sokmân, who ascended the throne of Mâredîn, or Hîsn Caîfâ and Amed, after Nûro'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Karâ Arslân's demise, then under age, was brought to him, and confirmed in the possession of those fortresses, with their respective districts. As Sokmân was a child, Al Kawâm Ebn Samâkâ Al Ashardi governed his dominions; to whom the sultân joined one of his emirs, and then dismissed the young prince in a very honourable manner. After the reduction of Mayyâfârakîn, Salâh'addîn returned to Al Mawfel, pitched his camp at Cafar Zimmâr, and being reinforced by the Mesopotamian troops, under the conduct of Sanjar Shâh, attacked a third time that city. However, the summer heats growing excessive, the sultân fell sick of a malignant distemper, upon which, especially as 'Azzo'ddîn had before sued for peace, he abandoned the siege, and retired to Harrân. When he arrived at this place, he was so reduced by the fatigues he had sustained in his march, that his life was despaired of; and, soon after his arrival, it was given out that he was actually dead. In the mean time 'Azzo'ddîn having met with a denial both from the Persians and the khalif of Baghdâd, to whom he had applied for assistance, sent Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd and Bohâyo'ddîn Al Rabîb, as his ambassadors, to the sultân, to procure a peace at any rate. These ministers overtook Salâh'addîn upon the road, and concluded a treaty with him upon the following terms. 1. The sâheb of Al Mawfel shall restore Shahrezûr, with its district, to the sultân. 2. He shall likewise cede to him the prefecture of Al Karâbâli, and all the tract situated on the other side of the Zâb. 3. The sultân shall be prayed for in all the mosques throughout the territories of Al Mawfel. 4. Money shall be
coined

coined there with Salâh'addîn's name impreſt upon it. Which treaty being ſigned, the ſoltân annexed to the dependencies of Al Mawſel the country of Al Nahrein, which had lately been put into his poſſeſſion by Sanjar Shâh. Being viſited by his brother, who came with the utmoſt expedition from Aleppo to Harrân, and attended by his phyſicians, Salâh'addîn ſoon recovered his health, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for undertaking a journey into Syria. Whiſt the ſoltân was ill, Mohammed Ebn Shairacûh Ebn Shâdi, his nephew, the fâheb of Hems, taking it for granted that he would die, had engaged the leading men of Damafcus to declare for him, and admit him into the town as ſoon as they ſhould receive advice of that prince's death. Theſe intrigues being diſcovered to Salâh'addîn, he probably reſented them; for Mohamed Ebn Shairacûh was found dead in his palace at Hems; having been poiſoned at an entertainment he had provided for ſome of his friends, with the ſoltân's privity, as was generally believed. Be that as it may, Salâh'addîn appointed Shairacûh, then only twelve years old, to ſucceed him at Hems. He alſo ſeized his moſt valuable effects, and departed from Harrân towards the cloſe of this year *.

Before we conclude our account of the moſt remarkable occurrences of the year 581, we muſt obſerve, that a bloody battle was fought between the Turkmâns and the Curds towards the cloſe of it; in which a great number of men, if Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd may be credited, on both ſides were ſlain.† That author, however, has not informed us in what part of the Moſlem territories this action happened. It nevertheleſs ſeems probable, from a hint in his relation of the moſt intereſting events of the following year, that the Turkmâns and the Curds engaged at no conſiderable diſtance from the city of Nâſibîn in Meſopotamia; though this, as it is not immediately deducible from any writer of authority, we muſt not take upon us poſitively to affirm †.

A battle between the Turkmâns and the Curds.

Next year, being the 582d of the Hejra, Salâh'addîn Yufef Ebn Ayûb recalled his ſon Al Mâlec Al Afdal from Egypt, and aſſigned him the government of Damafcus.

The moſt memorable tranſactions of the year 582.

* Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi ſup. p. 60, 61, 62. Iſm. Abu'l-fed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 581. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi ſup. p. 414. Ebn Shohnah, ad an. Hej. 581. Ebn Khalecan, Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, ubi ſup. Renaud. ubi ſup. † Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi ſupra, p. 63.

Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer Takîo'ddîn Omâr, Saîâh'addîn's nephew; then the viceroy of Egypt, having informed the sultân, that Al Mâlec Al Afdal had released all those whom he had caused to be imprisoned for being deficient in the payment of their tribute, and that it would be impossible for him to collect the revenues of Egypt, if that prince was suffered to remain at Al Kâhirah, Saîâh'addîn, seemingly disgusted at his conduct, immediately sent for him. However, the sultân conceived a dislike from hence to Takîo'ddîn, and entertained a suspicion that, in case any accident should happen to him, he would declare himself independent in Egypt. He therefore ordered him to return immediately to Damascus: but Takîo'ddîn, not being disposed to obey his master, at first proposed to retire to Karâkûsh, one of his mamlûks, who had subdued Barka, and some of the neighbouring African provinces. However, the sultân at last fixed Takîo'ddîn in his interest, by conferring upon him the government of Hamah, Manbij, Cafar Tâb, Al Ma'ra or Al Maara, Mayyâfarakîn, and the mountainous tract of Jawr. He also appointed his brother Al Mâlec Al 'Adel to preside over the cities of Harrân and Al Rohâ, with their dependencies; having before removed him from Aleppo, where he had been honoured with the supreme command. Saîâh'addîn afterwards constituted him viceroy of Egypt, and joined his son Al 'Azîz Othmân in the administration. Al Mâlec Al Dhâher, the sultân's best beloved son, succeeded Al Mâlec Al 'Adel at Aleppo, a city considered at this time as the strongest and most important fortress of Syria, and married one of that prince's daughters. Al Mâlec Al Afdal's nuptials with a daughter of Nâfero'ddîn Ebn Afado'ddîn was likewise celebrated in the course of this most auspicious year. The sultân himself, after his recovery, left Harrân, and arrived at Aleppo, in his way to Damascus; from whence he departed, after a short stay. He was met at Tel Al Sultân by Afado'ddîn Shairacûh Ebn Mohammed Ebn Shairacûh, with his sister, attended by a numerous retinue; who accompanied him to Hems, where he spent some days in taking a view of Nâfero'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Shairacûh's treasures, arms, and valuable effects. He gave that city, with its district, to Afado'ddîn Shairacûh, Nâfero'ddîn's son, and then continued his route to Damascus. He made his public entry into that capital, on the 2d of the Former Rabî; and was welcomed by the inhabitants, with the loudest acclamations. Having received advice, that Ma'îno'ddîn had rebelled

against

against him, and assumed sovereign power, at Al Râwand, a fortress in the province of Kinnisrîn, he commanded his forces in the territory of Aleppo, under the conduct of 'Alamo'ddîn, to reduce him. Ma'îno'ddîn, finding himself not in a condition to make head against the sultan's troops, delivered up Al Râwand to 'Alamo'ddîn; and arrived at Damascus, in order to pay his duty to Salâh'addîn. We are told, that Asado'ddîn Shairacûh, on whom the sultan had lately conferred the government of Hems, after he had stripped him of all the riches, arms, horses, and superb furniture that had belonged to his father Nâsero'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Shairacûh, was at this time a child, and filled the post assigned him, which had been occupied by his father many years. That Salâh'addîn caused Nâsero'ddîn to be poisoned, as has been intimated above, though he had married his own sister, is acknowledged by Ebn Khalecân, Abu'lfeda, and Takîo'ddîn Ahmed Al Makrîzi, his great admirers. The first of these writers relates, that Asado'ddîn Shairacûh being brought before Salâh'addîn, the sultan asked him, "Whether he had made any progress in reading the Koran?" To which he replied in the following terms: "I am come to that place, most noble prince, where it is written, Surely they who devour the possessions of orphans unjustly, shall swallow nothing but fire, and shall broil in raging flames." The war still continued between the Turkmâns and the Kurds, who fought several battles, in the neighbourhood of Nâsîbîn, and other parts, in the Former Rabî; wherein a vast number of men were lost on both sides: but to which of those nations victory inclined, that author has not informed us. This year Al Bornas or Arnold, the sâheb of Al Carac, intercepted a large caravan of Moslem pilgrims going to Mecca, killed many of them, and carried off a greater number into captivity. As a truce had before been concluded between Salâh'addîn and that prince, the sultan looked upon this act of hostility as an open infraction of the treaty, and therefore sent an ambassador to Arnold, to demand the release of the prisoners he had taken; but without effect. This refusal so incensed the sultan, that he vowed he would himself cut off the perfidious sâheb's head, if he ever fell into his hands. Salâh'addîn's treatment of Nâsero'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Shairacûh, and Shairacûh or Asado'ddîn Shairacûh, his son, to whom by the bands of consanguinity he was so closely allied, indicates him to have been, notwithstanding

standing the flattery of his panegyrist, a very cruel and rapacious prince*.

and of the
year 583.

The 583d year of the Hejra, which commenced March 13th, 1187, proved extremely unfortunate, and even almost fatal, to the Franks. Salâh'addîn advanced at the head of a body of troops to Al Carac, in order to block up that place, and protect the caravan of pilgrims going to Mecca. He also sent a large detachment, under the command of his son Al Mâlec Al Afdal, to ravage the district of 'Accâ, and all the adjacent tract. Al Mâlec Al Afdal committed dreadful depredations in that part of Palestine, and then returned into the Moslem territories with an immense quantity of spoil, without having sustained any considerable loss. As for the sultân himself, he remained before Al Carac till the return of the caravan, and then marched to 'Ashtarâ, probably the Ashtaroth Karnaim of Scripture, belonging to the tribe of Manasseh, not far from Damascus. Here he was met by his son Al Mâlec Al Afdal, and Modhaffero'ddîn Ebn Zîno'ddîn, with the army under their command. In the mean time, Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer, the sâheb of Hamah, having concluded a treaty of neutrality with the Franks for the principality of Aleppo, decamped from Hârem, where he had encamped, to observe their motions, and returned to Hamah. The sultân being afterwards joined by the forces of Al Mawfel, commanded by Mas'ûd Al Za'farâni, Mâredîn, and Hamah; he reviewed his army first on the hill called Tel Taïfal, and afterwards at 'Ashtarâ; the latter of which, according to Bohâo'ddîn, was the place of rendezvous. The Franks, having received advice of the dispositions made by the sultân for attacking them, and of his having already taken the field, assembled likewise a numerous army, and encamped in the plains of Sepphoris. Of which step Salâh'addîn being informed, he pitched his camp on the lake of Tiberias, near the village of Al Soheira; from whence he removed to a spot on the west side of that lake, and drew up his troops in order of battle. This motion he imagined would induce the Franks to change their ground; but he was deceived in his expectation, they keeping themselves within their

* Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 582. Ebn Khalecân, Takio'ddîn Ahmed Al Makrizi, ubi sup. Al Kor. Moham. sur. iv. Ebn Shohnah, ad ann. Hej. 582. Khondemir, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. ubi sup. p. 743. Renaud ubi sup. p. 543, 544. Alb. Schult. Ind. Geograph. in Vit. Salad. pass.

camp.

camp. The soltân, not being able to draw them to an engagement, left one part of his army to guard his camp, and with the other moved to Tabariya or Tiberias, then subject to the sâheb of Tripoli; which he took by storm, putting many of the inhabitants to the sword. The castle, however, he could not reduce; therefore, in revenge, he set fire to the town. The Franks receiving intelligence of what had happened to Tabariya, and being determined to give Salâh'addîn battle, immediately quitted their camp, and advanced towards the soltân; who, having left a body of troops to keep the citadel blocked up, led his men, with the same ardour, to meet them half way. Both armies facing each other, on Thursday, the 22d of the Latter Rabi, in the afternoon, a most fierce and bloody conflict ensued: but the night preventing victory from declaring on either side, the fight was renewed next morning, by break of day, with greater fury than before. Nor could the most vigorous efforts of both armies decide the dispute before Saturday, the 24th of the aforesaid month; when the Moslems, animated by despair, being hemmed in on every side by the enemy and the Jordan, entirely defeated the Franks, and gained a most glorious victory. The sâheb of Tripoli, who, according to Abu'lfeda, had been prevailed upon to join the Franks, by a Christian patriarch and several priests sent to him as ambassadors from the king of Jerusalem for that purpose, in open violation of a solemn treaty of alliance he had before concluded with the soltân, charged the Moslems in front; but was so warmly received by Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer Takio'ddîn, the sâheb of Hamah, that he soon fled with precipitation; but being hotly pursued by a detachment of the Moslem forces, all the people that attended him were cut off to a man, and he alone escaped to Tripoli; where he was some time after seized with a pleurisy, and died. A prodigious number of the Franks were killed in the action and the pursuit. A body of them, however, found means to retire to the top of a neighbouring hill, denominated from a village at a small distance from it, the hill of Hittîn; but being surrounded by the soltân's troops, who set fire to a wood into which they had fled for shelter, and almost dead with thirst, they were obliged to surrender at discretion. Some were barbarously butchered by the Moslems, as soon as they delivered themselves up into their hands, and others thrown into irons. Amongst the prisoners were the king of Jerusalem himself, Al Bornas, or Arnold, the sâheb of Al Shawbec and Al Carac, the sâheb

fâheb of Hobeil, or rather Jobeil, his son Humphrey, the masters of the Templars and Hospitalers, together with almost the whole order of the latter. With such terror were the Franks struck on this occasion, that one of Salâh'addîn's men took thirty of them prisoners, and dragged them after him; having tied them together, to prevent their escape, with the cord of his tent. The masters of the Templars and Hospitalers, with the knights above mentioned acting under the latter, being brought into the sultân's presence, he commanded them all to be cut (I) to pieces before his face. After the action, Salâh'addîn seated himself in a magnificent tent, erected for that purpose; and placed the king of Jerusalem, or, as the Arab writers style him, the king of the Franks (K), on his right hand, and Al Bornas, or Arnold, the fâheb of Al Shawbec and Al Carac, on his left. Then he drank to the former of these princes, at that time ready to expire with thirst, and offered him a cup of snow-water; which he thankfully received, and immediately drank to the latter. But here the sultân interrupted him, with some warmth; saying, "I will not suffer this cursed rogue to drink, as that, according to the laudable and generous custom of the Arabs, would secure to him his life." Then turning towards the fâheb of Al Shawbec and Al Carac, he gave him very opprobrious language, and reproached him with the expedition he had undertaken against the two sacred cities, meaning Mecca and Medina, as well as with his violation of the treaty last concluded with him, in contempt of public faith, by intercepting an Egyptian caravan of pilgrims going to Mecca, in time of profound peace, near Al Shawbec, and massacring all the holy people of which it was composed. He likewise accused him

(I) Some authors relate, that above two hundred knights Templars and Hospitalers were now killed before the sultân's tent; that he called them assassins or Bâranists, and put every one of their orders to the sword that fell into his hands; and that he usually paid his soldiers fifty dinârs for every head of a Templar or Hospitaler that they brought him (1).

(K) This was Guy of Lusignan, Sibylla's husband, who held the kingdom of Jerusalem in right of his wife. The misunderstanding between him and the fâheb of Tripoli occasioned the latter to enter into an alliance with Salâh'addîn, though he fought for the king of Jerusalem at the battle of Hittin against that prince.

(1) Renaud. ubi sup. p. 544.

of uttering the most virulent language against Mohammed, and of being guilty of a great effusion of Moslem blood : notwithstanding which outrages, he told the sâheb he would spare him, if he would become a convert to Islamism. But the sâheb rejecting this condition, the sultân drew his scymitar, and immediately struck off his head, in conformity to the vow he had formerly made. This execution greatly terrified the king of the Franks, who expected to meet with the same fate ; but Salâh'addîn raised his drooping spirits, by assuring him that he had nothing to fear ; that it did not become kings to kill their brethren ; and that Al Bornas had brought upon himself a violent death by shewing so little regard to the dictates of common honesty. The Franks being thus overthrown, and totally dispersed, the sultân resumed the military operations against the citadel of Tiberias, and took it by capitulation. From thence he moved towards 'Accâ, or Ptolemais ; which, after a short siege, he reduced. Here he found four thousand Moslem prisoners in chains, whom he instantly released. As the inhabitants of 'Accâ enjoyed a very flourishing and extensive trade, the place being at this time full of merchants, he found there not only immense sums of money, but likewise variety of wares of exceeding great value ; all which he seized, and applied to his own use. His brother Al Mâlec Al 'Adel attacked Majdelyâbâ, a small town, or village, with a very strong castle, near Al Râmla, which he carried sword in hand. The sultân then divided his army into several bodies, in order to over-run the territories of the Franks with the greater celerity ; and these detachments reduced Nâblos, or Neapolis, with its citadel, Haifâ, Kayfâriya or Cæsarea, Sefâforiya or Sépphoris, Al Nâfaret or Nazareth, Ma'lthâ or Maaltha, Al Fawla, Al Shâkîf, and several other places not far from 'Accâ ; where they met with women and children only, all the men having been before either killed or taken prisoners. After the reduction of Majdelyâbâ, Al Mâlec Al 'Adel advanced to Jassa, Yâfâ, or Joppa ; which, after a pretty vigorous resistance, he carried by storm. Every thing being settled at 'Accâ, and both the spoils and the captives distributed amongst the victors, the sultân himself marched to Tebnîn, a fortress of considerable strength near 'Accâ, on the road to Saidâ, Seidâ, or Sidon ; which was taken by assault, after it had sustained a siege of six days. He was no sooner master of Tebnîn than he ordered the fortress itself to be razed, and the garrison to be put to the sword. From Tebnîn Salâh'addîn moved to Si-

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don ; which, being deserted by its prince, surrendered almost as soon as he presented himself before the town. Bayrût, or Berytus, he invested the 22d of the same month; and obliged it to submit the 29th, the inhabitants then taking the oath of allegiance to him. Amongst the prisoners the soltân found the fâheb of Hobeil; who, by way of ransom, delivered up his capital to him : upon his cession of Hobeil, in consequence of his promise, the soltân released him. About this time, a certain marquis (L) arrived in a Christian vessel at 'Acca; not knowing that the Moslems were in possession of that place : Al Mâlec Al Afdal, the commandant of 'Accâ, might easily, as Abu'lfeda seems to intimate, have secured the person of this nobleman, as he was detained several days in the port, either by a calm or a contrary wind ; but letting the opportunity slip, the marquis escaped to Tyre, and put himself at the head of the Christian forces assembled in that city : which misfortune, together with the great number of prisoners released by the soltân, and sent by his command to Tyre, chiefly contributed, in Abu'lfeda's opinion, to the success that four years after attended the arms of the Franks. The next place of strength attacked by Salâh'addin was 'Aksalân (M) ; which, after a siege of fourteen days, he made himself master of, towards the close of the Latter Jomâda. About the same time his troops possessed themselves of Al Ramla, Yafnâ or Yabnâ, the Jabneh or Yabney of Scripture, Al Dârûm, Gaza, Bethlehem, Al Netrûn, Beit Jebrîn, and several other towns. The Franks, since the battle of Hittîn not daring to look the soltân in the face, he recalled all his detachments, that had been ravaging the adjacent country, and wresting many of the lesser fortresses of Palestine out of the enemy's hands,

(L) This was the marquis of Montferrat; who, by a stratagem, deceived Al Afdal, called by M. Renaudot corruptly Adel, and made his escape to Tyre (1).

(M) One of the articles of the capitulation was, that Guy, king of Jerusalem, should be released; which being complied with by the soltân, the city was

surrendered to him. About the same time, Beth Gabriel, who commanded in the castle, was also released, and sent with five hundred men to Europe; from whence he returned, with a reinforcement of Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans, and a fleet of one hundred sail, about six months after, to Tyre (2).

(1) Renaud. ubi supra, p. 545. Ifm. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 583.

(2) Renaud. ubi supra, p. 544

led his army against Jerusalem, or Al Kuds, and invested that capital, then full of people (N), on the west side, the 15th of Rajeb, the present year. Some of the Moslem historians relate, that the garrison alone consisted of at least sixty thousand men; but that this much exceeded the truth, Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddâd himself has not scrupled

(N) We are told by Abu'l-Faraj, that the garrison and inhabitants of Jerusalem were struck with terror when they saw from the walls the numerous army commanded by the sultân; who, after he had spent five days in viewing the ground round the place, erected his engines on a spot near Bâb 'Amûdâ, or the *Gate of 'Amûdâ*, and the church of Sion, as the most commodious for that purpose, the night of the 20th of Rajeb. The Franks, having planted their machines on the walls, made on their part the necessary dispositions for a vigorous defence. In short, the troops on both sides, animated by the most fervent zeal for their religion, exerted themselves with so much ardour, that their leaders could not confine their intrepidity within proper bounds. But the Franks, perceiving the dreadful execution done by the enemy's military engines, and the surprising progress of their miners, found they could not hold out long; and therefore sent Bâliân, the son of Nirwân, or Birwân, the sâheb of Al Ramla, to treat with the sultân about the surrender of the city. That prince, however, at first refused to grant them any terms; saying he would take it by storm, as the Franks had formerly done. "If that be the

case, (replied Bâliân,) know, O sultân, that we, who are extremely numerous, and have been restrained from fighting like men in despair only by the hopes of an honourable capitulation, will kill all our wives and children, commit all our wealth and valuable effects to the flames, massacre five thousand Moslem prisoners now in our hands, leave not a single beast of burden or animal of any kind belonging to us alive, and level with the ground the rock you esteem sacred, together with the temple Al Akfa. After these steps are taken, we will fully out upon you in a body, and doubt not but we shall either cut to pieces a much greater number of you than we are, or force you to abandon the siege. In fine, we are determined, if you will not permit us to retire, either to meet with victory or a glorious death." This resolute speech had such an effect upon the sultân, that he immediately called a council of war, at which all the general officers of his army assisted; who unanimously agreed, that it would be advisable for him to suffer the Franks quietly to evacuate the place, since the issue of such a vigorous sally as Bâliân had threatened him with, must be altogether uncertain (3).

(3) Greg. Abul-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 415, & seq.

to affirm. Be that as it may, the sultân found himself obliged to remove his camp more to the north, that his engines might play upon the city, and batter the walls with greater success. He carried on the siege, notwithstanding the obstinate resistance of the garrison, with the utmost vigour, and at last by undermining made a breach in that part of the wall contiguous to Gehinnom, or the Valley of Hinnom; which, being practicable, so intimidated the besieged, that they immediately desired to capitulate: but the sultân at first refused to grant them any terms, saying he would take Al Kuds from the Franks as they had formerly taken it from the Moslems, that is, sword in hand: but upon the garrison's insinuating, that the troops which composed it were extremely numerous, and would defend themselves to the last extremity, if they were not permitted to retire in safety to some other place, he thought fit to desist from his design. It was, therefore, agreed, that every man should pay the sultân ten Tyrian dinârs, every woman five, and every infant two; upon which condition, they were allowed to leave the Holy City in peace. Those that paid the stipulated sums were escorted by a detachment of the sultân's troops to Tyre, but the others were thrown into irons (O). Some of the Moslem writers declare that the sultân had no sooner occupied Al Kuds than some of his men took down a cross overlaid with gold from the top of the temple Af-fakhra, or the *Sacred Rock*, perhaps Mount Calvary; upon which the skies were rent by such a cry, as had never before been heard. Salâh'addîn, being absolute mas-

(O) M. Renaudot assures us, that the loss of Jerusalem was owing to the discords and dissensions that reigned amongst the citizens, and to the perfidy of the Melchites. One Yusef Al Batith, of that sect, a merchant, excited those of his communion, who were the most considerable part of the inhabitants, to shake off the yoke of the Franks. The patriarch carried away with him the gold and silver plate, together with all the rich utensils and furniture, of the church of the

Holy Sepulchre, by the sultân's permission; though this was, for a short time, opposed by the Mohammedans. Some authors relate, that fourteen thousand Franks were left prisoners in the place; that the celebrated cross above mentioned, thrown down by the Moslems, was erected on the top of the Hospitalers church; and that the rejoicings, made on this occasion throughout the Mohammedan territories, were such as had never before been known (4).

(4) Renaud. ubi supra, p. 545.

ter of the city, commanded the temple Al Akfa, which had been converted into a jakes by the Franks, to be cleansed, and restored to its pristine state. He also ordered the pulpit, destined by Mûro'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Zenki for Jerusalem, to be brought from Aleppo, and fixed in this temple. After he had released three thousand Moslem captives, formed a plan for the erection of several schools and colleges, for the education of the youth trained up in the principles of Al Shâfeî, and settled every thing to his satisfaction at Al Kuds, he proceeded to 'Accâ, and from thence marched with his army to Tyre; which he formally besieged. But the Franks having surprised and defeated his fleet, consisting of ten sail, which was appointed to forward the operations of the land-forces, taken five of his ships of war, killed a great number of his seamen, and obliged Al Fares Bedrân and Abd'almohsen, his two admirals, to retreat; the sultân judged it expedient, especially as the winter approached, to raise the siege. Accordingly, having burnt that part of his machines which he could not carry off, he decamped, and returned to 'Accâ. Shams'o'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Al Mokaddem, the emir of the Hadjis, or *Pilgrims*, of Al Shâm, endeavouring to perform the religious decursion from Mount Arafat to the valley of Mina, before Tâstakîn, the emir of the Hadjis of Irâk, was killed in a skirmish that happened on this occasion, between the Pilgrims of Al Shâm, or Syria, and those of Irâk. He was interred in the burying-place denominated Al Moalla, and died a martyr, according to the sentiments of the Mohammedans. Tâstakîn is said to have insisted upon the honour of conducting his Hadjis first from Mount Arafat to the valley of Mina, on account of the superior dignity of the khalif Al Nâser Ledini'llah, who resided in Irâk; and Ebn Al Mokaddem to have claimed the same privilege, by reason of the invincible power of Salâh'addîn, now become in a manner the sole monarch of Syria, or Al Shâm, as well as Egypt. Many perished on both sides in this bloody engagement. The khalif sent to Salâh'addîn to excuse what had happened, but this apology by no means satisfied the sultân^b.

^b Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi supra, p. 66—76. Ifm. Abu'l-fed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 583. Greg. Abu'l Faraj. ubi supra. p. 415, 416, 417, 418. 'Amado'ddin Mohammed Ebn Mo'ammed Al Koreishi Al Esfahani, in Expugnat. Kudâtic. five Hierosolymitan. ab Alb. Schult. edit. Lugduni Batav. 1732. Khondemir. Ebn Shoh-nab, ad ann. Hej. 583. Golii Not ad Alfragan. pass. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. p. 743.

The farther progress of the sultan's arms.

In the 584th year of the Hejra, Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb extended his conquests, and still proved superior to the Franks. Leaving his winter-quarters at 'Accâ, he advanced to Caucab, a strong castle seated on a hill, at a small distance from Tiberias, near the Jordan, and laid siege to it, in the beginning of Al Moharram. But receiving advice, that the Franks had penetrated as far as 'Aferbala, defeated a body of the Moslem troops posted there, under the command of Saifo'ddîn, the brother of Al Jâwali, who was killed in the action, and carried off several standards, together with a large quantity of arms, he marched at the head of part of his forces thither, and left the emir Kâymâz Al Nojmi with the remainder to continue the siege. Finding afterwards, however, that the fortress was rendered both by nature and art in a manner impregnable, and defended by a brave as well as numerous garrison, he concluded it could only be reduced by all his troops, drawn out of the different provinces of his empire, assembled in a body, and therefore ordered al emir Kâymâz to desist. The sultan himself entered Damascus, the 6th of the Former Rabî, and remained there only five days; though, according to Bohâo'ddîn, he had been absent from that capital sixteen months. His speedy departure was occasioned by the news brought him of a design formed by the Franks, after they had by favour of the night met with the aforesaid success at 'Aferbala, to make themselves masters of Hobeila. This intelligence induced him to put some of his forces immediately in motion; of which the Franks being apprised, they thought proper to keep quiet within their own frontiers, and did not make any attempt against that town. About the middle of the Former Rabî, the sultan encamped on the lake of Al Kuds, a little to the west of Hems; where he was joined by 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki, the sâheb of Sinjâr, or Senjâr, and Nâsî'în, with a very considerable reinforcement. He then removed his camp to Hîsn Al Acrâd, on the 1st of the Latter Rabî, and detached parties from thence to make incursions into the territories of the Franks. Some of these detachments ravaged the district of Tripoli, and then returned, with an immense quantity of spoil. From Hîsn Al Acrâd, Salâh'addîn marched to Antarfûs, Anatarfûs, or Antaratûs, one of the dependencies of Tripoli; presented himself before the town, took it, after a faint resistance, by storm, and gave it up to be plundered by his troops. He then entirely dismantled, and set fire to the place. On the 14th of the same month, he

He directed his march to Marakiya, a fortress situated on the maritime coast of Hems; which was deserted by the Franks. From thence he marched to Merkab; but finding that fortress in a condition to baffle his most vigorous efforts, he advanced to Jibla, the Gabala of the ancients, a town of the same district. This, on his first appearance before it, immediately surrendered; as did also, the next day, the citadel, the garrison of which was permitted to retire in safety. Having appointed Al Emîr Sâbiko'ddîn Othmân Ebn Al Dâya, the sâheb of Shaizar, to command there, he began his march for Al Lâdikiya, or Laodicea, the 23d of the same month, where he arrived the following day. Animated by the reduction of so many castles and towns, the sultân attacked Al Lâdikiya with so much bravery, that the garrison surrendered on capitulation. Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer 'Takî'o'ddîn having been constituted governor of Al Lâdikiya, Salâh'addîn decamped, the 27th, and advanced to Schyûn, a fortress of prodigious strength, which nevertheless submitted to the conqueror. The government of it being assigned to Al Emîr Nâfero'ddîn, the sultân made the proper dispositions for attacking Bâcas, an important fortress upon the Orontes; which he carried by assault, cut to pieces many of the inhabitants and garrison, brought the rest away with him bound, and abandoned the place to pillage. In the mean time, the sultân's detachments, which had spread themselves over the country, seized upon Al 'Aid, a castle dependent on Antioch, Faiha, a fortress in the same territory, Blâtânûs, or Plâtânûs, a regular fortification opposite to Laodicea, Al Jahmâhûnîn, a strong castle near Jibla, and other considerable places. After the surrender of Bâcas, Salâh'addîn summoned the castle of Al Shokr, joined to it by a bridge; the garrison of which, having no prospect of relief, demanded to capitulate, and delivered up the fortress, though rendered inaccessible by a very advantageous situation. Salâh'addîn then detached his son Al Mâlec Al Dhâher, the sâheb of Aleppo, with a body of troops, to possess himself of the castle of Sarmâniya, about a day's journey north-east of Aleppo; which immediately submitted. Salâh'addîn, having entirely demolished the castle of Sarmâniya and left no traces of it remaining, led his army against Borziya, a fortress in the province of Antioch, so strong by its situation as to become a proverb amongst the Franks. This place he assaulted with so much bravery, that he took it sword in hand, killed many of the Chris-

tians, and made all the rest prisoners. However, the sultân sent the governor of the castle, together with all his family, amounting to seventeen persons, to the sâheb of Antioch, to whom he was nearly related; though, by his permission, the wretched inhabitants were deprived of all their money and effects by the Moslem troops. From Borziya the sultân marched by the Iron Bridge, upon the Orontes, about six or seven miles from Antioch; where he halted till the rear of his army came up, and then continued his march to Derbasâc. Having formed the siege of the castle, the garrison surrendered the place, and were suffered to retire unmolested, but without baggage. Bagrâs, or Pagræ, a city seated at the foot of mount Al Locâm, about four parasangs from Antioch, with a citadel, met with the same fate. Boamund, the sâheb of Antioch, disheartened to the last degree by the uninterrupted success that had attended the Moslem arms in this campaign, sent a minister to the sultân, to desire a truce for seven or eight months. To this proposal the present situation of Salâh'addîn's affairs, notwithstanding the advantages he had gained, obliged him to agree; the incredible fatigues his men had sustained, and the insolent demand of the auxiliaries under the orders of 'Amâdo'ddîn, the sâheb of Sinjâr, to be immediately dismissed, rendering absolutely necessary such a concession. The truce granted Boamund was upon the following conditions: that he should set at liberty all the Moslem prisoners in his hands; and that he should put the sultân in possession of his capital, if he was not succoured before the expiration of that truce. This convention being signed, Salâh'addîn went with his son Al Mâlec Al Dhâher to Aleppo, where he continued three days. He was met on the road to Damascus by Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer Takîo'ddîn, whom he splendidly entertained at Hamah. Having spent one night there, and conferred upon Takîo'ddîn the government of Jibla and Laodicea, he continued his route to Baalbec, and from thence to Damascus; where he arrived, in good health, about the beginning of Ramadân. Upon his arrival at Damascus, he was advised by some of the grandees of his court to disband the troops; but this advice he would by no means listen to, saying, "Life is short, and the term of it uncertain." About this time, intelligence was brought the sultân, that his brother Al Mâlec Al 'Adel had made himself master of Al Carac and Al Shawbec, with their dependencies, and the whole adjacent

cent territory extending as far as Safad. Having surmounted all obstacles, Salâh'addîn also reduced to his obedience the town of Safed, an important post of the Franks; not far from the lake of Tiberias and the Jordan. The garrison and inhabitants, as it was stipulated by one of the articles of the capitulation, were conducted to Tyre. The sultân, after every thing was settled to his satisfaction at Safad, set out for Jerusalem, in company with his brother. From thence he passed to 'Askalân, or Ashkelon, directed his course to 'Accâ, visiting all the towns of any consequence in his way. Soon after he had entered 'Accâ, he nominated Bohâo'ddîn Karâkûsh to preside over that ancient city, and the district appertaining to it; ordering him to repair the walls, then in a ruinous condition, without delay. We must not forget to observe, that the sultân reduced the strong castle of Caucab, which he had besieged ineffectually the beginning of the year before he celebrated the feast of the oblation at Jerusalem, or Al Kuds; with the mention of which conquests we shall conclude our account of his military operations against the Franks, during the course of this prosperous campaign ¹.

In the following year, being the 585th of the Hejra, the khalif Al Nâser Ledini'llah sent an ambassador to Salâh'addîn, requiring him to command his subjects to put up prayers for his son in all their mosques, as his successor in the khalifat. With this request the sultân, who had spent the greater part of Al Moharram at 'Accâ, and entered Damascus either the 1st or 2d of Safar, readily complied. He soon after formed a design to make himself master of Shakîf Arnûn, a strong fortress in the neighbourhood of Bânîâs or Paneas, and for that purpose put himself at the head of a large body of troops, with which he began his march from Damascus. The sâheb of Shakîf Arnûn was struck with terror at his approach, and therefore thought fit to have recourse to dissimulation, in order to avert the impending storm. He came in a submissive manner to the sultân's tent, called himself his mamlûk or slave, and promised to deliver up Shakîf Arnûn into his hands at the end of three months, by the expiration of which term he proposed to draw his family out of Tyre. The sultân, sa-

*The sâheb
of Shakîf
Arnûn
over-
reaches Sa-
lâh'addîn.*

¹ Bahao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 76—89. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 584. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 418. Ebn Khalecan, Ebn Al Athir, in Câm. Ebn Shohn. ad an Hej. 584. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. pass. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. ubi sup. Renaud. ubi supra. p. 545. Alb. Schult. Ind. Geographic. in Vit. Salad. pass.

tified

tisfied with his submission, granted him a truce for the time he desired, and soon after received the news of the dispositions made by the Franks for besieging 'Accâ. One of their detachments having entered the Moslem territories, bordering upon the district of Tyre, a party of the sultân's men, occupying a neighbouring post, fell upon them with so much bravery, that they forced them to retire, killed many upon the spot, and took a large number prisoners. This action was followed by another brisk skirmish, in which the Moslems were worsted by the Franks, losing one hundred and eighty men upon the field of battle, besides a very considerable number that fell into the enemy's hands. The term for the evacuation of Shakîf Arnûn being nearly elapsed, the sultân advanced again to Marj Aîûn, in order to take possession of that place. But Arnold, the sâheb of the fortress, being sent for by him, and commanded to admit a Moslem garrison, pretended that his own troops would not permit him to abandon a post they thought themselves obliged in honour to defend. Whereupon the sultân put him immediately under an arrest, had him conducted to Damascus and caused him to be closely confined ^k.

*The Franks
besiege 'Accâ.*

The Franks, who had defended Jerusalem, and the other towns and fortresses taken by Salâh'addîn, against the Moslems, having retreated to Tyre, formed a very numerous body of troops in that city. This proved not only the preservation of Tyre, but likewise greatly contributed to the re-establishment of the affairs of the Franks: for, having received powerful succours from Europe, they took the field with an army of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Their commander in chief sent a detachment of his forces to Alexandretta, which drove a strong party of the Moslem infantry from thence, and posted themselves there, with inconsiderable loss. The sultân having been informed that the Franks were in motion, and directed their march towards 'Accâ, decamped from Al Shakîf the 12th of Rajeb, though he did not even then perfectly penetrate their design: but receiving advice that they encamped the same day at 'Ain Bassâ, and that the van of their army had reached Al Zîb, he wrote to all his governors of provinces to join him immediately. On the 13, by break of day, he began to march with the main body of the Moslem army towards 'Accâ, by the way of Tibe-

^k Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 89—97. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 585. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 545, 546. Alb. Schult. Ind. Geographic. in Vit. Salad. pass.

rias; though a considerable part of the forces had orders to take the route of Tebnîn, which was nearer the enemy, that they might get early intelligence of their motions. Salâh'addîn having halted an hour at Al Hawla to refresh his men, advanced afterwards to Al Munaia, where he pitched his tents that night. Here he received intelligence that the Franks had invested 'Acca, where the Moslems had a garrison of ten thousand men. He forthwith sent Arnold, the sâheb of Al Shakîf, then his prisoner, under an escorte to Damascus; and the 14th he met the body of troops that had taken the route of Tebnîn, in the plains of Sefforiya or Sepphoris, where he found his baggage likewise arrived. On the 15th he marched to Al Kherûba, at a small distance from the enemy's camp, from whence he moved immediately in order of battle to Tel Caïfan, where the plains of 'Accâ begin. Here he encamped, with his left wing extended to Al Nahr Al Halû, or *the Sweet River*, and his right to Tel Al 'Ayâdhiya, in such a manner that the Franks, besieging 'Accâ, were closely blocked up by him in their turn. After several slight skirmishes between the advanced parties of the two armies, now in sight of each other, a vigorous action happened on the 1st of Shaabân. The sultân having been joined by Modhaffero'ddin Ebn Zîno'ddîn, Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer, the sâheb of Hamah, and many other commanders, and thereby become much superior in number to the Franks; the fight was renewed and continued with the utmost fury the two following days. Though the engagement, according to the Moslem writers, seems to have been pretty obstinate, nothing decisive happened on either side. However, the sultân defeated a body of the enemy, on the 2d of Shaabân, penetrated to the gate of Karâkûsh, which he entered, and threw a strong reinforcement of troops into the town. Notwithstanding this advantage, Salâh'addîn found himself obliged, partly by the continual rains, and partly by the efforts of the enemy, though they were generally worsted, if any credit is due to the Moslem writers, to retire to Tel Al 'Ayâdhiya, opposite to the besiegers' camp. On the 16th a party of the enemy's foragers were drawn into an ambuscade of Arab horse, who put them to the rout, cut many to pieces, and carried off a good number prisoners. The heads of the slain they brought to the sultân, who rewarded every soldier with a magnificent vest, and also conferred other marks of his favour upon them. The same day the besieged made
a sally

a sally upon the Franks, in which both sides sustained a considerable loss. Scarce a day passed without some skirmishes till either the 20th or 21st of Shaabân, on which a bloody battle was fought. The Franks then attacked the Moslems with unparalleled bravery, made a great carnage, and pierced through their main body, even to the sultân's tent. However, if the Moslem historians merit any regard, the Franks not supporting their men, they were repulsed, and no less than ten thousand of them killed upon the spot: but this assertion seems pretty remote from truth, as Salâh'addîn was constrained to retire to Al Kherûba; to which place the baggage had been sent on the 3d, or, as Abu'lfeida intimates, the 14th of Ramadân. The colouring given by the Moslem writers to this retreat, as though it was rendered necessary by a bilious disorder of the sultân, in conjunction with another distemper, occasioned by the stench arising from the dead bodies remaining on the field of battle, appears to be a mere pretext, framed purely to palliate a defeat. Be that as it may, in consequence of the unanimous opinion of the general officers of his army, assembled in a council of war, the sultân removed his camp to Kherûba; where he remained seven days for the recovery of his health, as well as to collect the shattered remains of the main body and right wing, which suffered most in the action, and to wait the arrival of his brother Al Mâlec Al 'Adel. When matters were in this situation, Al Mâlec Al 'Adel joined his brother Salâh'addîn with the Egyptian troops, and Hofâmo'ddîn Lûlû, the Moslem admiral, gained an advantage over the Christian fleet, took one of the ships of war of which it was composed, and brought it with him into the port of 'Accâ. The towers likewise erected before that place, of a great height, by the Franks, in order to facilitate their approaches, and enable them to batter the walls of the town, were destroyed with naphtha, prepared by Ebn Nejas of Baghdâd; all which accidents served still more to animate the besieged, who exerted themselves so vigorously in the defence of the fortrefs, that it held out against the whole combined force of the Franks till the 17th of the Latter Jomâda, 587¹.

*Other
events of
the year
585.*

In the beginning of Safar, 585, the sultân received a letter from his son Al Mâlec Al Dhâher at Aleppo, with

¹ Bohao'ddîn Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 97—110. Ism. Abu'lfeida. ubi sup. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 585. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. & Alb. Schult. Ind. Geographic. in Vit. Salad. pass. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. ubi sup. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 546.

an account that the emperor Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, called Mâlec Al Alamân by the Arab writers, was upon his march to Constantinople, with an army of two hundred thousand, or, according to other advices, two hundred and sixty thousand men, in order to invade the Moslem territories. Salâh'addîn, not a little alarmed at this intelligence, sent Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd, as his ambassador, to the sâhebs of. Senjâr, Al Jazîra, Al Mawfel, and Arbel, ordering them to attend him with their troops; he being determined to assemble all the forces of his empire, and act with them against the Franks, for the defence of Islamism. He also dispatched the same person, as his minister, to the khalif Al Nâser Ledini'llah at Baghdâd, desiring the Moslem pontiff to concur with him and the other princes, in expediting all the measures that should be judged requisite for the support of their common religion. Bohâo'ddîn was well received at all the courts he visited on this occasion, and particularly by the august dîwân of Baghdâd. He returned to the sultân the 5th of the Former Rabî the following year, and found that the aforesaid sâhebs had joined him with their respective reinforcements before his arrival. Soon after Bohâo'ddîn's departure, the Franks before 'Accâ having been apprized that the sultân was gone a-hunting, endeavoured to surprise the Moslem camp, then at a very considerable distance from them; but were so briskly received by Al Mâlec Al 'Adel, that they were repulsed with great loss, and obliged to retire, without having executed their design. However, many of Salâh'addîn's men were killed in the action, and a great number wounded.

The next year, being the 586th of the Hejra, the sâheb of Sidon, who commanded in Al Shakîf, or Shakîf Arnûn, having no prospect of relief, and expecting, with his whole garrison, to be put to the sword, if the place was taken by storm, on the 15th of the Former Rabî demanded to capitulate. He offered to leave all the baggage and the military chest to the Moslems, if the sultân would permit him and the garrison to march out in safety to Tyre. Which demand being granted, he immediately evacuated the fortrefs, and was conducted by a detachment of the sultân's troops to the above mentioned city. About the same time an ambassador arrived at the sultân's camp from the khalif, with two load of naphtha, to be conveyed to 'Accâ, together with some engineers, to employ those combustible materials upon the besiegers towers and machines.

Al Shakîf is surrendered to the sultân.

chines. He also brought with him an order from the khalif, authorizing the sultân to borrow of the merchants the sum of twenty thousand dinârs, in the name of the dîwân of Baghdâd, that he might be thereby enabled to carry on the war with greater vigour against the Franks^k.

*The Franks
continue the
siege of
'Accâ.*

The sultân receiving advice that the Franks pushed on the siege of 'Accâ with the utmost vigour, made the proper dispositions for obliging them to abandon that enterprise. For this purpose he moved from Al Kherûba, and advanced to Tel Al 'Ajûl, where he pitched his camp. He was soon joined by his son Al Mâlec Al Dhâher Gay-âtho'ddîn Gâzi, the sâheb of Aleppo, with a select body of cavalry; and by Modhaffero'ddîn Ebn Zîno'ddîn, a general of extraordinary merit, with his light horse. In the mean time the Franks had almost filled up the ditch of the town, and brought three wooden towers, strengthened with iron, nearer the walls. Each of these towers, which were much higher than the walls, was sixty cubits long, and had between five and six hundred men posted in it, together with a proper number of arms and military machines. They were moved on wheels, and covered with hides of oxen soaked in mud and vinegar, that they might be thereby rendered proof against fire. However, a young man of Damascus, a brazier, found means, by discharging upon them a sufficient quantity of naphtha, prepared in a proper manner, out of some brass pots, to reduce them to ashes, together with all the soldiers, arms, and machines, that they contained. Soon after this fortunate event, a great number of Moslem chiefs arrived at the sultân's camp; but notwithstanding these favourable circumstances, 'Accâ was in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the Franks, the garrison being reduced almost to the last extremity for want of provisions. At this critical juncture the Egyptian fleet appeared on the coast of Syria, engaged that of the Franks, defeated it, and took one of their largest ships, putting all the crew to the sword. They also seized upon a smaller vessel coming from Constantinople. After which exploit the Moslem admiral triumphantly entered the port of 'Accâ, and supplied the garrison with every thing they wanted. These in the mean time made a furious sally upon the besiegers, killed and wounded many of their

^k Bohao'ddîn Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 113, 114.

men, and then retired into the town, without having sustained any considerable loss. A body of the sultân's troops also attacked part of the army of the Franks, gained an advantage over it, and would have entirely defeated it, had not the night intervened. About this time Salâh'ad-dîn received a letter from Bar Cricor Ebn Bâsîl, or *the Son of Gregory the Son of Basil*, the Armenian general, and governor of the fortrefs of Al Rûm, upon the western bank of the Euphrates, importing, that the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, after having defeated two Moslem armies successively, and taken Iconium, was dead of a fever contracted by bathing in the river Cydnus, while his blood was overheated; and that the command of his formidable army had devolved upon his son, who had concluded an alliance with Ebn Lâûn, prince of Cilicia. He concluded his letter with a more particular account of the troops of which the imperial army was composed, and the severity of the discipline they observed, promising the sultân, whose mam-lûk and slave he professed himself to be, that he would transmit him a true and faithful narrative of their future motions. Upon the arrival of these tidings, a privy council was immediately called; wherein it was determined, that part of the sultân's forces should be employed against the Greeks, and the other part endeavour to impede the operations of the Franks before 'Accâ, and straiten them in their camp. In consequence of this decision the sultân detached Nâsero'ddîn Ebn Takîo'ddîn, the sâheb of Manbij, with a body of troops, towards the frontiers of Armenia and Cilicia. The forces of Aleppo and Hamah marched after these with all possible celerity, as did also Al Mâlec Al Afdal, and Bedro'ddîn, the governor of Damascus. Al Mâlec Al Dhâher was likewise dispatched to Aleppo, in order to watch the enemy's motions, and cover the adjacent territory from their depredations. Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer was appointed to guard the frontiers that seemed to be the most exposed, and to repel on that side all the enemy's incursions. The sultân then commanded Al Mâlec Al 'Adel to join him with his troops, in order to replace those that had been sent against the Greeks. Many of the sultân's principal officers were visited by a troublesome malady, that spread itself over the Moslem camp, but was not attended with any bad consequences, no person of rank dying of it. The case was different with the Franks, of whom a pestilential distemper, that raged in their camp, swept away very considerable numbers. Notwithstanding which they continued their attacks against 'Accâ,

*The Franks
attack Al
Mâlec Al
'Adel, but
are repul-
sed.*

'Accâ, the sultân not being able, though his arms had been attended with great success since the opening of the campaign, to force them to abandon the siege ^m.

The young Mâlec Al Alamân having ordered the Christian army, under his command, to advance to Antioch, took post himself in the territories of Ebn Lâûn, with only forty Templars and twenty-five other knights. That his forces might march with the greater conveniency and expedition, they were divided into three bodies. One of these taking the route of Bagrâs, or Pagræ, the Moslem garrison of that place, though small, sallied out upon them, and took two hundred of their stragglers, who were mostly sick and destitute of carriages. The sultân's governors of towns and districts in Syria, having received advice of the approach of the Christian army, detached a body of troops to reconnoitre them, and observe their motions. This detachment surprised a strong party of the enemy's foragers, killed and took prisoners about five hundred of them, and acquired a very large quantity of spoil. At this time Bar Cricor, the Armenian commandant of Al Rûm, wrote again to Salâh'addîn, giving him a particular account of the bad situation of the Christians: he informed him that they were indeed numerous, but that, being oppressed with famine, they had been obliged to feed upon their horses, so that a few of them only were left. He added, that they had been forced to burn most of their arms, having been in a manner destitute of fuel, and reduced to the necessity of remaining, for some days, encamped in a very unwholesome situation. To crown all these misfortunes, the general, who had been detached towards Antioch, died on his march. And we are told by Abu'l-feda, that after the demise of the old Mâlec Al Alamân, a very considerable part of the Christian forces returned home; that a famine and the plague, together with the fatigues they found themselves obliged to sustain, made a dreadful havoc amongst them; and that, by reason of these dismal calamities, of the whole Greek army, which at first amounted to a hundred thousand men, not above one thousand, under the orders of the young Mâlec Al Alamân, reached the camp before 'Accâ. Meanwhile skirmishes between the sultân's troops and those of the Franks continued, with little intermission, till Wednesday the

^m Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad ubi supra, p. 114—124. Ism. Abu'l-feda. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 586. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 743. Renaud. ubi supra, p. 546.

20th of the Latter Jomâda, when a very brisk and vigorous action happened. The Franks then attacked the Egyptian forces, under the command of Al Mâlec Al 'Adel, that formed the right wing of the sultân's army, with so much bravery, that they penetrated to Al Mâlec Al 'Adel's tent, and even obliged him to give ground; but amusing themselves with plundering that part of the camp, they gave him time to rally, and thus enabled him to wrest the victory out of their hands; for putting himself, with Al Tawâshi Kâymâz Al Nojmi, again at the head of the Egyptian troops, and being reinforced by those of Al Mawfel, of which the main body was for the most part composed, he returned to the charge, fell upon the enemy with such fury, that he entirely defeated them, and even pursued them to their camp. And, says Abu'lfeda, if the sultân had not been detained by a violent fit of sickness in his tent, the victory would have been in all respects decisive, and the enemy completely ruined. It nevertheless proved a terrible blow to the Franks, who are said by Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd to have had above eight thousand men killed upon the spot; the sultân, to strike a terror into the enemy, having issued an order that no quarter should be given. This account, however, seems to be greatly exaggerated; it being not much more credible that the Franks should lose eight thousand men in this action than that only ten of the Moslems should have been slain, as this author scruples not to affirm. The following day, towards evening, a letter arrived from Aleppo, importing, that the troops of that state had cut off the retreat of a large body of the enemy, which had advanced towards the confines of the Moslem territories on that side, in order to ravage them, insomuch that scarce a single man had escaped. The same day came Kâymâz Al Harrâni to the sultân, with overtures of peace from the Franks, who were so weakened, that they found themselves incapable of carrying on the war against the sultân, and therefore begged he would send a minister to settle with them the terms of an accommodation. This was the situation of their affairs when count Henry arrived with a powerful reinforcement of troops, and an ample supply of money, arms, corn, and other provisions, on board a numerous fleet from Europe, to their relief. His arrival revived their drooping spirits, and animated them to such a degree, that they resolved to attack the sultân with their whole combined force, to avoid which attack he was con-

strained to retire to Al Kherûba. However, he kept open a communication with the Moslem garrison of 'Accâ; letters passing and repassing between his camp and the town, carried partly by pigeons, partly by swimmers, and partly by men in small skiffs, who came out privately, by favour of the night, and stole into the place. About this time an ambassador arrived from Constantinople to supply the place of one that reached the sultân's camp at Marj 'Aîûn, in the month of Rajeb, and soon after died, the preceding year. This minister brought with him an answer to the letter wrote by the sultân to the Greek emperor, wherein he acquainted him with his former ambassador's death. The purport of the new minister's commission chiefly was to desire Salâh'addîn, in the name of the emperor, to transmit to Constantinople all his predecessor's effects, that they might be divided amongst the members of his family; to inform him, that though the Alamâns, or Germans, had forced a passage through his country, they had suffered much more than his subjects, and were then in so miserable a condition, that they could neither greatly hurt his people, nor assist the Franks; and to assure him, that he had hitherto reaped no other advantage from the friendship he had contracted with him, than to render himself thereby the principal object of the hatred and aversion of the Franks. Salâh'addîn received likewise a letter from the emperor himself on the same subject. The Greek ambassador met with a most gracious reception from the sultân, who treated him with uncommon marks of distinction, and assured him of his particular esteem. In the mean time the Franks, who had been joined by count Henry with ten thousand men, and strengthened after that junction by another reinforcement from Europe, redoubled their efforts to possess themselves of 'Accâ, playing incessantly with their military machines, out of which they discharged stones of an enormous size upon the town, with such activity and success, that it seemed to be in the most imminent danger of falling into their hands^a.

The garrison of 'Accâ continues to make a vigorous defence.

Nevertheless Al Emir Bohâo'ddin Karâkûsh and Al Emir Hofâmo'ddin Abu'l Hîjâ, who commanded the Moslem garrison, continued to make a vigorous defence. In the month of Rajeb, a strong party of their men sallied

^a Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddah, ubi sup. p. 124—131. Ifm. Abu'l-fed. ubi supra, Ebn Khalecan, Ebn Al Athir, Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, in Mawredo'llatâfa, Khalil Ebn Mohammed Al Akahesbi in Tarikh Salâh'ad. Renaud. ubi sup.

out

out upon the enemy, killed seventy of them upon the spot, burnt their machines, and then returned triumphantly into the town. They likewise took a very considerable number of prisoners in the action; amongst whom there was a person of distinction, for whose ransom the Franks offered an exceeding large sum. But the Moslem who had seized him cut off his head, and exposed his body to the view of the enemy's camp. The Franks were likewise harrassed without intermission by the Arab horse, until the middle of Shaabân; when one night a detachment of the garrison rushed out upon the beligers, set fire to a vast engine, erected by count Henry, and reduced it to ashes. The Franks were prodigiously affected by this unexpected disaster. The besieged afterwards received a seasonable supply of four hundred sacks of meal, cheese, onions, sheep, and other provisions; when they were reduced to great distress for want of food. The seamen that navigated the ships of Bayrût, or Berytus, which carried this supply to 'Accâ, entered the port by a stratagem; disguised in the Franks habit, and having crosses on their pendants, and hogs on board. The sultân also sent the garrison one thousand dinârs by Isa, a diver, a person frequently employed on such occasions, who was unfortunately drowned in his passage; though the money reached the troops, being deposited in three bladders tied to his body, which was a few days after thrown ashore, near the town. This event, which happened towards the close of Rajeb, was followed by another not less prosperous to the besieged. The Franks having fixed two of their largest engines near the city, battered the walls with so much fury, that they must soon have been levelled with the ground, had not the garrison discharged two spears, or fire-darts, with red-hot points, upon one of them; which set it on fire, and reduced it to ashes. The flames being likewise communicated to the other, it met with the same fate. In the mean time, the young Mâlec Al Alamân, having possessed himself of Antioch, and left his treasures in that city, made the proper dispositions for advancing to 'Accâ without delay. Accordingly he began his march for that place; taking the route of Laodicea, where he was met by the marquis of Montferrat, the sâheb of Tyre, the most warlike and politic of all the princes of the Franks. The marquis had before sent into Europe a draught, or delineation, of Al Kuds, and in it a true representation of the Temple of the Resurrection, with a Moslem on horse-back trampling on the sepulchre of the Messiah; the visitation of which was the

principal object of the pilgrimage, performed by the Christians, to Al Kuds. To animate the western Christians still more against the Moslems, the horse was represented as staling upon the spot where the Messiah was buried. This contrivance produced in Europe the desired effect; an infinite number of people, incensed to the last degree against the Moslems by this picture, listing themselves under the banner of Mâlec Al Alamân. The son of that prince was at this time conducted along the sea-coast, by the sâheb of Tyre; who was afraid lest his troops should have been harassed by the enemy, if he had marched through the districts of Haleb, or Aleppo, and Hamah. Meanwhile, three ships from Egypt entered the port of 'Accâ, with a large quantity of provisions, munitions of war, and every thing requisite to enable the garrison to sustain a siege till the following spring; when Bohâo'ddîn Kharâkûsh was upon the point of surrendering for want of such a supply. The Franks attempted with three ships and some forces on board, to make themselves masters of the Tower of Flies, built upon a rock at the mouth of the harbour, which commanded the port; but without effect, they having lost all their vessels and men in the attempt. The young Mâlec Al Alamân continued some time at Tripoli to refresh his troops; and then sent them to the camp before 'Accâ; intending to follow them himself with all convenient speed. Pursuant to the directions of the marquis of Montferrat, who absolutely governed his councils, he went by sea to Tyre, where he remained with the marquis till the 6th of Ramadân; when, with a few companions only, he set sail for 'Accâ, and soon arrived in the camp of the Christians. Not long after his arrival, he advanced at the head of a strong detachment to the hill Al 'Ayâdiyah, opposite to that on which the Franks were encamped, and attacked a considerable body of the enemy there posted. The sultân finding the action grow very warm, marched in person to 'Tel Caifân, to support his men that were engaged; which circumstance being observed by the young Mâlec Al Alamân, he thought fit to retire to the Christian camp. The Franks still prosecuted the operations of the siege with the utmost vigour. They prepared two machines of a new invention and enormous size, to batter the walls of the city; and erected a moveable tower, strengthened with iron, on some ships of a stupendous magnitude, with which, attended by a proper number of other engines, they intended to storm the Tower of Flies. But, on Monday the 3d of Ramadân,

dân, the garrison sallied out of all the gates at once, drove the besiegers from the two huge machines, that had been brought close to the walls, and burnt them; as they did also the ships, engines, and scaling-ladders, which had been prepared to facilitate the reduction of the tower. The next day, the sultân, who had been for some time sick of a bilious fever, received a letter by a pigeon from Aleppo; importing, that Al Mâlec Al Dhâher's generals had drawn the sâheb of Antioch, who had undertaken an expedition against the Moslem territories, into an ambuscade, put seventy-five of his men to the sword, and made a multitude prisoners. As for the sâheb of Antioch himself, he escaped to Shihâ; and, after the retreat of the Moslem troops, retired to his capital. Soon after, two of the enemy's vessels, with several women and children on board, besides a great number of sheep, and a large quantity of other provisions, were driven into the hands of the Moslems by stress of weather. But the Franks soon made themselves ample amends for this loss, by intercepting a pinnace, laden with money and recruits for the garrison of 'Accâ. The sultân being still in an exceeding ill state of health, and both spies and deserters unanimously agreeing that the Franks were determined to attack him immediately with their whole combined force, he resolved to withdraw to mount Shaferam, where he encamped, about three miles from the city of 'Accâ°.

At this period, Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer arrived at the sultân's camp, and brought back with him by compulsion Moezzo'ddîn Sinjâr Shâh Ebn Saifo'ddîn Gâzi Ebn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki, the sâheb of Al Jazîra; who had separated from the Moslem army, and marched almost as far as Tiberias, in his way home, contrary to the express order of the sultân. The spirit of mutiny and disaffection likewise disposed 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki to demand his dismissal of the sultân, together with the money due to his troops, in an insolent and imperious manner; but he was prevailed upon at last, partly by fair means and partly by force, to desist from his demands. In the mean time, the Franks being greatly distressed for want of provisions in their camp, as well as in several parts of the country belonging to them, a sack of meal selling at Antioch for

° Bohao'ddîn Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 131—144. Ism. Abu'l-fed ubi sup. Ebn Khalecan, Ebn Al Athir, Takio'ddîn Ahmed Al Makrizi, in Mawredolletaf. Khalil Ebn Mohammed Al Afkafesbi, in Tarikh Salah'ad. Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dakmak, in Al Jawhar Al Thamun, D'Herbel. & Renaud. ubi sup.

ninety-six Tyrian dinârs, count Henry and the marquis of Montferrat advanced to Râs Al Mâ', a place 'near the source of the river of 'Accâ, with a large detachment of their forces, to bring the sultân to a battle. But finding this scheme impracticable, and having lost no inconsiderable number of men in several smart skirmishes that happened between them and the Moslem troops, they returned to the camp; where they had left the young Mâlec Al Alamân, with the other part of the army to carry on the siege. The sultân likewise, who had not yet recovered his health, re-occupied his former camp; from whence he had withdrawn his men, in order to observe the motions of the Franks. About this time, a reinforcement from Europe joined the Franks; which, however, did not hinder a party of them from being drawn into an ambuscade, and defeated by a detachment of the Moslem troops, the 22d of Shawâl. Amongst the prisoners taken in this action were one of the French king's generals and his treasurer, who probably arrived with the last succours at the camp before 'Accâ. The sultân treated them with uncommon marks of distinction, and assigned them a magnificent tent next to his own. He also ordered them all kinds of refreshments, and even sometimes permitted the general to eat with him at his own table. He afterwards commanded them to be conducted honourably to Damascus, gave them leave to write to their master, and allowed them to supply themselves with every thing they stood in need of from the Christian camp. The operations of the campaign being at an end, the sultân's army began to separate, that the troops of which it was composed might retire into winter-quarters.

*The sultân
changes the
garrison of
'Accâ.*

The 587th year of the Hejra produced several remarkable events, that have not escaped the notice of the eastern writers. The sea having been exceeding rough, by reason of the boisterous weather at 'Accâ, the Franks removed all their ships to Tyre, which was a safer and more commodious port. The sea being, therefore, open, the sultân easily threw a body of fresh troops, under the command of Al Emir Saïfo'ddîn Ali Ebn Ahmed Al Haccâri Al Mashtûb, into the place. However, as Al Emîr Bohâo'ddîn Karâkûsh and Al Emir Hosâmo'ddîn Abu'l Hijâ, with the former garrison, had sustained so many fatigues in the defence of the town, they were withdrawn from thence, and carried to Haifâ, where Al Mâlec Al 'Adel had posted himself with his army, in order to protect the ships passing to, and repassing from 'Accâ, with the forces

on

on board, from any nocturnal insult of the enemy. As Haifâ was seated near the spot from whence the sôltân's ships set sail for 'Accâ, such a position of Al Mâlec Al 'Adel's body of troops was judged requisite to facilitate the introduction of a new garrison into that city, which was effected accordingly. The success that attended this enterprize made some amends for the loss of seven Moslem transports from Egypt, and a great quantity of corn and money on board for the garrison of 'Accâ, a little before; those ships having been all dashed to pieces either against a rock or one another, by the violence of the winds, the 2d of Dhu'lhajja, the preceding year. This disaster the besieged could not forbear considering as an ill omen, portending the speedy reduction of the city. The ships being lost within sight of the town, the garrison had taken post on the sea-shore, in order to cover the debarkation of their cargoes, and convey into the place the corn which would have supported both the soldiers and the people in 'Accâ a whole year. This circumstance gave the Franks an opportunity of making a general assault; but one of their scaling-ladders by a fatal accident being broke, they were repulsed with great slaughter by the inhabitants. However, a considerable part of the walls falling down suddenly in the night of the 7th of Dhu'lhajja, the besiegers, finding the breach made by this unexpected event practicable, and the remainder of the walls in a ruinous condition, attempted again to carry the fortress by storm, but were again repulsed. The Moslems repaired the walls, and put the place into as good a posture of defence as it had been in before. The Franks being in great want of provisions, a multitude of deserters from their camp came in to the sôltân; who employed them, at their own request, in cruising upon the enemy, and assigned them a ship for that purpose. They met with success in this employment, taking several merchant-men bound to the enemy's camp; some of which that had a large quantity of money, plate, and other rich effects on board, were exceeding valuable prizes. In the mean time, the inclemency of the season produced a pestilence in the Christian camp, which raged with prodigious violence, and, together with the famine, swept away a great number of men. Of this dreadful distemper died the young Mâlec Al Alamân, or, as he is called by Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd, Ebn Mâlec Al Alamân, the 22d of Dhu'lhajja, 586, to the inconceivable regret of the Franks. The enemy likewise lost another of
P 4 their

their principal commanders, and count Henry himself for some time lay at the point of death.

*The Franks
receive
succours
from Eu-
rope.*

The season for action now approaching, the reinforcements for the Moslem army began successively to appear. Solimân Ebn Jondar, Al Mâlec Al Dhâher's general, an officer of great experience, rendered illustrious by the many victories he had gained, as well as a statesman of consummate abilities, with the forces of Aleppo, first arrived. Next came Majdo'ddîn or Mojdo'ddîn Ebn 'Az-zo'ddîn Fakhr Shâh, the sâheb of Baalbec, with the troops under his command. These two bodies were gradually followed by all the others expected to join the soltân. With regard to the Franks, they also received powerful succours from Europe. Philip II. king of France, surnamed Augustus, and denominated by the Arab writers Al Mâlec Al Fransîs, arrived with a supply of men, money, horses, and provisions, on board of six ships, and immediately proceeded to the camp before 'Accâ. Soon after his arrival, says Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd, a most beautiful white falcon, that he brought with him from home, flew off his hand to the top of the walls of 'Accâ, where it was taken by some soldiers of the garrison, and sent to the soltân; who refused to restore it to the king, though he offered for it no less than one thousand dinârs. Count Forond, an excellent officer, who had distinguished himself on several occasions, also appeared at the head of some troops, destined to act in favour of the Franks. In the mean time, Richard I. king of England, for his great courage, surnamed Cœur de Lion, and distinguished amongst the Arab historians by the appellation of Mâlec Al Anketâr, who had undertaken the Crusade, made a descent on the island of Cyprus, with an intention to possess himself of it; but meeting with a vigorous resistance, he found himself obliged to have recourse for assistance to king Guy of Lusignan and his brother Geoffrey or Geoffrey, who then presided over the remains of the Franks, who sent him one hundred and sixty horse, to enable him to carry his point. Towards the close of the Latter Rabî, a letter from Bayrût, or Berytus, brought advice that five English ships, and a small bark, with a considerable number of men and women, forty horses, a large quantity of provisions, implements of various kinds, wood, and other things, had fallen into the enemy's hands. This misfortune, however, did not hinder the Franks from pushing on the siege of 'Accâ, the garrison of which, notwithstanding all

all the sultân's efforts to disturb the besiegers, were at length reduced to the extremity of distress. Their situation was rendered still more melancholy by the arrival of the king of England, after he had made a conquest of Cyprus. That prince, who was esteemed (K) by the Moslems as the most valiant and intrepid of all the generals of the Franks, brought with him a very considerable force in twenty-five ships of war, with which he joined the Christian army. The English vessels sunk, after an obstinate engagement, a Moslem ship of an enormous size, with six hundred and fifty soldiers, a great number of arms and utensils of all kinds, and a prodigious quantity of provisions on board, going from Bayrût to 'Accâ, for the relief of the besieged. This blow so terrified the garrison and people of 'Aocâ, that they began to despair of defending that fortress much longer against the Franks; looking upon it as the third ill omen that had happened to them since the commencement of the siege.^p

On Friday, the 19th of the Former Jomâda, the Franks made a general assault; but the garrison, supported by the sultân, repulsed them with great bravery, forced their trenches, and penetrated into their camp, part of which they plundered. However, they were at last obliged to retire. On the 23d the besiegers made a fiercer attack than before, but were again repulsed, and pursued to their camp, where a most bloody engagement ensued. Nothing, however, decisive happened on either side. At length the king of England sent a herald to the sultân, to desire he might have an interview with that prince. This minister was introduced by Al Mâlec Al 'Adel to Salâh'ad-dîn, and communicated the purport of his commission to him; but without effect. The sultân refused to comply with king Richard's request, before a convention, settling the principal articles of a future treaty of peace between

'Accâ is reduced to the last extremity by the Franks.

^p Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 159—167. Ism. Abu'l-fed. & Ebn Shohn. ubi sup. Mojiro'ddin Al Hanbali, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 418, 419, 420. D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 743, 744. & Renaud. ubi sup. p. 546.

(K) Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad represents him as a prince grown exceeding famous by his valour, intrepidity, military skill, experience in war, and the many victories he had gained. The same author like-

wise mentions him as a general on whom the Franks had the greatest dependence, inasmuch that on some occasions they seemed to be almost incapable of acting without him.

them

them was signed. Meanwhile skirmishes were fought with various success, and shocking barbarities were committed on both sides. Couriers were dispatched without intermission from the garrison and inhabitants of 'Accâ to the sultân, to acquaint him with their deplorable situation. They assured him, that since the arrival of the king of England, they had not been permitted to enjoy the least interval of repose. They added, that this martial prince had been sick, and even at the point of death; as also, that the king of France had been wounded, but whether dangerously or no they did not say. The king of England's sister, who had been the king of Sicily's wife, was with him during his illness in the camp. She had with her two Sicilian servants, who had always been Moslems in their hearts. These took an opportunity, that offered itself, of deserting to the sultân, and professing the Mohammedan faith. At this time the marquis of Montferrat having been told that the sovereignty of Tyre was to be conferred upon the former sâheb of that city, who had been detained in captivity by the sultân, as a reward for what he had suffered on account of his religion, he abandoned the army, and hastened with the utmost celerity to Tyre. Nor could some Christian priests, sent after him for that purpose, by all the motives they could offer, prevail upon him to return. As he seemed fully persuaded that the kings of England and France were resolved not only to deprive him of the principality of Tyre, but even to seize him, he was determined to leave them, and confine himself to the defence of his capital. The forces of Sinjâr, under the orders of Mojâhedo'ddîn Yerankush, those of Egypt, commanded by 'Alamo'ddîn Corkhi, Saïfo'ddîn Sonkar and others, and those of Al Mawfel, under the conduct of 'Alâo'ddîn, the sâheb of that place, having joined the sultân, he made a motion with his army, and drew nearer the enemy's camp. The king of England's illness, which now grew more violent, retarded the siege of 'Accâ. After his recovery he dispatched an ambassador to the sultân, who carried with him a Moslem prisoner, a native of Al Maarra, as a present to that prince. The English monarch's view was to feel the sultân's pulse, and discover whether he was more inclined to peace or war. But as Salâh'addîn himself had a similar view, in relation to the disposition of the Franks, by his admission of this minister, and consequently both parties were rather disposed to impose upon each other than enter seriously into a negotiation, the conferences broke off without success. The Franks, animated
by

by king Richard, redoubled their efforts to carry the town, attacking it with so much ardour, that the troops forming the garrison were every moment in danger of being put to the sword. At last they were reduced to such extremity, that they assured the sultân by letter that, if they were not succoured the next day, they should be obliged to surrender. As most of the arms of Phœnicia, Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, Egypt, and in short all the Moslem provinces, were in 'Accâ, the sultân's principal magazine being settled there, and as Saïfo'ddîn Al Mashtûb, Bohâo'ddîn Karâkûsh, and other famous generals were now in that fortress; the contents of this letter, as well as a verbal account of things given by the bearer, extremely affected the sultân. The Franks, by dint of continual efforts, penetrated through, and destroyed, the exterior wall, which was abandoned by the besieged, after a vigorous defence; so that the garrison being left entirely exposed, the place was in the most imminent danger of being taken by storm.

Things being in this melancholy situation at 'Accâ, the garrison and inhabitants of that city demanded to capitulate; and deputed Saïfo'ddîn Al Mashtûb to the besiegers camp, to settle with the king of France the articles of the capitulation. That prince at first refused to grant them any terms, as they had barbarously butchered six of the Christian officers the preceding day, even after one of them had engaged to procure them mercy from the Franks, if they would spare him; upon which Al Mashtûb, in a menacing tone, assured him that they would defend the city to the last drop of blood, and each of them kill fifty of the principal of their enemies, if he persisted in his refusal to comply with their request. Al Mashtûb then returned into the town, and informed both the people and troops of the king of France's disposition; which struck them with such terror, that Arsal, Ebn Al Jâwali, Sonkar, Al Washâki, and several others, got on board a bark that night, and escaped to the Moslem army. Arsal and Sonkar, dreading the sultân's indignation, kept themselves in such a manner concealed, that they could never be discovered; but Al Jâwali was afterwards taken, and closely confined. However, a reinforcement of fresh troops being thrown into the place, and the besieged having begun to build another

'Accâ surrenders to the Franks.

q Bohao'ddîn Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 167—175. Ifm. Abu'l-fed. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. Ebn Shohnah, & Moïro'ddîn Al Hanbali, ubi sup. Ebn Khalecan Ebn Al Athîr, Khalîl Ebn Mohamammed Al Afkafesbi, in Târikh Salâh'ad. D'Herbel. & Renaud. ubi sup.

wall

wall in the room of that which had been demolished by the Franks, the kings of England and France at length, after the fortrefs had been reduced to a heap of ruins, granted them a capitulation on Friday the 17th of the Latter Jomâda, upon the following terms: 1. The garrison and inhabitants of 'Accâ shall be permitted to march out in safety, with their money and effects. 2. They shall release fifteen hundred Christian prisoners of lower rank, and one hundred of superior note, to be named by the commanders of the Franks. 3. In consideration of their being allowed to retire, with their wives and children, money and effects, they shall pay the besiegers two hundred thousand dinârs, at two monthly payments; the first on the 18th of Rajeb, and the second on the 18th of Shaabân. 4. They shall deliver up to the Franks the Cross of the Crucifixion, or the true original cross on which the Messiah suffered. 5. They shall leave them all their ships, arms, and military machines, and, in short, the remaining part of the magazine erected in their city. 6. They shall pay the marquis of Montferrat, or sâheb of Tyre, ten thousand dinârs, and his troops four thousand, because by his intervention these articles were agreed upon. The capitulation being signed, and a copy of it sent to the sultân, he disapproved of the garrison's conduct on this occasion. But receiving advice that the Franks had, the same day, taken possession of the town, he found himself obliged to acquiesce in what had been done. Though 'Acca had not been evacuated by the Moslem troops, the hâjeb Kûs departed from thence, with three attendants, to the sultân's camp, on the 20th of the same month, and set out the next day for Damascus. Towards the close of the Latter Jomâda, a Moslem post having been attacked by the Franks, they were repulsed, with considerable loss. In the mean time they detained the Moslems found in the town, and secured both their money and effects, till the conditions stipulated on their part by the late convention were performed. The sultân insisted that before the payment of one hundred thousand dinârs, and the dismissal of the Christian captives, those prisoners should either be released, on his producing a proper security for the payment in due time of the remaining sum, or hostages given for their speedy delivery. These terms being peremptorily refused, he believed himself under no manner of obligation to send them either the cross, the prisoners, or the money they required. In consequence of his refusal, the king of England having drawn up a body of the Franks in order of battle,

battle, on a plain between the mounts Al 'Ayâdiya and Caifân, and commanded the Moslem prisoners to be conducted thither, put three thousand of them to the sword, that were not able to ransom themselves. The other captives were still kept in chains. Upon the whole, from the Arab historians themselves, it may be fairly inferred that the sultân was guilty of evasion, and the English monarch, and all the princes of the Franks, of the most brutal barbarity, on this tragical occasion.

After the reduction of 'Accâ, the king of England marched with his army to besiege 'Askalan, or Ashkelon, in conformity to the plan he had laid down, as generalissimo of the Franks. Having settled every thing at 'Accâ, and ordered both the town and walls to be repaired, he began his march for 'Askalân, towards the close of Rajeb. The 1st of Shabân, he advanced to Haifâ; his rear being harrassed most of the way by a body of the sultân's troops, under the command of Al Mâlec Al Afdal. From thence he marched to Al Mallâha, and afterwards to Kaifâriya, or Cæsarea; the sultân attending him with his army, in order to observe his motions. He continued his march, in order of battle, till the 10th of Shaabân, when a brisk skirmish happened; in which a pretty large number of men on both sides were killed. The van of the Christian army was commanded by the king of France, and formed of his own troops; the main body by the king of England; and the rear was brought up by the sons of Alisot, the sâhebs of Tabariya, or Tiberias, and others. The banner was displayed from the top of a wooden turret, in the center, carried on wheels. Some few prisoners, amongst whom was a person of distinction, the sultân picked up; all of whom, in resentment of Richard's treatment of the Moslem captives, he caused to be put to the sword. At this time, the king of England and Al Mâlec Al 'Adel had an interview and conference, in order to treat of a peace; but the sultân having no other view but to gain time, till he was joined by a body of Turkmâns, then upon their march, nothing of any consequence resulted from thence. Salâh'addîn having received advice, that the enemy had taken post in the plains of Arsuf, or Arsûf, a town about twelve miles from Al Ramla, and six from Yâfâ, Yâffa, or Joppa, he made

The farther progress of the Christian arms.

1 Bôhao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 175—184. Ism. Abu'l-fed. & Ebn Shohn. ubi sup. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 419, 420. Tajr Beed, in Târikh Mefr, D'Herbel. & Renaud. ubi sup.

the proper dispositions for an engagement, being determined, if possible, to bring them to a battle. Accordingly, the two armies being come in sight of each other, on Saturday the 14th of Shaabân, a general action immediately ensued; in which the Moslems being defeated, with great slaughter, the sultân retired, or rather fled, with the utmost precipitation, to Al Ramla. Here he cut off the heads of two or three Christian prisoners, that had fallen into his hands. After the defeat of the Moslems, the king of England occupied Yâfâ; which the enemy, now every where retiring before him, had abandoned at his approach. His design, however, upon 'Askalân transpiring, it was resolved in a council of war, at which all the sultân's generals assisted, that this city should not only be dismantled, but destroyed; to prevent the Franks from possessing themselves of that fortress, and then penetrating to Al Kuds; which the Moslems, at this time, scarce thought themselves capable of defending. After the demolition, or rather devastation of 'Askalân, the temple of Lud, or Lydda, and the castle of Al Ramla, met with the same fate, in the beginning of Ramadân. On the 5th of that month, the sultân arrived at Jerusalem, whither he went to visit the walls and fortifications of that place. Soon after his arrival, certain Christians were seized by some of Al Tawâsh Kâymâz's people; on whom a copy of a letter written by the governor to the sultân, giving an account of the miserable and distressed condition of the garrison of Jerusalem, was found. As this was to be sent to the Franks, to communicate to them the situation of affairs, and consequently a full proof of an illicit correspondence with the enemy, their heads were struck off, to deter others from the like offence. The sultân, having viewed every part of the walls and fortifications of Al Kuds, and satisfied himself of the state of the garrison, left that city, on the 8th of Ramadân. The king of England having ravaged the country about Yâfâ, Yâffa, or Joppa, and taken possession of Al Ramla, towards the close of the campaign, a body of mamlûcks and Greek volunteers, who had joined the Moslems, headed by the sultân himself, on the 8th of Shawâl, fell upon one of the quarters of the Christian camp, pitched near the former of those cities. But they were soon put to flight, and left a multitude of their men prisoners in the hands of the Franks. However, the sultân found means to draw one of the enemy's detachments into an ambuscade, formed of his guards and some Arab horse, put them into disorder,

order, and at last obliged them, though supported by a fresh body of troops, to retire in confusion to their camp. Notwithstanding this little check, the Franks reduced to their obedience a considerable part of Palestine, and spread terror over all the adjacent country, in the course of this campaign *.

The sultân finding himself not in a condition to make head against the king of England, who had taken some of his strong towns, obliged him to dismantle others, and at last driven him in a manner out of the field, began now to entertain favourable sentiments of a peace with that prince, and therefore permitted his brother Al Malec Al 'Adel to set on foot a negotiation with him. The marquis of Montferrat, sâheb of Tyre, who had before suspected that the other princes of the Franks had formed a design to deprive him of the territories he possessed, sent an ambassador to the sultân; offering to enter into an alliance with him against the Franks, if he would cede Sidâ, or Sidân, and Bayrût. The sultân immediately dispatched Al 'Adl Al Najîb, as his minister to the marquis's court, with orders to declare, that he was willing to accept of his proposal, if he would recover 'Accâ, and release all the Moslem prisoners detained there and at Tyre, before the proposed treaty was signed. In the mean time, couriers frequently passed and repassed between king Richard and Al Malec Al 'Adel with dispatches relative to a future peace. For Richard being not unacquainted with the marquis's intention of concluding a separate treaty, and the article of recovering 'Accâ having transpired, he was desirous of being beforehand with the sâheb of Tyre, and therefore of having the last hand put to the treaty, that had long been in agitation, between him and the sultân. He also, at the same time, for the farther security of 'Accâ, and to prevent the treaty from taking effect, or rather to traverse the negotiation commenced between the sâheb of Tyre and the sultân, made use of all the expedients he could devise, to dispose the former of those princes to an accommodation. We shall not enter into a minute detail of all the circumstances attending the conferences held between the ministers of king Richard and the sultân on this occasion;

A negotiation is set on foot for a peace, which ends without success.

* Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 184—204. 211. 212, 215, 216. Ism. Abu'lfed. Ebn Shohn. & Ebn Al Athir, ubi sup. Kbalil Ebn Mohammed Al Askahefbi, in Târîkh Salâh'ad. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 744. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. & Alb. Schult. Ind. Geographic. in Vit. Salad. pass. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 546.

but

but only observe, that, after Al Mâlec Al 'Adel had been at Jerufalem, or Al Kuds, to enquire into the state of the garrison, and to inspect the walls and fortifications of that place, the negotiation between him and the king of England was resumed, and, towards the close of Ramadân, or the beginning of Shawâl, the following articles were drawn up, as the basis of a future treaty. 1. Al Mâlec Al 'Adel, sultân Salâh'addîn's brother, shall marry the king of England's sister, relict of the late king of Sicily. 2. He shall have assigned him, as his wife's dower, the city of Jerufalem, capital of the kingdom of the same name. 3. The sultân shall moreover relinquish to him every other city, town, castle, and district of Palestine. 4. The king of England shall cede to Al Mâlec Al 'Adel the fortress of 'Accâ, together with the whole extent of territory between that place and 'Askalân, and all the other towns and castles, he has conquered this campaign. 5. Al Mâlec Al 'Adel and his wife shall be crowned king and queen of Jerufalem, and acknowledged as such by all the contracting powers. 6. The sultân shall deliver into the hands of the king of England, without delay, the Cross of the Crucifixion, or the true original Cross on which the Messiah suffered. 7. The knights Templars and Hospitalers shall have all their towns, castles, and villages, restored to them, immediately after the ratification of this treaty. 8. The prisoners on both sides shall be released. 9. There shall henceforth be a perpetual peace, amity, and friendship, between the Moslems and the Franks; and the king of England shall return home. These were the articles drawn up, as the most likely to be approved by all the parties at war, and consequently the best calculated to effect an accommodation. But the queen dowager of Sicily herself, as well as the clergy, objecting to the first article, unless Al Mâlec Al 'Adel would renounce Mohammedism, and be baptized, and this condition being absolutely rejected both by him and the sultân, the conferences broke off without success, and all hopes of an accommodation vanished.

*Other
events of
the year
587.*

Upon Al Mâlec Al 'Adel's return from Jerufalem, he received a letter from the most illustrious dîwân of Baghdâd, wherein great intercession was made for Bactamar, the sâheb of Khalât, in Armenia; who had been dispo-

† Bospho'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 204—211. Ism. Abu'lfed. & Ebn Shohuab, ubi sup. Khalil Ebn Mohammed Al Askafesbi, in Farikh Salâh'ad. Ebn Al Athir, Ebn Khalecan, D'Herbel. & Renaud. ubi sup.

seised

possessed by Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer Takîo'ddîn, the sultân's nephew, of a considerable part of his territories. That prince, having annexed Al Sawaidâ and Hânî to the provinces granted him by the sultân, was then marching, with his son Al Malec Al Mansûr Mohammed, to besiege Malâzkerd. The dîwân likewise interceded for Al Hasan Ebn Kafjâk, whom Modhaffero'ddîn Ebn Zîno'ddîn detained in confinement at Arbel; and begged that Al Kâdi Al Fadl might be sent to Bâghdâd, to adjust with them every thing relative to both these points. Al Mâlec Al 'Adel transmitted the letter to Al Kâdi Al Fadl, that he might dispose Takîo'ddîn to a compliance with the dîwân's request, in relation to his future conduct. The sultân also himself received another copy of the same letter from Damascus, which he answered in terms to the following effect: "With regard to the Armenian expedition, we must beg leave to assure the dîwân, that this was not undertaken by our order, though some particular incidents, as we have been informed, rendered it not altogether unnecessary. However, we have commanded Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer to quit the territories of the prince of Khalât, and join us, who are now engaged in a war against the Franks. As to Ebn Kafjâk, who occupied Irmîa, put all the men to the sword, and carried the women and children into captivity, when sultân Togrol fled thither out of Al 'Ajem, or Persia, for refuge, he ought to be looked upon as a public enemy. Sultân Togrol, having married his sister, solicited his assistance; but being ill used by him, he at last made his escape, and returned to his kingdom. Ebn Kafjâk afterwards joined Irmîa to Al Corkhânî, and from those places infested all the neighbouring country with his robberies and depredations. Considering him, therefore, as a public robber, we have ordered Modhaffero'ddîn to bring him with him into Syria; where we shall assign him certain districts, that he may exert himself in the holy war. With respect to the last request, we must acquaint the dîwân, that Al Kâdi Al Fadl is so weak and infirm, that he cannot, without manifest danger of his life, undertake a journey to Bâghdâd." Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer Takîo'ddîn dying on his march from Khalât to Mayyâfârakîn, his body was carried to Hammah, where it was interred; and a tomb was erected for him without the city, close to which a college was afterwards built. Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer was a prince of uncommon bravery, and one of the chief supports of the house of Ayûb. He excelled in virtue and erudition, and

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wrote very elegant Arabic verse. His death was extremely regretted by the sultân; who, when he shewed to his courtiers the letter that brought him the melancholy news, was so overcome with grief, that he burst into tears. Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer was no sooner dead, than his son Al Mâlec Al Mansûr sent an embassy to the sultân, desiring he might succeed his father, in the government of all the cities and districts over which he had been appointed to preside. This favour he requested of the sultân in a manner so strongly favouring of rebellion, that had not Al Mâlec Al 'Adel, who influenced his brother as he pleased, been his friend, he must have been thereby entirely ruined: but, by the intercession of that prince, the sultân was reconciled to him, and confirmed him in the government of Hamah, Al Maarra, Manbij, and the castle of Nojm; on condition, however, that the eastern tract, with its dependencies, which Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer had governed, should be ceded to Al Mâlec Al 'Adel. The latter of these was nevertheless to relinquish every thing he possessed in Syria, except Al Carac, Al Shawbec, Al Belkâa, and Al Selt. He likewise promised the sultân half of the property he possessed in Egypt, and to send to Jerusalem annually from Al Belkâa and Al Selt a thousand sacks of corn. This disposition being made, Al Mâlec Al 'Adel set out for the provinces assigned him; from whence he returned, with Al Mâlec Al Mansûr, the sâheb of Hamah, towards the close of the Latter Jomâda, of the following year. At his return, he was received by the sultân with extraordinary marks of affection and esteem, placed at the head of the army, and loaded with honours. Kozul Arslân Othmân Ebn Ildighîz, the sâheb of Hamadân, was assassinated, in the month of Shaabân, 587. Sultân Togrol Al Seljûki overthrew him and the khalif Al Nâser Ledini'llah, who commanded the forces of Baghdâd, in a great battle near Hamadân. Kozul Arslân afterwards defeated sultân Togrol in his turn, shut him up in one of his fortresses, and treated with uncommon cruelty those of the sect of Al Shâfeî at Esfahân; affixing many illustrious men, professing the tenets of that sect, to gibbets, erected for that purpose. Then marching to Hamadân, he assumed the title of sultân; but his guards having deserted him, he was murdered in bed by a person who could never be discovered. The king of England, having put his troops into winter-quarters at Yâfâ, or Yâffâ, returned to 'Accâ, to inspect the state of that place. On the other hand, the sultân posted himself for some time at Tel Al Jazr, and went

went from thence to Al Kuds, in order to strengthen and augment the fortifications of that city. Here, having permitted his forces to separate, and retire into quarters of refreshment, he remained till the opening of the next campaign.

In the 588th year of the Hejra, the Franks began to repair, or rather rebuild, the city of 'Askalân, in the month of Al Moharram, whilst the sultân remained at Al Kuds. They afterwards made an incursion into the Moslem territories, advanced to a village near Al Dârûn, in the district of Gaza, carried most of the Arabs inhabiting it away with them prisoners, and seized a thousand head of cattle. A negociation was about this time begun, or rather continued, and almost brought to a conclusion, between the sultân and the sâheb of Tyre: but a period was put to this by the death of the latter of those princes; who was assassinated by two Bâtanists, disguised in the habit of monks, after he had dined with the bishop, at Tyre, on the 13th of the Latter Rabi. Bohâo'ddîn says, that the king of England, who hated the marquis of Montferrat, or sâheb of Tyre, hired those ruffians to perpetrate this horrid fact; but as that author had the utmost aversion to Richard, who was the scourge and terror of the Moslems, we must not entirely depend upon his testimony in this particular. Be that as it may, this unexpected event seems to have had a considerable influence upon the state of affairs in that part of the world, and to have accelerated the truce which not long after was agreed upon between the Moslems and the Franks^u.

The sâheb of Tyre is assassinated by two Bâtanists.

In the course of this year, an ambassador from Constantinople arrived at the sultân's court, where he was treated with uncommon marks of distinction. Amongst other things he had orders to demand in his master's name, that the true original cross, on which our Saviour suffered, should be delivered up to him; that the Temple of the Resurrection, and all the other principal churches of Al Kuds, should be assigned the Greek priests; that the sultân should enter into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Greek emperor; and that they should jointly invade the island of Cyprus: but the sultân would not consent to any one of these demands. However, he sent Ebn Al Bazzâz, an Egyptian, in the quality of ambassador, to

An ambassador from the Greek emperor arrives at the sultân's court.

^u Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 222—225. Ism. Abu'l-fed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 588. Greg. Abul-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 420. Alb. Schult. Ind. Geographic. in Vit. Salad. Renaud. ubi sup.

Constantinople. The cross in particular he absolutely refused to part with; adding, that the king of Al Corj, or Georgia, could not obtain that valuable reliëf of him, though he had offered for it two hundred thousand dinârs *.

The military operations of this campaign.

The king of England, having assembled his forces, took the field, towards the beginning of the Former Jomâda. On the ninth of that month, he advanced to Al Dârûn, and immediately laid siege to that place. As he had some very skilful engineers of Aleppo in his army, he soon demolished the walls of the town; so that the garrison, commanded by one of 'Alamo'ddin Kaifar's officers, was reduced to the last extremity. The commandant desired leave to send a courier to the sultân, to acquaint him with the condition they were in; but this request the king of England absolutely refused to grant: he carried the fortress by assault, took some of the garrison prisoners, and put the rest to the sword. Having left a garrison, composed of select troops, in Al Dârûn, he marched to Al Hesi. From whence he moved to the castle of Majdelyâbâ, near Al Ramla, a city that was almost deemed impregnable. The Franks no sooner approached it than the garrison sallied out, killed many of their troops, amongst whom was an officer of distinction, and obliged the rest to retire. About the same time, a party of the Franks made an incursion into the Moslem territories bordering upon the district of Tyre; but were met by a detachment of the sultân's troops, and after a very brisk action put to flight. The sultân, having been joined by Bedro'ddin Duldurm, with a body of Turkmâns, and Azzo'ddin Ebn Al Mokaddem, with an exceeding fine corps, began his operations. He detached Abu'l Hija, Bedro'ddin Duldurm, and Ebn Al Mokaddem, with the forces under their orders, to reconnoitre the Franks; and the other part of the army soon followed: but the sultân himself, being indisposed, for the present remained at Al Kuds. The Franks moved to Tel Al Sâfiya, and from thence directed their march towards Al Netrûn. Here they judged it requisite to remain till their provisions, baggage, and military stores arrived. In the mean time they were harassed by the Moslem detachments, and worked in several skirmishes. However, they made ample amends for these little disgraces by one of king Richard's parties; which intercepted a rich Egyptian caravan, defeated the escort, and acquired a very

* Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad. ubi sup. p. 226. Alb. Schult. ubi sup.

considerable quantity of spoil. Besides other plunder, Richard's men carried off three thousand camels, five hundred prisoners, and five hundred horses. After this action, the Franks made a motion in order to invest Al Kuds; but, to the inconceivable joy of the sultân, who was not in a condition to oppose them, they returned to Al Ramla. About this time, the conferences between the plenipotentiaries of the king of England and the sultân were renewed; but soon broke off, without success. The latter of those princes insisted upon the absolute demolition of 'Askalân, lately repaired at a great expence by the Franks; to which condition Richard would by no means give his consent. Both sides then prepared to decide the dispute by the sword. On the 10th of Rajeb, the sultân encamped at Al Jîb. On the 13th, he pitched his camp on the hills between Al Ramla and Lud or Lydda, and remained there all that day. On the 14th, he advanced to Bâzûr or Yâzûr, and from thence to Beit Jibrîn, in the neighbourhood of Yâfâ. On the 15th, he invested that city. The garrison defended itself, and repulsed the besiegers in all their attacks, with unparalleled bravery, till the 18th; when the sultân's troops entered the town, and plundered it. The garrison, however, retired into the castle; which the sultân immediately blocked up, and made the necessary dispositions for besieging it in form. The king of England, having received advice of what had happened at Yâfâ, laid aside his intended expedition against Bayrût, and marched to the relief of the citadel. He arrived accordingly in the port of Yâfâ with a fleet of fifty sail, fifteen of which were large ships of war, and a body of land forces on board. The king's ship was red, and its pendants of the same colour. He instantly landed his troops, without opposition; and attacked the Moslem army, under the conduct of the sultân himself, with so much resolution, that he defeated it entirely; then he reinforced the garrison of the castle of Yâfâ, and encamped on the spot which had been occupied by the sultân before. Salâh'addin retired with the utmost precipitation to Al 'Awjâ, between Al Ramla and Arsuf; where he was informed, that the enemy had seized upon Cæsarea, and were still posted without the city of Yâfâ. Having encamped at Al Netrûn, he set out early in the morning to pay a visit to Al Mâlec Al 'Adel at Al Kuds. Here, it being Friday, he performed his devotions, inspected the fortifications, settled every thing to his satisfaction

faction relative to the defence of the place, and towards evening returned to the camp, where he was joined by 'Alâo'ddîn, the sâheb of Al Mawfel; and, the next day, by the forces of Egypt, under the command of Majdo'ddîn Huldari, Saifo'ddîn Yâzcuî, and Al Mâlec Al Mowayyad Mas'ûd: but notwithstanding this accession of strength, and the arrival of Al Mâlec Al Mansûr Ebn Takîo'ddîn, another of his generals, the sultân never afterwards undertook any thing of moment against the Franks. He marched, indeed, towards Al Ramla, with part of his army, and pitched his tents at a small distance from that city, having in appearance some enterprize in view: but this step seems to have been taken with no other design than to amuse the Franks; as he remained in a state of total inaction, during his continuance in that place^x.

A truce is agreed upon between the Moslems and the Franks.

The sultân's troops being extremely harrassed by the fatigues they had sustained, and he himself not a little dejected by the ill success he had met with this campaign, Salâh'addîn began to think seriously of putting an end to so ruinous and destructive a war, and of giving his subjects, after such an effusion of blood, some repose. To this design he was farther excited by the state of his finances, which were reduced to the lowest ebb. As the king of England, who had lately laboured under a very malignant indisposition, had suffered a relapse, and desired nothing more than to return home, he also entertained the same sentiments, and therefore now readily agreed to the demolition of 'Askalân, which before he had firmly opposed. The prospect of peace, therefore, revived; and the conferences between the king of England's and the sultân's plenipotentiaries being renewed, a temporary pacification was concluded between those princes, on the 20th of Shaabân, upon the following terms: 1. There shall be a truce between the sultân and the chiefs of the Franks for three years and three months. 2. This truce shall be both by sea and land, and shall begin on Wednesday the 22d of Shaabân, 588. 3. Yâfâ, or Yâffâ, Yabna, the Jamnia of the ancients, Majdel Yâfâ, Kayfariya or Cæsarea, Arsuf, Haifâ, and 'Accâ, with their respective districts, shall be ceded to the Franks. 4. 'Askalân shall be completely demolished, inso-much that it shall not be of the least service to either of the contracting powers. 5. Lud, or Lydda,

^x Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi sup. p. 226—258. Khalil Ebn Mohammed Al Afsahesbi, in 'Tarikh Salah'ad. Alb. Schult. Ind. Geographic, in Vit. Salad. pass.

and

and Al Ramla, with their dependencies, shall be equally divided between the sultân and the Franks. 6. The city of Jerusalem, or Al Kuds, and its territory, together with the other towns and villages of Palestine now in his hands, not mentioned in any of the preceding articles of this convention, shall remain to the sultân. 7. The Franks and all other Christians shall be permitted to perform the pilgrimage to Jerusalem or Al Kuds, and to visit all the sacred places in that city. 8. They shall be exempted from all kinds of tribute, or toll, on this occasion, provided they go unarmed. 9. The sâhebs of Tripoli and Antioch shall be included in this treaty, if they will swear religiously to observe the articles of it. The 22d of Shaabân, the day appointed for signing the treaty, being arrived, the king of England gave his hand, as a mark of his firm intention never to infringe it, but, as he was a king, refused to swear; which punctilio was approved of by the sultân, who acted himself in the same manner. However, count Henry, king Richard's nephew, whom he had appointed governor of the sea-coast, Bâliyân Ebn Bâre'zân, the sâheb of Tiberias, the son of Humphrey, the knights Hospitalers and Templars, and all the other leaders of the Franks, took a solemn oath inviolably to adhere to the contents of this treaty; as did likewise, on the part of the Moslems, Al Mâlec Al 'Adel, Al Mâlec Al Afdal, Al Mâlec Al Dhâher, Al Mashtûb, Bedro'ddîn Duldum, Al Mâlec Al Mansûr, Ebn Al Mokaddam, the sâheb of Shaizar, Al Mâlec Al Mojâhed Shairacûh, the sâheb of Hems, Al Mâlec Al Amjed Bahrâm, or Baharâm, Shâh Ebn Farkh Shâh, the sâheb of Baalbec, and other commanders of the first rank. According to Abu'lfeda, the sultân insisted upon the admission of the Ismaelians, or assassins, into the treaty, now concluded between him and the Franks; though this circumstance has been passed over in silence by Bohâo'd-dîn Ebn Sheddâd, a writer whose authority amongst the Moslems is much revered. The war was no sooner terminated by this truce than the sultân ordered the public criers to give notice to all his subjects, that a communication was now opened between them and the Franks; that they might traffick with them as heretofore; and that they might go on pilgrimage from every part of Syria to Mecca, without the least danger." The king of England having withdrawn the garrison he had in 'Askalân, the demolition of that fortress was begun on the 27th of Shaabân, and finished in a very short time. On the 29th, the sultân moved to Al Netrûn, and a friendly intercourse commenced between

tween his troops and those of the Franks. Many of the Moslems also went to Yâfâ for the sake of trade; and the Franks repaired afterwards in great numbers to Al Kuds, to visit that holy city. To these the sultân not only opened the gates, but likewise treated them with the utmost liberality, affability, and condescension; and even sent a guard to escort them to Yâfâ, and the other places from whence they came. This indulgence excited such multitudes to repair to Al Kuds, that king Richard, being displeased, desired the sultân would admit only such persons as he should recommend. But that prince excused himself from complying with his request, by alleging that he could not in conscience drive from Al Kuds so many pilgrims, who had left their friends and relations in very remote countries to perform their devotions in that place. The sultân having inspected the fortifications of Al Kuds, and given orders for the reparation and augmentation of them, he made a large addition to the possessions settled upon the college or school he had before founded in that city. The spot on which this stood had, before the conquest of Palestine by the Moslems, been occupied by the temple and sepulchre of St. Anne, the mother of the virgin Mary. After that conquest, and before the Franks reduced Jerusalem, or Al Kuds, this church was converted into a school or college, for the education of the Moslem youth. The Franks having possessed themselves of the holy city, restored the temple of St. Anne to its pristine honour. But sultân Salâh'addîn having expelled the Christians once more from thence, re-converted this edifice into a college, and richly endowed it; placing at the head of it Al Kâdi Bohâo'ddîn, Ebn Sheddâd, one of his favourites, and an author to whom we have been much obliged in the course of this history.

*An ambas-
sador ar-
rives at
Al Kuds
from the
atw in
Baghdâd.*

The forces of Arbel, Al Mawfel, Senjâr or Sinjâr, and Al Hîsn, having separated from those of Syria and Egypt, in order to return home the 1st of Ramadân, the sultân sent the rest of his troops either into quarters of cantonment, or to their respective habitations, the Franks having returned into their own territories, at a considerable

✓ Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd, ubi sup. p. 258—263. Ifm. Abu'l-fed. Ebn Shohnah, Ebn Al Athîr, & Ebn Khalecan, ubi sup. Takio'ddîn Ahmed Al Makrizî, in Mawredo'llataf. Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dakmak, in Al Jawhar Al Thamin. Khalil Ebn Mohammed Al Asfahâsî, in Tarikh Salâh'ad. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi supra, p. 410. D'Herbel. Renaud. & Alb. Schult. ubi supra.

distance

distance from the frontiers. He therefore returned to Jerusalem, which he entered on the 4th of Ramadan. Hither he repaired, partly with a design to hasten the workmen employed on the fortifications, and partly with an intention to make the necessary preparations for performing the pilgrimage to Mecca. He was, however, diverted from carrying into execution the latter of these designs by his emirs; who represented that the duration of the truce was very uncertain and precarious, on account of the perfidy of the Franks. Al Mâlec Al 'Adel being arrived at Al'azariya, in his way to Al Carac, from whence he proposed to proceed to the eastern provinces assigned him by his brother, intelligence was brought him that an ambassador with dispatches addressed to him, was arrived from Baghdâd; and next day he returned to Al Kuds, to communicate the contents of those dispatches to the sultân. The purport of the letter brought him by the ambassador was to the following effect: "Ebn Al Nâfid presses Al Mâlec Al 'Adel to effect a reconciliation between his brother Salâh'addîn and the khalif; to prevail upon the sultân to entertain the same regard as formerly for the illustrious dîwân and court of Baghdâd, and to persuade him to send thither as his minister Al Kâdi Al Fadl, that all disputes between their respective sovereigns may be terminated in an amicable manner. If what is here desired can by Al Mâlec Al 'Adel's interposition be obtained, the dîwân will be under an eternal obligation to him." In consequence of this address, the sultân nominated Aldiyâ Al Shahrezûri his ambassador to the khalif, who set out on Tuesday the 27th of Ramadan, for Baghdâd. Al Mâlec Al 'Adel returned to Al'azariya, and from thence continued his journey to Al Carac.

The sultân having now no farther occasion for his troops, whom he amply rewarded with lands and possessions for the fatigues they had sustained in his service, disbanded those that had been sent into quarters of cantonment, and permitted them to occupy the lands that had been assigned them. Receiving advice that the English fleet, with king Richard on board, had sailed for Europe, he proposed to visit all the maritime fortresses, and then repair to Damascus. Accordingly he left Al Kuds on the 6th of Shawâl, in the forenoon. He was attended as far as Al Bîra by Bohâ'oddîn Ebn Sheddâd, whom he ordered to reside at Al Kuds; that kâdi being appointed by him to superintend the workmen employed in building

*The sultân
returns to
Damascus.*

ing an hospital, and finishing the additions to the college he had founded in that city. From Nâbolos the sultân went to Baifân, and from thence to Sebastia, or Sebaste, and inspected the state of that place. He then directed his course to Cawcab; which he reached on Monday the 10th of this month. Proceeding to Tiberias, where he arrived the 11th, Al Emir Bohâ'oddîn Karâkûsh Al Afâdi, or Al Afâdi, who had fallen into the hands of the Franks, when they took 'Accâ, but was now released from his captivity, appeared before him, and met with a most gracious reception. Baymond, or Boamond, the sâheb of Antioch, made his compliments to the sultân on the 21st, at Bayrût; where he was treated with uncommon marks of distinction, and experienced the usual munificence and liberality of that prince. Indeed, if Bohâ'oddîn may be credited, the sultân bestowed on Baymond lands and possessions that brought annually into his coffers fifteen thousand dinârs. Next day he took his leave of the sultân; who, after visiting all the places of strength on the sea-coast, entered Damascus on Wednesday the 26th of Shawâl, where he found his sons Al Mâlec Al Dhâher and Al Mâlec Al Afdal arrived before him. The former of those princes soon repaired to Aleppo, over the inhabitants of which city he presided; and the latter remained with the sultân at Damascus. As Salâh'addîn had been four years absent from his favourite city, the people received him with the loudest acclamations; and the day he entered that metropolis was concluded with all possible demonstrations of joy. About six days after his arrival, he appeared in public; and every one of his subjects, that desired it, was introduced to him. Al Mâlec Al 'Adel, who had been at Al Carac, to view the fortifications, likewise arrived at Damascus on Sunday the 21st of Dhu'lkaada, and had an interview with the sultân, then hunting in the neighbourhood of Al Keswa and Gabâb, or Gabâgeb, who attended him to his capital, with the highest marks of affection and esteem.

What happened in the Persian Îrâk, and Khorvârazm this year.

The same year, Firnah, widow of the atâbek Mohamed Ebn Ildighiz, at the instigation of her son Kûtlûk Enbanej, undertook to poison Togrol II. the last of the Seljûkian sultâns of Irân: for the execution of which execrable design she was in a most commodious situation, as she lived in the harâm, amongst the sultân's women: but that prince, having intimation of her scheme, prevented the blow, by making her take the dose which she had prepared for him.

He

He afterwards ordered Kûtlûk to be seized; and would have secured his own life, if he had not restored him to his liberty: for that imprudent step was the cause of all the evils that afterwards befel him. In short, this ungrateful wretch was no sooner released out of prison than he began to meditate the destruction of the sultân. He kept up a private correspondence with Tacash, the fifth shâh of Khawârazm, and excited him to attempt the conquest of the Persian Irâk. Tacash therefore and Kûtlûk, joining their forces, took the castle of Tabrak, or Tabarak, in the neighbourhood of Al Ray: but Tacash retired at the sultân's approach, leaving Tafaj to govern and defend his new conquests.

The following year, being the 589th of the Hejra, commencing January 7, 1193, proved fatal to the sultân Al Mâlec Al Mâfer Salâh'addîn Abu Modhaffer Yusef Ebn Ayûb Ebn Shâdi, who died of a bilious fever, on the 27th of Safar, in the castle of Damascus. He spent some of the first days of Al Moharram, in hunting, accompanied by his brother and his sons, in the neighbourhood of that city. On the 13th of Safar, the ambassadors from the princes of the Franks had been introduced into his apartment, in order to have an audience; but an infant son of the sultân, nicknamed Al Emîr, with whom he was then at play, being terrified at their unusual garb, and the strange figure they made, he told them he was then engaged, and desired the audience might be deferred to another day. As this behaviour was contrary to his usual affability and condescension, and to the whole tenor of his former conduct, it was taken particular notice of. Some of his courtiers observed, that the same day his appetite failed him. This symptom was attended by a drowsiness and languor, that plainly indicated the commencement of an indisposition. On the 15th, being Friday, he took a view on horseback of the pilgrims returned from Mecca, and treated the doctors amongst them with uncommon marks of veneration and esteem. On the 16th his complaints increasing, he was visited by Al Mâlec Al Afdal, Al Kâdi Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd, who wrote his life, and Al Kâdi Al Fadl. From that day the distemper grew more violent, and chiefly affected his head; a circumstance which was considered by those about him, as a sign of his approaching dissolution. On the 4th day of the disease, he was bled by order of the physicians, after which operation the fever raged with greater violence than before. The ninth day, he was seized with a delirium; which, with little intermission,

*Salah'ad-
din's death
and cha-
racter.*

mission, continued to the time of his death. Al Mâlec Al Afdal, finding his father in extreme danger, convoked the principal kâdis, generals, and lords of the court, in order to secure the succession, and preserve the public repose; and they bound themselves by oath to support his pretensions. From the beginning of his illness, the sultân had been attended by some religious sheikh or other, who was employed in reading proper portions of the Korân to him; but Al Sheikh Abu Jaafar, the imâm of the temple Al Calâfa, famous for his sanctity, who was called in to assist him in his last moments, remained with him the whole night preceding that prince's death. Though the sultân had been for the most part delirious, ever since the ninth night of the distemper, yet when the sheikh came to a passage of the Koran, asserting the divine unity and omniscience, he suddenly started up, being then at the point of departure, and said, "This is most true." On Wednesday, the 27th of Safar, a little after morning prayer was ended, Al Kâdi Al Fadl then being with him, to the inconceivable regret of the whole Moslem world, he expired. Al Kâdi Bohâo'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd, who came from the mosque, where he had been performing his morning devotions, soon after the sultân's departure, into the castle, and Al Kâdi Al Fadl conducted every thing relative to his funeral, after his body had been washed by Al Fakih Al Dawla'i, the khattib of Damascus. The meridian prayer was no sooner over than the corpse was put upon a bier, habited in the usual manner, and prepared for interment. Prodigious numbers of people crowded into the castle, to pray for the repose of his soul; and a little before evening prayer, the same day, he was buried, in the place where he died. This great conqueror was born in the castle, or palace, of Tecrit, where his father Ayûb was then governor, in the year of the Hejra 532; and consequently he must have been about fifty-seven lunar years old, at the time of his death. Of these he reigned near seventeen, according to Dr. Hunt's MS. copy of Ebn Shohnah, or nineteen, if Abu'l-feda may be depended upon, over Al Shâm, or Syria; and about twenty-four over Diyâr Mefr, or Egypt. He left behind him seventeen sons, and one daughter. The eldest of his sons was Al Mâlec Al Afdal Nûro'ddîn Ali Ebn Yusef Ebn Ayûb, who was born in the year of the Hejra 565. Al 'Azîz Othmân was about two years younger; and Al Mâlec Al Dhâher, the sâheb of Aleppo, younger than him. His daughter was married to her first cousin, or uncle's son, Al Mâlec Al Câmel, the sâheb of Egypt. With regard to Salâh'addin's character, he has passed for one of the

the best and bravest princes whose actions have been transmitted to posterity by the Moslem writers. He has been represented as mild, humble, patient, just, pious, beneficent, liberal, and as a prince of a most amiable disposition: but, notwithstanding this excellent picture, he exhibited some instances of cruelty, rapaciousness, and ingratitude, after his friend and benefactor Nûro'ddîn's death, if not before. As a demonstration of his liberality, we are told by Al 'Amâd Al Câteb, that he gave away to his soldiers and officers no less than twelve thousand horses, whilst he lay encamped in the plains of 'Accâ, besides refunding the money expended in horses that were wounded in battle; and that only one Tyrian dinâr and forty-seven Nâserian dirhems were found in the treasury after his decease. The latter of these articles, it must be owned, if true, seems to evince the point it is intended to prove; as the immense public revenues of Egypt, Syria, Al Yaman, and the Belâd Al Shark, or *Eastern Countries*, came, for the most part, into the sultân's coffers: nor did he transmit to his successor, according to these writers, any lands, houses, or demesnes. He likewise, as they assure us, most religiously every day, observed all the stated times of prayer; though he never prayed alone, but always either in the mosque or the camp. When he had any enterprize in view, before he entered upon it, he constantly implored the divine assistance and protection. Notwithstanding the fervency of his devotion, for which he has been celebrated by some of the eastern historians, he is said not to have preferred one day to another. He was invariably attached to the principles of the sect of Al Shâfeï, took great pleasure in hearing the moral traditions of the sayings and actions of Mohammed, and frequently perused the compendium of jurisprudence written by Al Râzi. In order to convey some sort of idea of his patience and connivance at the offences of the people about him to succeeding ages, it has been remarked, that a mamlûk of his throwing a shoe at another, which had almost struck the sultân, he turned his face another way, that he might not be obliged to reprehend the offender for what he had done; and that, on a certain occasion, when he had called five times for water, and this was not brought him, he only said, "O friends and companions, I am almost dead with thirst." That avarice was not his predominant passion appears from hence, that he either wholly or in part remitted in most of the provinces the tribute which had before been paid; that

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he gave away cities, and even territories of large extent, which he had been at a great expence in conquering, to his officers and relations, scarce reserving to himself any kind of authority therein; and that persons of accumulated property were not in the least danger of being fleeced, or plundered, during the time that he sat upon the throne. In farther confirmation of this part of his character, he is reported by the same historians to have erected and endowed colleges, hospitals, caravanferas, for the reception of strangers and travellers, and mosques, in the principal cities of his dominions; as also to have either rebuilt or repaired the walls of fortresses and towns, hurt or demolished by the violence of war, and the shocks of earthquakes at his own expence. He generally appeared in a woollen vest, scarce ever in a silk one, and was extremely temperate, or rather abstemious, in his diet. He had an utter aversion to the professors of all other religions, and even to the Mohammedans who refused to adopt the tenets of his own particular sect. He held philosophers, poets, and other men of letters, in contempt; but as for logicians, metaphysicians, and those who applied themselves to the study of Moslem scholastic divinity, in conformity to the example of Al Shâfeî, he utterly abhorred and detested. This disposition endeared him the more to the bigots of his own sect. It is no wonder, therefore, especially as he so weakened the Franks, that Al 'Amad Al Câteb, his secretary, should deplore the death of his hero, in terms to the following effect: "In the fall of the sultan fell the best and bravest of men. Valour itself expired. Munificence was dried up. Every species of enmity and injustice gushed out in its room. All the advantages and conveniences of life were broken off. Heaven was covered with thick clouds. The age was deprived of its phoenix, its only sultan. Islamism has lost its firmest support."

What happened, in the empire he had formed, immediately after his demise.

Sultan Salâh'addîn was so regretted by his subjects of all ranks and denominations, that there was a general mourning for him in every part of his extensive dominions. Al Mâlec Al Afdal, his eldest son, who succeeded him in Syria, for three days received the compliments of condolence in the palace; and then sent advice of his fa-

² Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, ubi supra, p. 269—278. Ifm. Abu'l-fed in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 589. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra. p. 421. Ebn Shohnah, ad ann. Hej. 589. Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dakmak, in Al Jawhar Al Thamîn, Khalil Ebn Mohammed Al Afkahesbi, in Târikh Salâh'ad. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 744, & alib. Renaud. ubi supra, p. 547.

ther's decease to his brothers Al Azîz Othmân in Egypt, and Al Dhâher Gâzi at Aleppo, as also to his uncle Al Mâlec Al 'Adel at Al Carac. Al Mâlec Al Afdal Nûro'ddîn Ali, to whom the principal officers and grandees of the court had taken the oath of allegiance, as his father's successor, a day or two before the sultân expired, forbade the poets to repeat any verses, and the orators and preachers to exercise their eloquence, on this melancholy occasion; but his younger brothers, who were then with him, rent the air with their cries and lamentations. A division was made of the most considerable provinces and cities of his empire amongst the princes of his family, and the chief commanders of his troops were amply rewarded.

Al Mâlec Al Afdal, the sultân's eldest son, being publicly declared his successor in the empire, he chose for his wazîr Dîao'ddîn Nâsrallah, the son of Mohammed Ebn Al Athîr, who published a collection of proverbs, and was an author of considerable merit. This Mohammed was brother of the famous 'Azzo'ddîn Ebn Al Athîr, who wrote the general, or universal history, entitled, Al Câmel, to which in this work we have so often referred. The new sultân, at the instigation of the wazîr, discarded his father's generals; who thereupon offered their service to Al Mâlec Al Dhâher, at Aleppo, and Al Mâlec Al 'Azîz, in Egypt. The principal officers of the Egyptian forces went in a body to Al Mâlec Al 'Azîz, in order to prevail upon him to assert his right to the succession, and attack his brother Al Mâlec Al Afdal. To this enterprize he was of himself sufficiently well inclined, and therefore readily listened to their advice; though, according to the eastern writers, he did not lead an army into Syria before the year of the Hejra 592*.

Al Mâlec Al Afdal is declared his father's successor.

About this time, 'Alâo'ddîn Ebn Il Arslân, surnamed Tacash, the fifth shâh or sultân of Kowârazm, marched again towards the frontiers of Khorasân, to accommodate some fresh differences that had arisen between him and his brother sultân Shâh, about the limits of their respective states. He was no sooner arrived in the territory of Abiwerd than the governor of that place, and of the whole province of Sarakhs, which made part of the dominions of sultân Shâh, came to meet him, took the oath of fidelity to him, and advised him to move with all possible expedi-

What happened in Khorasân, and the Persian Irâk, the present year.

* Alb. Schult. p. 63, 64. Ebn. Shohnah, ad ann. Hej. 589. Ebn Al Athîr. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 548.

tion against his brother, that he might surprise him before he could put himself in a posture of defence: but the news of sultân Shâh's death then arriving, he made himself master of the large province of Khorasân without striking a stroke. Tacash now finding himself in full possession of all the dominions which had been governed by his ancestors under the name and title of sultâns of Khowârazm, he proposed to give the government of the provinces of Sarakhs and Merû to Mohammed Kotbo'ddîn, his son: but Mâlec Shâh, Mohammed's brother, being desirous of exchanging the government of Nîfâbûr, which his father had bestowed upon him, for that of Sarakhs and Merû, Tacash conferred the latter of these upon that prince, and sent Mohammed to Nîfâbur, to preside over the people of that district. Mohammed afterwards resigned his post to Mâlec Shâh; who became sole governor of Khorasân, under the orders of Tacash. The transactions here touched upon proved a seasonable diversion in favour of sultân Togrol II. who, by the absence of Tacash, was enabled to retake the castle of Tabrak, and to recover every thing he had lost ^b.

*The sâhebs
of Khalat
and Al
Mawfel
die.*

Before the close of this year, Saifo'ddîn Boctemar, the sâheb of Khâlat, and the atâbek 'Azzo'ddîn Mas'ûd Ebn Mawdûd Ebn Zenki Ebn Akfankar, the sâheb of Al Mawfel, departed this life. The former of these came to a violent death, about two lunar months after Salâh'addîn's demise. Boctemar could not forbear expressing his joy openly, in an indecent manner, when he received the news of the sultân's decease. As he bore an implacable hatred to that prince, he pretended to believe that he was destitute of every virtue and good quality. The atâbek Azzo'ddîn Mas'ûd Ebn Mawdûd was a religious good man, mild, patient, modest, extremely beneficent, and a prince of a most amiable disposition. His patience resembled that of his grandfather Zenki, and his modesty was so great, that he never conversed with any person sitting near him but with his eyes fixed on the ground. His favours he granted with the utmost benevolence, affability, and condescension. He reigned at Al Mawfel about thirteen years and six months, and was succeeded by his son Nûro'ddîn Arslân Shâh. Dhahîro'ddîn Al Hazârdînâri, one of Shâh Armen's mamlûks, or purchased slaves, as Boctemar himself had been, enjoyed after Boctemar, who was

^b Khondemir, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient, art. Tacash, p. 835, 836. & art. Thogrul Ben Arslan, p. 1019.

murdered

murdered by some assassins, the sovereignty of Khalât. Soltân Shâh Ebn Il Arslân, the fourth sultân or shâh of Khowârazm, is also said to have died in 589.

The next year, being the 590th of the Hejra, Kûtlûk, acting in concert with Tacash, marched with a powerful army into the Persian Irâk; but being defeated by Togrol Ebn Arslân Shâh, the last sultân of the Seljûks of Irân, he was obliged to fly with Tacash into Khowârazm. The sultân, after this battle, thinking he was delivered from all his enemies, abandoned himself to women and wine, with unlimited excess: and though he was told, that Tacash was raising a formidable army to invade his dominions, yet, intoxicated with his success and delights, he continued his debauches, and neglected affairs to such a degree, that the grandees of the court wrote to Tacash; assuring him, that he might easily surprise Togrol in the midst of his revels. Tacash, following their advice, made such expedition, that he arrived at the gates of Al Ray whilst the sultân was still overwhelmed with intoxication: however, he put himself at the head of his troops, and marched towards the enemy; repeating certain verses out of the Shâh Nameh (P), spoken by some warrior, boasting of what he would do; but raising his mace, as if he was going to strike, in conformity to the words he had pronounced, he discharged such a blow on one of the fore legs of his horse, that the beast fell under him, and he himself was thrown upon the ground. Kûtlûk, seeing him fall, immediately ran up, and, with one blow of his scymitar, put an end to his life, and the power of the Seljûks in Irâk. Tacash, not content with the death of this prince, whose territories he annexed to his own, sent his head to the khalif Al Nâser Ledin'illah at Baghdâd, and ordered his body to be fastened to a gibbet at Al Ray. Togrol, notwithstanding, had many noble qualities: he was not only eminent for his courage, on which account his subjects compared him to Rostam and Isfandiar, two Persian heroes of antiquity, but also for his wit and knowledge. He excelled so much in poetry, that some esteemed him not inferior to Anwari or Anweri, and Dhahir or

*Togrol Ebn
Arslân
Shâh's
death and
character.*

(P) Shâh Nameh, or *Royal Book*, is the title given by the famous poet Ferdûsi to the poem which he wrote upon the history of the ancient kings of Persia, composed for the use

of Mahmûd Ebn Sabektekîn, founder of the dynasty of the Gaznevîds, and generally known by the name of Mahmûd Gaznî.

Dhehir, two celebrated Persian (Q) poets. Togrol often disputed with the learned, had a majestic mien, and was very handsome. He is said to have surpassed all the Seljûkian sultâns in goodness and justice, as well as in managing his arms both on foot and on horseback. The poet Nazami, who admired Togrol's learning more than his power, says, "He reflected a lustre upon the throne of the kingdom of wit, and conquered the whole extent of the region of immortality^a."

*Alfonfus, or
Alonzo IX.
king of Cas-
tile is over-
thrown by
Yakûb Ebn
Yusef Ebn
Abd'almû-
men.*

The 591st year of the Hejra, which commenced December 16, 1194, was rendered memorable to all succeeding ages by a signal victory gained by the Magrebian Moslems over the Christians of Spain, according to Abu'l-Faraj. Alfonso, Alonzo, or Alonzo IX. king of Castile, furnished the Good and the Noble, who married the princess Eleanor, daughter to our king Henry II. having written an insulting letter to Yâkûb Ebn Yusef Ebn Abd'almûmen, king of the Al Moâhedûn, in West Barbary and Spain, that monarch marched against him at the head of a formidable army, overthrew him with incredible slaughter, and acquired an immense quantity of spoil. Some authors pretend, that the Moslems killed a hundred and forty-six thousand of the Christians upon the spot, and took no less than thirty thousand prisoners; but this account exceeds the bounds of credibility. Alfonso, continues Abu'l-Faraj, was carried on a mule, after this defeat, to Toledo, then his capital; swearing that he would not mount a horse, before he had received succours from the neighbouring Christian princes. If the authors quoted by M. Renaudot may be depended upon, he made a vow never to sleep in bed, nor ride on horseback, nor lie with his wife, till he had revenged himself of his enemies. Others add, that he shaved his head and his beard, and inverted the cross, in token of mourning. The Spanish historians themselves own the defeat of the king of Castile, but they are far from admitting the loss of any such number of men as are mentioned here. Nor did this blow hinder Alfonso from obtaining several victories afterwards over the Al

^a Khondemir, Al Emir Yahya Ebn Abd'ollatif Al Kazwini, in *Lebtarikh*, p. 45. Ism. Abu'lfed. in *Chron. ad ann. Hej. 590*. Ebn Shofin. *ad ann. Hej. 540*. D'Herbel. *Biblioth. Orient.* p. 836. 1029, 1036. Renaud. *ubi sup.*

(Q) Anwari or Anweri, two of the most excellent poets and Dhahir or Dhehir, were that Persia ever produced.

Moâhedûn,

Moâhedûn, particularly at the battle of Nabas de Tolosa, wherein two hundred thousand of the Moslems are said to have been slain. The action, which proved so disadvantageous to the king of Castile, happened near Alarcos; though, if M. Renaudot in this point may be depended upon, it is denominated the battle of Zulaca by some of the Arab writers^b.

The khân of Saganak having made some motions, towards the beginning of the spring, this year, in the Transoxana, Tacash, the shâh of Khowârazm, found himself obliged to take the field with a powerful army. The khân was no sooner apprized of this motion, than he waited in person upon Tacash, in order to obtain a peace; which the shâh or sultân, at the request of the principal lords of his court, granted him, and then immediately returned to his capital. At the same time Mâlec Shâh, Tacash's son, being come to his father's court, and having left his own son Arslân Shâh to command in Khorasân during his absence, Sanjar Shâh, the sultân's brother-in-law, excited by some turbulent and seditious spirits, who solicited him to avail himself of Mâlec Shâh's absence, and occupy a post that then seemed to be vacant, unluckily entered into a dangerous conspiracy against the sultân; but he had scarce given his consent to the measures projected by these factious people, when Tacash, who had been apprized of the whole affair, commanded him to repair with all possible expedition to Khowârazm. As the conspiracy was only in embryo, and nothing yet had been openly undertaken against the sultân, and consequently Sanjar Shâh was not apprehensive of his having incurred Tacash's displeasure, he punctually, without the least reluctance, obeyed the order he had received; but he was no sooner arrived at court than Tacash deprived him both of his liberty and sight, and thus rendered abortive all his designs. It is true the sultân not long after restored him to his liberty, at the intreaty of his sister, whom Sanjar had espoused; but he was obliged to content himself with a large pension, which the sultân settled upon him, to comfort him in his disgrace. About this time Yûnos Khân, Tacash's son, who commanded for him in Irâk, fell into a distemper, for which he could meet with no relief in the city of Al Ray, where he resided. He therefore took a resolution to change the air, and for that purpose went to

*Other
events of
the present
year.*

^b Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 422, 423, 424. Al Nowairi, Marian. Gen. Hist. of Spain, b. xi. c. 7. p. 185. Lond. 1699. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 557, 558.

Khorafân; leaving for his lieutenant in Irâk, Miagen, in whom he reposed great confidence, but who was a secret enemy to the atâbek Enbanej, governor of Esfahân, and a confidant of soltân Tacash. Yûnos Khân had not long been gone before the khalif Al Nâser Ledini'llah, who was greatly alarmed at the approach of the Khowârazmians so near his frontiers, sent his orders to Ebn Cassab, his wazîr, to enter with a formidable army the territories of Yûnos Khân. The atâbek Kilij Enbanej, one of the best friends and most faithful servants of Tacash, was no sooner informed of the motions of the khalif's forces than he marched in person, and joined Miagen with his troops, to hinder Ebn Cassab from making an irruption into Irâk. Miagen, far from treating the atâbek with the respect and affection his fidelity deserved, being jealous of him, caused his person to be seized, and his head to be cut off, which he instantly sent to Tacash, giving him at the same time to understand, that he had been forced to this execution by the treason the atâbek had been guilty of, in keeping a correspondence with the khalif. Tacash easily saw through the artifice of Miagen, and began to be afraid lest that general should betray him. He nevertheless took care to avoid every thing which might induce Miagen to believe that he entertained any suspicion of him, and set out, with the utmost diligence, in order to attack Ebn Cassab, who died just at the time that the khalif's forces and those of the Khowârazmians were going to engage. His death, however, which was kept so secret in the khalif's army that Tacash heard nothing of it before the end of the action, did not prevent a battle, which, after an obstinate dispute, terminated in the defeat of Al Nâser's troops. This obliged the khalif to come to an accommodation with Tacash, and to leave him in peaceable possession of Irâk: but before the soltân returned home, he insisted upon having the head of Ebn Cassab, which he sent as a trophy of his victory to Khowârazm, and afterwards deprived Miagen of his government, for putting to death, without any just cause, the atâbek his friend. That general, some time after, attempting to raise commotions in Irâk, was seized and thrown into prison, where he miserably ended his days.

*The most
material
occurrences
of the year
592;*

In the 592d year of the Hejra, Al Mâlec Al 'Adel Abu Beer, Salâh'addîn's brother, the sâheb of Al Carac, and Al Mâlec Al 'Azîz Othmân, the soltân's younger son, who reigned in Egypt, having formed a design to dispossess

• Khondemir, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Tacash, p. 836.

Al

Al Mâlec Al Afdal Nûro'ddîn Ali, Salâh'addîn's successor, of the territories that had been assigned him in Syria, they laid siege to Damascus, and obliged Al Mâlec Al Afdal to retire to Sarkhod. Both the city and castle being surrendered to Al Mâlec Al 'Azîz, he resided some days in the latter, and then delivered it up to Al Mâlec Al 'Adel, after which he returned to Al Kâhirah. Some authors write that Damascus was betrayed to the Egyptian troops: be that as it may, Al Mâlec Al Afdal was forced to cede that capital, with all its dependencies, to his brother and uncle, and acquiesce in the possession of Sarkhod, with the prefecture appertaining to it. Al Mâlec Al 'Azîz, after the cession of the kingdom of Damascus, was mentioned in all the mosques, had money coined in his name, and was honoured with all the ensigns of royalty; notwithstanding which, the supreme authority was solely vested in Al Mâlec Al 'Adel, so that he was in reality the absolute master of the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Damascus. Al Mâlec Al Afdal being a good poet, wrote a letter to the khalif Al Nâser Ledini'llah, of the house of Al Abbâs, after his dominions had been ravished from him, in verse, to the following effect: "My lord, you very well know, that Abu Beér and Othmân deprived Ali by violence of the khalifat, which of right belonged to him after the death of his father-in-law Mohammed. See then the fatality of the name of Ali! since I, who bear that name, have the same injustice done me by Abu Beér, my uncle, and Othmân, my brother." The khalif Al Nâser Ledini'llah, having received this letter, sent the following answer to it likewise in verse. "Ali was deprived unjustly of his right because he wanted a nâser, or protector, at Medina; but be of good courage, they shall soon give an account of what they have done, and you shall find in me, who am Al Nâser, or the Protector, every kind of succour and protection." This prince had deposited his father's corpse in the tomb erected by him near the jâma' or temple in Damascus, the 9th of Al Moharram, before he was driven from that city.

In the following year Mâlec Shâh, Tacash's son, governor in chief of the whole province of Khorasân, being dead, Tacash bestowed that government upon Mohammed Kotbo'ddîn, his other son, and gave him Sa'ïdo'ddîn Mas'ûd for his wazîr. This Mas'ûd was surnamed Nodhâm Al Molc, as well as that famous wazîr who had been prime minister to Mâlec Shâh I. sultân of the Seljûks of Irân. The victory Tacash had gained over the khalif's troops gave him an opportunity of purging at this time

and of the
year 593.

Adherbijân of the Ismaeliâns, or Assassins, who had made themselves masters of many castles and places of strength in that province. He chased them from the castle of Arslân Kufhâi, which they had occupied, and constrained them to take refuge in that of Calâat Al Mût, their principal fortress, which he did not think proper to attack. Before his departure he conferred the government of the Persian Irâk upon his third son, named Tâjo'ddin Ali Shâh. This year, according to some of the eastern writers, died Saif Al Islâm Tagtakîn Ebn Ayûb, Salâh'ad-dîn's brother, at Zabîd, in Al Yaman, where he had amassed immense riches by fleecing his subjects, all which he left to his son and successor Al Moezz Shamsalmolûc Ismael, who assumed the title of khalif. This presumption so incensed his subjects, who acknowledged Al Nâser Ledini'llah as the only true khalif, or rightful successor of Mohammed, that, in the 599th year of the Hejra, they conspired against him and slew him, vindicating, as they imagined, by this action, the honour of their religion. After his death the emirs, saluted his younger brother fâheb of Al Yaman, and dignified him with the title or surname of Al Nâser. As this prince was too young to hold the reins of government, he remained, for a certain time, under the tutelage of his mother; but he being poisoned by some of his attendants, she married Solimân Ebn Takîo'ddin Omar Ebn Shahinshâh Ebn Ayûb, who had associated from his infancy with the fakirs, or poor monks, and still lived like one of them at Mecca. Solimân being altogether unqualified for the high station to which he had been advanced, was afterwards deposed by his subjects, and the family of Ayûb at last, according to some authors, lost all their power and influence in Arabia. We must not forget to remark that in the course of the present year Al Mâlec Al' Adel took Yâfâ, Yâffâ, or Joppa, from the Franks, as they did Bayrût, or Berytus, from the Moslems^d.

*The most
memorable
occurrences
of the year
599.*

Next year, being the 594th of the Hejra, Tacasch Ebn Arslân, the shâh of Khowârazm, marched to Bokhâra then possessed by the Katayans, and besieged that city. The inhabitants, supported by the Katayans, had so little apprehension of the shâh, who was blind of one eye, that they led a dog with one eye, dressed in a vest and tunic,

^d Khondemir, Ebn Shohna, ad ann. Hej. 599. D'Herbel Biblioth. Orient. in art. Tacasch, p. 836, 837. art. Ismaïl Ben Seifale'slam. p. 503. & art. Al Nasser Ledini'llah, &c. p. 663. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 424. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 593. Renaud ubi sup. p. 538.

with

with a cap or turbant on his head, round the walls, proclaiming at the same time, by way of derision, "This is the Khowârazm shâh, or shâh of Khowârazm." After this procession they discharged him out of one of their military engines upon the besiegers; crying out aloud, "This is your king." Tacash nevertheless, in a few days, made himself master of the town, and, notwithstanding the provocation he had received, treated both the people and the garrison with great lenity and moderation. About this time Al Mâlec Al Adel Abu Becr Ebn Ayûb came to an open rupture with Hofâmo'ddîn Yâlak Arslân, the sâheb of Mâredin, and advanced at the head of his forces to that city. Soon after he had presented himself before the place, the suburbs were betrayed to him, which he permitted his troops to pillage in a shocking manner. He then formed the siege of the castle, which, notwithstanding all his efforts, he found himself obliged to raise.

The 595th year of the Hejra produced several remarkable events. On the 20th of Al Moharram died Al Mâlec Al 'Azîz, the sâheb of Egypt. Upon his demise the omrâ or emîrs sent to his brother Al Mâlec Al Afdal, desiring he would repair to Al Kâhirah, without delay, that they might place him upon the throne. Hastening, therefore, to the capital, his authority was recognized by people of all ranks and denominations, according to Abu'l-Faraj; but other authors relate this affair in a different manner. They assert, that Al Mâlec Al 'Azîz left behind him a son named Al Mansûr, then only nine years of age, to whom the Afadian and Salâhian emirs (P) took the oath of allegiance; but insisted, that Al Mâlec Al Afdal should be nominated regent, and govern the kingdom of Egypt during the minority of the young prince. This resolution being notified to that prince, he came immediately to Al Kâhirah, put himself at the head of the administration, and entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with his brother Al Mâlec Al Dhâher, the sâheb of Aleppo; the effects of which, with regard to their uncle Al Mâlec Al 'Adel, very soon appeared; for, uniting their forces, they formed the siege of Damascus, which obliged Al Mâlec Al 'Adel to retreat from before Mâredîn, a city that

c Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 424, 425.

(P) The Afadian emirs were those old officers who had served Afâdo'ddîn Shiracûh, and the Salâhian those who entered into the service in the time of Salâh'addin Yusef Ebn Ayûb.

he had long besieged, and march with the utmost expedition to the relief of his capital. Some time after his arrival, Al Mâlec Al Dhâher having lost a beautiful Turkish boy, the object of his unnatural lust, Al Mâlec Al 'Adel sent a messenger to acquaint him, that his brother Al Mâlec Al Afdal had carried off the young Turk, and to discover the place where he lay concealed. This intelligence so incensed Al Mâlec al Dhâher against Al Mâlec Afdal, that he ordered the emir employed on this occasion to be immediately thrown into irons, reproached his brother in the sharpest terms, and returned to Aleppo with his troops; a step which constrained Al Mâlec Al Afdal to retire with great precipitation to Al Kâhirah, when Damascus, which had been so long pressed by him and his brother, was upon the point of surrendering. Yakûb Ebn Yusef Ebn Abd'almûmen, the fourth monarch of the Al Moâhedûn, surnamed Al Mansûr, likewise died in the course of the present year. He was forty-eight years old, of which he had reigned fifteen, at the time of his death; being succeeded by his son Al Nâser Mohammed, who assumed the title of Emîr Al Mûmenîn, as his ancestors had done before. The famous Abd'almalec Ebn Zahar, or Zohar, known amongst us by the name of Avenzohar, a Spanish or Andalusian physician, professing the Mohammedan religion, also paid the common tribute to nature, according to Ebn Shohnâh, before the close of the present year¹.

Tacash dies. In the 596th year of the Hejra, Tacash having received advice, that Nodhâm Al Molc, whom he had appointed to serve his son in the capacity of wazîr, had been murdered by some Ismaelians, or Assassins, who after the execrable action had retired to the castle of Tarshûz, he sent orders to his son Kotbo'ddîn Mohammed, the governor of Khorasân, to undertake the siege of that place, and entirely to extirpate the race of those robbers. Mohammed, in obedience to those orders, set out upon the expedition; when a vessel full of water, which was brought him, that he might make the necessary ablutions, broke to pieces of itself. This accident he interpreted as an ill omen, and thereupon was persuaded that some signal misfortune would in a short time happen to him. Accordingly, he was soon after apprized of the death of

¹ Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 595. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 425. Ebn Shohn. ad ann. Hej. 595. Al Makin, ad ann. Hej. 595. in Oper. part. inedit. MS. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Ebn Khalecan, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 745. Renaud. ubi supra.

his father Tacash; who died in the month of Ramadân, at Tshah Arab, upon the confines of Khowârazm. He left for his successor Kotbo'ddîn Mohammed, his son, who was rendered one of the most unfortunate princes of Asia by Jenghîz Khân; for it was under him, that the monarchy of the Khowârazmians was dissolved by that conqueror, in the same manner as that of the Seljûks had been by his father Tacash Khân*.

The siege of Damascus being raised, Al Mâlec Al 'Adel found himself at liberty to march into Egypt; where he invested Al Kâhirah. After eight days attack, that capital surrendered; and a treaty of peace was concluded between him and Al Mâlec Al Manfûr Mohammed, the son of Al Mâlec Al 'Azîz, or rather Al Mâlec Al Afdal, upon the following terms. 1. All the Egyptian provinces shall be ceded to Al Mâlec Al 'Adel. 2. Al Mâlec Al Afdal shall have in lieu thereof Mayyâfârakîn, Hanî, and Jebâl Jawr. After the conclusion of the treaty, Al Mâlec Al Afdal retired to Sarkhod, and took possession of Hânî and Jebâl Jawr. But as for Mayyâfârakîn, Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb, Al Mâlec Al 'Adel's son, who commanded there, in conformity to his father's order, refused to deliver it up. With regard to Al Mâlec Al 'Adel himself, he first ruled the Egyptians in Al Mâlec Al Manfûr Mohammed's name; but afterwards caused himself to be acknowledged the sole and absolute sâheb or sultân of Egypt^h.

Al Mâlec Al 'Adel settles himself in Egypt.

In the following year, being the 597th of the Hejra, Roeno'ddîn Solimân Ebn Kilij Arslân attacked and reduced the cities of Malatiya, and Erzerum, the former of which belonged to his brother Moezo'ddîn Kayfar Shâh; and the other to the son of Al Mâlec Mohammed Ebn Salîk, whom he caused to be arrested and thrown into chains. At the same time, Al Mâlec Al Dhâher and Al Mâlec Al Afdal, joining their forces, besieged Damascus, then subject to their uncle Al Mâlec Al 'Adel. That city, according to Ebn Shonah, when reduced, was intended to be put into the hands of Al Mâlec Al Afdal, and, upon the cession of it to him, Al Mâlec Al Dhâher was to be fixed upon the throne of Egypt. In the mean time, Al Mâlec Al

The principal events of the year 597.

* Khondemir, Al Emir Yahya Ebn Abdo'llatif Al Kazwini, in Lebtarikh, Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'al-Jaafar Al Kazwini, in Nighiarist. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. Kemalo'ddîn & Khacani, apud D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 837. ut et ipse D'Herbel. ibid.

^h Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 596. Greg. Abu'l Faraj. ubi sup. p. 425, 426. Ebn Shohnah, ad an. Hej. 596. Al Makin, ad an. Hej. 596. Ebn Al Athir, in Al Câm. Ebn Khalmecan. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 745. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 558. 559.

'Adel encamped with his forces at Nâblos, or Nâbolos, not daring to approach Damascus. But an accommodation being effected between these contending princes, by virtue of which the two brothers had several cities assigned them, Al Mâlec Al Dhâher returned to Aleppo, and Al Mâlec Al Afdal retired to Someifât. Al Mâlec Al 'Adel, who remained in Damascus, now enjoyed the sovereignty of the kingdoms of Egypt, Damascus, and Jerusalem, without any danger of a competitor. In the first year of his reign over Egypt, the people were so afflicted with a famine, that they fed upon carrion; and even carried off the children exposed at the doors of the mosques, in order to kill and eat them. A dreadful pestilence then likewise raged in that country, which swept away an infinite number of men.

The commencement of the empire of the Moguls.

The 599th year of the Hejra, which began September 20, 1102, was distinguished by the commencement of the empire of the Moguls, founded by Tamûjîn, or Temûjin, or Jenghîz Khân, the son of Yefuhai Bahader; descended in a right line from Tumenah Khân, king of the Moguls. He had from his childhood been engaged in the service of Ung, Wang, Onk, Awank, or Awank Khân, styled by the Arab writers King John, and by the European travellers Prester John. But having distinguished himself on several occasions against that prince's enemies, he excited the envy of his principal courtiers, some of whom calumniated him to his sovereign; who at their instigation, resolved to throw him into irons. Of which design being apprized by two boys, servants or slaves of Ung Khân, he left his tents standing empty, and posted a body of troops in ambuscade towards the middle of the night, at a small distance from them; which, with Tamûjîn himself at their head, rushing out upon a party of the khân's soldiers, the next morning entered the abandoned tents without opposition, cut many men to pieces, and put the rest to flight. This action happened near a well, or fountain, denominated Balciva, or Beljân, by Abu'l-Faraj. Several battles were afterwards fought between them, which proved fatal to Awank Khân; he, with all his most valiant commanders, being at last killed, and his whole family carried by Tamûjîn into captivity. The two slaves, to whom he owed his preservation, he honoured in a very particular manner. He enacted a law in their favour, the benefits of which were to extended to their latest posterity. By this law they, as well as all their descendents, were declared tarkhâns, or persons exempt from all taxes and imposts of any kind whatsoever, permitted to enjoy all the plunder they

they should acquire in war, without being obliged to resign any part of it to the khân; and allowed to appear before him without asking leave, and rendered incapable of being punished with death even for capital crimes. The chief of those who had adhered to him he made general officers and principal lords of his court. As a particular aymak, or tribe, of the Moguls, named Aviratheans, had exerted themselves more than any others of that nation in his favour, he permitted their leading men to contract a perpetual alliance by intermarriages with his own family; which, if we credit that author, continued to the days of Abu'l-Faraj. In the mean time, a certain Mogul khân, or emir, called Tubt Tancri, who had spent several days in traversing deserts and mountains barefoot and naked, in the middle of winter, returned to Tamûjîn's camp; protesting, that God had declared to him, "I have given the whole earth to Tamûjîn and his posterity, and have named him Jenghîz Khân." In consequence of which declaration, Tamûjîn assumed the name of Jenghiz Khân, and great crowds of people joined him from all quarters. Being now arrived at a superior degree of power, he dispatched messengers to all the Turkish tribes, requiring their submission, and an immediate recognition of his authority. Those who paid a proper regard to this requisition he treated as friends, and the others in a different manner. The four sons whom he had by Al Khâtûn Awîsûnajîn, the most noble of his wives, he appointed to preside over the affairs of his empire; assigning each of them a particular department for this purpose. Tûshi, the eldest, had the management and direction of every thing relative to hunting, which the Moguls hold in the highest esteem, committed to his care. When the empire of the Moguls was in its meridian, he governed the immense tract extending from Kambâlîg, perhaps the Khân Bâlik of the Tartars, to the farthest limits of Saksîn and Bolgâr, or Bulgaria. On Jagatâi, the second of these sons, Jenghîz Khân conferred the province of superintending the due execution of the laws, and all judicial matters. He ruled the Belâd Al Igûr, near Mâlîgh, and all the adjacent country as far as Bokhâra and Samarkand. Awcatâi, or Ogotâi, the third, he placed at the head of the administration; his excellent judgment and consummate prudence qualifying him for so honourable a post. He also made this prince, who had the region bounded by Aymil, or Yamîl, and Kûtâk, allotted him, his executor, some time before his death. Tûli, the youngest

youngest, he constituted generalissimo of his forces, and bestowed upon him territories near those of his brother Awcatâi. His own brother Awtakîn this great conqueror settled in Katay, which contained the northern provinces of China, and a great part of Tartary, to the north and north-west of that country. He had, however, more children than those mentioned here; as his sons and daughters were pretty numerous, according to Abu'l-Faraj. Some authors write, that all the family of Onk, or Awank, Khân, whose name was Dawd, or David, were put to the sword, except one daughter; who, if they may be depended upon, was married to Jenghîz Khân. That prince, who professed the Christian religion, was styled by the Syrians Yohannan Malca; being dignified by them with a title equivalent to the Al Mâlec Yohanna, or King John, of the Arabs. The dissolution of his monarchy and his death have been ascribed by Abu'l-Faraj to a desertion of Christ his lord, to taking a Katayan, or Karakatayan, lady to wife, and introducing idolatry into his kingdom. Marcus Paulus Venetus places the violent death of Dawd, or Onk Khân, in the year of Christ 1187, nearly coincident with the year of the Hejra 583; but it has been fixed in the 599th year of the Moslem æra by the Oriental historians Vicentius Bellovacensis, Nangius, and Marinus Sanatus, as well as by Abu'l-Faraj¹.

Other occurrences of the year 599.

In the same year Al Mâlec Al 'Adel sent an army against Mâredîn, under the command of his son Al Mâlec Al Ashraf Mûsa, in order to invest that city. And so sure did he think himself of carrying his point, that he constituted deputies to preside over all the districts appertaining to it. But he having for a considerable time carried on the siege, without any prospect of success, a peace was at last concluded between Al Mâlec Al 'Adel and the sâheb of the place, under the mediation of Al Malec Al Dhâher, the sâheb of Aleppo. The principal terms of which were, that the prince of Mâredîn should remit to Al Malec Al 'Adel one hundred and fifty thousand dinârs of emîrin gold, weighing ten kîrâts a-piece (M); that the money

¹Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 427. 428, 429, 430. & in Chron. Syriac. ad an. Hej. 599. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. in Bibl. Orient. Clem. Vatic. tom. tert. par. secund. p. 495—499.

(M) The kîrât is half of a drachm. Twelve kîrâts, therefore, must be equal to a dirhem. From the Arabic kîrât the

money of Mâredîn should be coined in Al Mâlec Al 'Adel's name; and that all the forces of that city should be at his devotion as often as he required. About this time Al Moezz Shamsalmolûc Ismael Ebn Saif Al Islâm Tagtakîn Ebn Ayûb, the sâheb of Al Yaman, pretended to deduce his origin from the house of Ommiyah, and, in consequence of this pretension, wore a green vest, with a sort of sleeve or train twelve spans long, called by several of the eastern writers the sleeve of the khalifs, and caused himself to be prayed for in all the mosques under that title. This arrogance giving great disgust to his subjects, who considered it as an affront offered to their religion, some of them entered into a conspiracy against him, and soon after he was assassinated. Ismael being removed, the emirs of Al Yaman elected his younger brother, then a child, to succeed him. But he, being under the tutelage of his mother, was in a short time poisoned, by their order and direction: upon which an interregnum ensued. In the mean time his mother retired to Zabîd with the great treasures she had amassed, expecting that some prince of the family of Ayûb would make his addresses to her. Accordingly Solimân, the son of Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer Omar Ebn Shâhinthâh Ebn Ayûb, who strolled about with the derwîshes or fakîrs, and carried on his shoulders the alms that were given him, being conducted by one of her slaves to her, she married him, and by that step made him king of the Belâd Al Yaman. This country he filled with tyranny and injustice, repudiated his wife Omm Al Nâser, and rendered himself so obnoxious to the people he governed, that they found themselves obliged to depose him. Whereupon Solimân, according to Ebn Shohnah, wrote a letter to his great uncle Al Mâlec Al 'Adel, requesting succours against his revolted subjects. But in his letter, which he began with these words, "From Solimân, in the name of the most Merciful God," he placed his own name before the Bism'illah (N); by which circumstance he

the term *carat*, used by us to denote the weight of four grains, was perhaps originally taken. The emîrîn gold was probably the purest and finest gold, called by way of eminence the gold of the emirs;

or such as that of which the dinârs consisted, with the khalif's, or emîr al mûmenîn's, name impressed upon them (1). (N) This solemn form, in the Arabic original Bism'illah Arrahmân Arrahîm, from the

(1) D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 959.

*The most
memorable
events of
the year
600;*

he clearly betrayed his want of understanding and insanity : Al Málec Al 'Adel, therefore, paid no manner of regard either to his letter or his person.

In the 600th year of the Hejra the Franks or Latins took Constantinople from the Greeks, after they had continued the siege of that city from the month of Shaabân to that of the former Jomâda, according to Abu'l-Faraj. We are farther informed by this author, that thirty thousand Franks were enabled, by the great extent of that capital, to live in it concealed; who, when their brethren made a general assault, set the town on fire, by which about a fourth part of it was consumed. The Greeks, adds he, being by this accident employed within the walls extinguishing the flames, the Franks without any great difficulty entered the place, and slaughtered the miserable inhabitants for three days together; putting to the sword even the bishops, monks, and priests, who came in procession from the church of St. Sophia to implore mercy, with crosses and the Gospels in their hands. After which massacre, continues he, they plundered that church, and proceeded to the election of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who was placed on the Greek imperial throne, and to the division of the territories of the Greeks amongst the princes of the Crusade. In the month of Dhu'lkaada died soltân Rocno'ddîn or Rucno'ddîn, the sâheb of the Belâd Al Rûm, and was succeeded by Kilij or Kelij Arslân, then a minor, his son. This year, as well as the preceding, proved favourable to the arms of Jenghîz Khân. In it likewise happened a dreadful earthquake, which shook a considerable part of Mesr and Shâm, or Egypt and Syria, the island of Cyprus, Irâk, and the Belâd Al Rûm, and almost entirely destroyed the city of Tyre.

*and of the
year 601.*

In the following year, being the 601st of the Hejra, Kaykhosrû, Rocno'ddîn's brother, then residing in a castle near Constantinople, receiving advice of his nephew Kilij Arslân Ebn Solimân's accession to the crown of the Belâd Al Rûm, returned home, assembled a body of troops, subdued all the provinces that had been subject to soltân Rocno'ddîn Solimân, occupied his capital, and at length drove

first word denominated the Bismillah, is constantly placed by the Mohammedans at the beginning of all other books and writings in general, as a peculiar mark, or distinguishing characteristic, of their religion; so that, amongst them, it is deemed a sign of either folly or impiety to omit it (2).

his son Kilij Arslân from the throne. In the course of the same year the Corj or Georgians made an incursion into Adherbijân, advanced first to Akhlât and Arjîlb, and afterwards penetrated as far as Malâzkerd, without opposition. Having pillaged the province, they returned home with a large number of prisoners, and an immense quantity of spoil. About this time, and not the former year, if Ebn Shohnah may be credited, Constantinople fell into the hands of the Franks, who were expelled sixty years afterwards by the Greeks; with whom the western writers entirely agree ^k.

Next year, being the 602d of the Hejra, Gayâtho'ddîn Khaykhrû continued to strengthen himself in the Belâd Al Rûm, and his power encreased every day. Shahâbo'ddîn Abu'l Modhaffer Ebn Sam Ebn Al Hoscîn, the fourth sultân of the dynasty of Gaur, was assassinated, after he had reigned about four years.

The principal transactions of the year 602;

In the 603d year of the Hejra, Sanjar, who had been one of the khalif Al Nâser Ledini'llah's slaves, but was afterwards declared free by him, having passed through the principal offices of the state, by his own merit, and his master's favour, at last obtained the government of Khûzistân, in which post he subdued all the people of the most southern part of Persia, extending to the coast of the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean. The troops at Akhlât, in Armenia, seized upon Mohammed Ebn Boctemar, the sâheb of that city, deposed him, and substituted Balabân, one of Shâh Armen's slaves, in his room.

and of the year 603-

In the 604th year of the Hejra, the khalif Al Nâser suppressed in every part of his dominions all the imposts which had been usually raised on merchandizes, or commodities, sold by retail. Nor would he permit any other duties to be paid than those of the custom-house, levied on goods sold by wholesale only. This year Al Malec Al Awhad or Awhed, Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb, Al Mâlec Al 'Adel's son, was proclaimed king or sâheb of the city of Akhlât. From hence he marched to Molâzkerd, in order to receive the homage of the inhabitants of that place; but they sallied out of the town, obliged him to retire, and openly rebelled against him. They also convoked a general assembly in the name of Shâh Armen, though he had been so long dead, intimating that they were extremely desirous of being under the power and jurisdiction of one who had

The chief occurrences of the year 604;

^k Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 431. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 588. & ad an. Hej. 601. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 601. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 559, 560, 561. Abu'lkayr, apud Pet. de la Croix, ubi sup. p. 74. ut et ipse Pet. de la Croix. ibid.

formerly

formerly borne some relation to him. However, Al Mâlec Al Awhad soon returned with a superior force, and put many of the principal citizens to death. He also deprived the grandees of the authority they had lately exercised; they having disposed of the sovereignty of their city, for a short time past, in an arbitrary manner, cutting some of their princes off, and elevating others, just as their absolute will and pleasure dictated. The same year Al Sheikh Shahâbo'ddin Al Shaharûdi brought a crown and the kaftân of sultân from the khalif Al Nâser, at Baghdâd, to Al Mâlec Al 'Adel at Damascus, if the Oxford MS. copies of Ebn Shohnah can be depended upon. According to these MSS. he himself put on the kaftân; and the crown was placed successively on the heads of Al Mâlec Al Ashraf and Al Mâlec Al Moadhdhem, his sons¹.

*and of the
year 605.*

In the following year, being the 605th of the Hejra, Al Mâlec Al Ashraf Mûsa, Al Mâlec Al 'Adel's son, went from Damascus to the eastern provinces, and took Aleppo in his way, where he met with a most gracious reception from Al Mâlec Al Dhâher, the sâheb of that place. The latter of these princes caused the canal of Hailân to be continued to Aleppo, at a great expence. The king of Hya, whose territories were situated near the great wall separating China from Tartary, towards the close of this year, became a tributary to Jenghîz Khân^m.

*The most
memorable
events of
the year
606;*

Next year, being the 606th of the Hejra, Al Mâlec Al 'Adel Abu Beer Ebn Ayûb subdued Al Khâbûr and Nâsîbîn, with their respective dependencies, and laid siege to Senjâr; which the garrison defended with so much bravery, that he found himself obliged to retreat. Whilst Al Mâlec Al 'Adel was employed in this expedition, the Franks landed a body of troops at Dimiyât, Dimyât, or Damiata, and penetrated as far as Al Jîzah, within sight of Al Kâhirah, the capital of Egypt, laying the country waste with fire and sword. As Al Câmel, Al Mâlec Al 'Adel's son, had not forces enough to oppose them, he kept within the walls of Al Kâhirah; whereupon they formed the siege of Dimiyât, but were not able to reduce the town. They therefore went on board their ships, and returned to Palestine. Amongst other ravages which they committed,

¹ Khondemir, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 431, 432. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 604. Mirkhond, Khondemir, & Abu'l-kayr, ap. Pet. de la Croix, ubi sup. p. 92, 93, 94. ut et ipse Pet. de la Croix, ibid. ^m Renaud. ubi sup. p. 561. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 605. Ant. Gaubil, ubi sup. Du Haide's; Hist. of the Si-fan or Tu-fan, vol. i. p. 29-29.

they

they plundered the monastery of the Melchites, in the neighbourhood of Al Kâhirah, before they retired.

In the 607th year of the Hejra, died Nûrô'ddîn Arslân *and of the year 607.* Shâh, of the house of Akfankar, the sâheb of Al Mawfel, after he had reigned about eighteen years. He was a brave and magnanimous prince, governed his subjects with lenity, and restored the pristine discipline, power, and dignity of the Atâbek family; which had, for some time, gone greatly to decay. When he perceived his end approaching, he appointed his son Al Mâlec Al Kâher 'Azzo'ddîn Mas'ûd to succeed him; charging him to apply himself to business with the utmost diligence, to be indefatigable in distributing justice to his subjects, and to chuse Bedrô'ddîn Lûlû for his wazîr, as he knew him to be a man of consummate prudence, a clear judgment, and thoroughly versed in the art of government. To his younger son 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki he left the castle of Al 'Akr Al Hamîdiya, and that of Shûsh; ordering him, before his death, to retire to the former of those places. This year, the Corj made an irruption into the principality of Akhlât, and besieged Al Mâlec Al Awhad Ebn Al Mâlec Al 'Adel in that city: but their king being intoxicated, and approaching too near a party of the Moslem troops with only twenty men, his horse threw him, and he was taken prisoner. However, he obtained his liberty, by releasing five thousand Moslem captives, paying a hundred thousand dinârs, and granting Al Mâlec Al Awhad a truce, or suspension of arms, for three years. Soon after this event, he gave his daughter in marriage to Al Mâlec Al Awhad, who repudiated her, and died, before the expiration of the present year. He was succeeded by his brother Al Mâlec Al Ashraf Mûsa, at that time possessed of some of the eastern provinces; who, by this accession of territory, became a very powerful prince. About the same period, Gayâtho'ddîn Kaykhosrû, the sâheb of the Belâd Al Rûm, was slain, and succeeded by his son 'Azzo'ddîn Kaykâwas. We should also remember, that Jenghiz Khân with a formidable army invaded the Kin, about this periodⁿ.

In the 608th year of the Hejra, Al Câmel treated the Christians with great equity and moderation in Egypt; and would not listen to the calumny of a renegado monk, when he accused his brethren of having concealed a large *What happened in the East, the following year.*

ⁿ Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. 432, 433. Ebn Shoho. ad an. Hej. 607. Ant. Gaubil, ubi sup. p. 13, &c.

sum of money at the bottom of a well. He paid as little regard to another monk, when he asserted that the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria had amassed prodigious treasures; which he proposed to send by sea out of Egypt, as some of his predecessors had formerly done. Nay, this prince permitted a Christian, who had embraced Islamism, to return to the faith he had abandoned; though Al Mâlec Al 'Adel obliged him to renounce it again, threatening him otherwise with immediate death. This year, Jenghîz Khân defeated an army of the Kin, encamped near mount Yehû, under the orders of Hûjakû and Wan Yen, consisting of three hundred thousand men °.

The occasion of the war between the Sâh of Khorâsân and Jenghîz Khân.

In the following year, being the 609th of the Hejra, three merchants of Great Bukhâria carrying a large quantity of cloth embroidered with gold, rich silks, and other valuable commodities, into the territories of the Moguls, one of them, named Ahmed, demanded three bâlîshs, or 225 dinârs, for every piece of embroidered cloth, which did not cost him above ten, or at most twenty dinârs. This exorbitant demand incensed Jenghîz Khân, who could not forbear saying, "This fool seems to imagine, that we never saw any fine cloaths before he arrived amongst us." He then ordered the master of his wardrobe to shew him some sumptuous robes, sent him as presents by the kings of the Katayans; and commanded Ahmed to be imprisoned, for setting so extravagant a price upon his goods. Then, sending for the two other merchants, he asked them how they sold their goods? They replied, they came not thither to sell, but to present them to his majesty, as a mark of their profound veneration and attachment to his person. He still insisted upon their fixing some valuation on the costly merchandize they had brought with them; but they begged to be excused. This moderation pleasing Jenghîz Khân, he ordered a bâlîsh (O), or purse of gold to be paid them for every piece of embroidered cloth, and one of silver for every two pieces of cotton. His wives, sons, and the principal lords of his court, having, at his command, made a collection of bâlîshs, both of silver and gold, he dispatched several of the officers of his household, attended by a hundred and fifty Mogul merchants, with those of Great Bukhâria, when they returned

° Renaud. ubi sup. p. 564, 565. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 603.

(O) A bâlîsh, or purse of gold, consisted of seventy-five dinârs.

home,

home, in order to buy up every thing valuable which could be of use in his empire. Some of these Mogul merchants were Christians, others Pagans, and others Mohammedans; and that they might meet with a more favourable reception from the governors of Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh, they were accompanied by a Mogul ambassador from Jenghîz Khân to that prince. This minister carried presents, and letters of recommendation to sultân Mohammed, importing that Jenghîz Khân desired nothing more than to enter into a new alliance with him; that he had dismissed the merchants of Khowârazm, who came to trade in his dominions, with their purses full of money, and well pleased with the security they had enjoyed; and that he therefore flattered himself his subjects, who came to purchase some of the most elegant and valuable manufactures of his kingdoms, would experience equal protection, and be permitted to return safe to Mogulestân; especially as their principal design in undertaking so long a journey was, to perpetuate that union and friendship which then so happily subsisted between the two sovereigns. The Mogul merchants and ambassador were, however, no sooner arrived at Otrâr, than Gâyer Khân, who panted after the riches they had brought with them, dispatched an express to Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh, to inform him of their arrival, and to procure his permission to murder them; which having obtained, he assassinated all of them, except one, who escaped out of prison; made the best of his way to Mogulestân; and acquainted the grand khân with what had happened. In the mean time, Gâyer Khân confiscated all the money and effects of the massacred Moguls, for sultân Mohammed's use. The relation of that prince's barbarous conduct so affected Jenghîz Khân, that he could not sleep till he had formed a proper plan of action against the shâh of Khowârazm. According to Abu'l-Faraj, he fasted and prayed to Almighty God three days and nights together, without intermission, on the top of a hill, with his head uncovered; imploring the divine assistance, in the most fervent and suppliant manner, against so faithless and perfidious a prince. The third night, continues this writer, a monk clothed in black, with a staff in his hand, standing at the gate of his palace, appeared to him in a dream; bidding him fear nothing, for that he should be successful in all his undertakings. Being struck with this reverie, which greatly animated him, he returned to his palace, and com-

municated the omen to his wife, who was the daughter of Awank Khân. This princess, having very attentively heard him, assured him, that the monk he had seen in his sleep, and described to her, was a bishop, who sometimes used to visit her father, and give him his benediction. Whereupon Jenghîz Khân inquired of the Christian igûrs, at his court, if they had not a bishop amongst them? They answered, the bishop of Mar Denha was there. That prelate then, by his command, approaching him with a black mitre on his head, he said, that his habit was the same with that of the monk who appeared to him, but his face different. Whereupon the bishop replied, that the person seen by his majesty was undoubtedly one of the Christian saints. From this time, adds our author, that conqueror was always kind to the Christians, entertained a good opinion of them, and treated them with particular marks of affection and esteem.

*Other
events of
the year
609.*

The same year, Mahmûd Ebn Gayâtho'ddîn, the soltân of Gaur and Gazna, was assassinated in bed, by some rufians, who entered his palace by night, unperceived by his domestics. Ali Shâh, the son of Tacash Khân, having rebelled against his brother Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh, and afterwards taken refuge at Mahmûd's court, that prince, under the pretext of the strict alliance subsisting between him and soltân Mohammed, delivered him up into his brother's hands. This infidelity so irritated the Khowârazmians and Irâkians in the interest of Ali Shâh, that they hired assassins to murder him. His corpse was first interred in the castle of Firûz-Ghûé, where he resided, and afterwards transported to the great mosque at Herat; which his father had begun, and he had completed. He succeeded his uncle Shahâbo'ddîn in the sovereignty of Gaur, Gazna, Zablestân, Hindostân, and a large part of Khorasân, in 602. He left behind him a son, named Sam; who soon entered into a war with Atsîr, or rather Atsiz, the son of Jehânfûz, his relation, who disputed the crown with him: but neither of these princes possessed what they contended for. Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh growing daily more and more powerful, the dynasty of the Gaurids, which terminated in the person of Mahmûd Ebn Gayâtho'ddîn, was swallowed up by that of the Khowârazmians. It continued, according to Khondemir and Mirkhond, about sixty-four years. In the course of this year, Al Mâlec Al Dirâher, the sâheb of Aleppo, espoused the daughter of Al Mâlec Al 'Âdel, who had assigned her for her

her dower fifty thousand dinârs, met her with a grand retinue on the road from Al Shâm, and conducted her with great pomp and magnificence to the castle of Aleppo^p.

The next year, being the 610th of the Hejra, Jenghîz Khân's forces being joined in Turkestân by Al Emîr Arslân Khân from Ghiyâlik, Al Emîr Idi (or rather Aydi) Kûb from Bîsh Bâlîgh, and Al Emîr Sofîâk from Al Mâlîgh, with their troops, he detached his eldest son with a body of twenty thousand men towards Khojenda or Khojanda, took himself the route of Bokhâra, and sent his sons Jogatâi and Ogatâi or Awcatâi, with a powerful army, to form the siege of Otrâr, according to Abu'l-Faraj. The Mogul and Turkish troops, commanded by the two last mentioned princes, took the city of Otrâr, though defended by a numerous garrison of Khowârazmians. Other authors, however, place the reduction of Otrâr in the year of the Hejra 616. In the same year, by Dr. Hunt's MS. copy of Ebn Shohnah, Kaykâwas, the sâheb of the Belâd Al Rûm, killed his uncle Togrol Bek, and seized the territories he had possessed. Before the close of it, died Mâlec Al Garb Al Nâfer Mohammed Ebn Yakûb, the king of the Al Moâhedun in Africa and Spain, after he had reigned near sixteen years; and was succeeded by his son Yusef, who assumed the title or surname of Al Mof-tanser Beamri'llah.

The most remarkable occurrences of the year 610;

Towards the close of the 611th year of the Hejra, the city of Tong-chew, on the river Pe-ho, about twelve miles east of Pe-king, in China, and its port, is said to have surrendered to the Moguls. Al Sheikh Ali Ebn Abu Becr Al Harûi, who was skilled in al sîmîâ (P), or magic, also died, and was buried without the city of Aleppo, where his sepulchre remained in Ebn Shohnah's days^q.

and of the year 611.

In the 612th year of the Hejra, soltân Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh reduced the city of Gazna; being possessed before of the greatest part of Khorasân, and the kingdom of Bâmiyân. At the same time Al Mâlec Al Câmél, the son of Al Mâlec Al 'Adel, sent his son Al

The most material transactions of the year 612;

^p Khondemir, Mirkhond, Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 609. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 361. 532, 533. ^q Ant. Gaubil, Hist. de Gentchisc. p. 23, 24. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 611.

(P) The word *sîmîâ* amongst the Arabs denotes properly one part of chymistry, when the latter of these terms is taken in its most extensive signification. It also signifies a magical science, denominated the knowledge of inferior or terrestrial spirits.

Mâlec Al Mas'ûd Yusef upon an expedition against Al Yaman; who subdued that fine country, took Solimân Ebn Shâhînsâh, the sâheb, prisoner, and ordered him to be conducted under a guard to Mesr. Upon his arrival, he met with a favourable reception from Al Mâlec Al Câmel, who supplied him with all kinds of provisions in a very liberal manner. About this time, Yen-king, called Khân-bâlik, or *the City of the Khân*, by the Oriental writers, the capital of the emperor of the Kin, was occupied, according to the Chinese historians, by the forces of Jeng-hîz Khân.

*and of the
year 613.*

In the following year, being the 613th of the Hejra, Al Soltân Al Mâlec Al Dhâher Gâzi, the son of Al Soltân Salâh'addin Yusef Ebn Ayûb, and the sâheb of Aleppo, departed this life. He was born at Al Kâhirah, in the middle of Ramadân, and the year of the Hejra 568; and was consequently almost forty-five lunar years old at the time of his death. He reigned at Aleppo, if we compute from the time that his father first appointed him to the government, thirty-one years; and was succeeded by his son Al Mâlec Al Azîz Mohammed, whose mother was Al Mâlec Al Adel's daughter, then only in the third year of his age. The care of this young prince Al Mâlec Al Dhâher committed to the eunuch Shahâbo'ddîn, one of his slaves; who accordingly, after the sâheb's demise, was declared atâbek, or tutor, to Al Mâlec Al Azîz, and gave him an education suitable to his high rank. Kaykâwas, the sâheb of the Belâd Al Rûm, was no sooner informed of Al Mâlec Al Dhâher Gâzi's decease, than he proposed a treaty of alliance to Al Mâlec Al Afdal, the sâheb of Someisât; which, with its territory, was then the only place under the jurisdiction of that prince. In consequence of this treaty, the two sâhebs uniting their forces, penetrated into the Belâd Al Sharkia, or Eastern Country; which they took from Al Mâlec Al Ashraf Mûsa, Al Mâlec Al 'Adel's son. From thence they marched to Aleppo, which by one of the articles of the last convention was to be put into Al Mâlec Al Afdal's hands, and laid siege to it; but were repulsed in all their attacks, and at last forced to desist, after having sustained a very considerable loss. As for the Belâd Al Sharkia, Kaykâwas occupied the whole tract; and Al Mâlec Al Adel returned to Someisât, where his affairs were in a declining condition, having been de-

^r Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 437. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 612. Ant. Gaubil. Hist. de Gentchisc. p. 25, 26.

ceived by the sâheb of the Belad Al Rûm. This year, according to the Chinese historians, the city of Ton-quan was taken, and other advantages obtained over the emperor of the Kin, by the Moguls*.

The next year being the 614th of the Hejra, Mohammed, the sultân of Khowârazm, commonly called Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh, after the reduction of Gazna, having found amongst the treasures and in the archives of Shahâbo'ddîn, sultân of the dynasty of the Gaurids, the original patent of investiture sent by the khalif Al Nâser Ledinî'llah to that prince, was so incensed against the Moslem pontiff, that he formed a design to depose him. The khalif, in this instrument, had not only given Shahâbo'ddîn the most magnificent eulogies and titles, but likewise exhorted him to make war with the utmost vigour upon the Khowârazmians, who were declared enemies of the khalifat. In order, therefore, to be revenged on the khalif, he convoked a general assembly of all the imâms and principal doctors of Islamism in his dominions; who unanimously declared that the khalifat in justice belonged to the descendents of Hosein, the second son of Ali, the last khalif of the family of Mohammed; that the house of Al Abbâs had for a long time usurped the supreme authority, both in temporals and spirituals at Baghdâd; and that the members of that house had rendered themselves unworthy of the high dignity they had enjoyed, not only by their usurpation, but likewise by the many other violations of the Mohammedan law they had been guilty of, and the frequent wars they had unjustly excited amongst the faithful. They therefore formally deposed Al Nâser, and elected 'Alâo'ddîn, surnamed Al Mâlec Al Termedi, in his room. Mohammed having occasioned this great schism in Islamism, and withdrawn the religious obedience he owed to Al Nâser, marched with an army of three hundred thousand men towards Baghdâd, in order to seize that capital, and consequently the khalif's person. Al Nâser having received advice of the sultân's intention, dispatched Al Sheikh Shahâbo'ddîn Shaharzûri as his ambassador, in order to appease him, and prevail upon him to desist from the enterprize he had undertaken. But he was very ill received by the sultân; who refused him an audience, and continued his march towards the frontiers of Irâk. The khalif then endeavoured to put the city of Baghdâd, his residence, in as good a posture of defence as the shortness

The most memorable events of the year 614;

* Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 437, 438. Ebn Shohn. ad an. H. 613. Ant. Gaubil, ubi sup. p. 27—30.

of the time would permit; imagining that he should soon be obliged to sustain a siege, as he was not able to make head against the sultân's numerous army, which now began to draw near. In the mean time, happily for the khalif, so deep a snow fell in the narrow passages and defiles of the mountains of Hamadân, as had never before been known in the memory of man. Those defiles being thus shut up, the Khowârazmian army could neither advance nor retreat, inasmuch that the greatest part of it perished miserably; and the sultân himself, after having been in the most imminent danger, was obliged to return home, and leave almost all his equipages in the middle of the snow. This misfortune, however, did not induce him to lay aside his design; on the contrary, he was determined to carry it into execution at a more favourable season. But he was constrained to drop all thoughts of undertaking another expedition to Baghdâd, by the dreadful irruption of the Moguls, under the conduct of Jenghiz Khân, into the territories of Khowârazm^t.

*and of the
year 615.*

The 615th year of the Hejra, was far from being altogether destitute of memorable events. Al Mâlec Al Kâher 'Azzo'ddîn Mas'ûd Ebn Arslân Shâh, of the house of Zenki, or Akfankar, the sâheb of Al Mawfel, departed this life, after he had reigned nine years and nine months; being succeeded by his eldest son Nûro'ddîn Arslân Shâh, then about ten years of age. As this young prince was incapable of holding the reins of government, Al Mâlec Al Kâher constituted Bedro'ddîn Lûlû his guardian; and ordered that minister to preside at the head of the administration, during the minority of his son. Soon after Nûro'ddîn's accession to the crown, his uncle 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Arslân Shâh, the sâheb of Al 'Akr, entertained hopes of placing himself upon the throne of Al Mawfel; but he was frustrated by the prudent conduct of Lûlû. Some time after, the patent of investiture arrived from the khalif at Baghdâd; by which Nûro'ddîn was confirmed in the prefecture of Al Mawfel, and Lûlû in the post of prime minister. The same messenger likewise brought with him magnificent kaftâns or vests, both for the young sâheb and his wazîr. Nevertheless, Modhaffero'ddîn Cûcabri, or Cûcheri, Ebn Zîno'ddîn, the sâheb of Arbel, delivered up the castle of Al 'Ammâdiya, and the other

^t Khondemir, *Pet. de la Croix*, ubi sup. l. II. c. vii, viii, ix. x. Abu'lkayr, apud eund. ibid. Mirkhond & Fâdlallah, ibid. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 442—450. Abu'l Ghazi Bahad. par. III. c. xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii. Lond. 1730.

forts of the Al Haccâriya, or Haccârite Curds, as well as that of Al Zawzân, into the hands of 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Arslân Shâh; whose interest he had espoused in opposition to that of the young sâheb of Al Mawfel. Nor could he be prevailed upon by Bedro'ddîn either to take the oath of allegiance to Nûro'ddîn Arslân Shâh, or to stand neuter in the quarrel between that prince and the sâheb of Al 'Akr. Being determined, therefore, to assist the latter with all his forces, Bedro'ddîn found himself obliged to apply for assistance to Al Mâlec Al Ashraf Mûsa, the son of Al Mâlec Al 'Adel, now sâheb of Diyâr Al Jazîra and Akhlât. Upon which, Al Mâlec Al Ashraf wrote to Modhaffero'ddîn, threatening to march with an army against him if he did not return to his duty. But this menace made so little impression upon Modhaffero'ddîn, that he did not even answer that letter. However, an accommodation between the sâhebs of Al Mawfel and Arbel was at last effected, by the mediation of the khalîf Al Nâser and Al Mâlec Al Ashraf. Not long after which event, Nûro'ddîn Arslân Shâh died; and was succeeded at Al Mawfel by his brother Nâsero'ddîn Mahmûd, then only three years old. The same year, Al Mâlec Al 'Adel Abu Becr Ebn Ayûb, Salâh'addîn's brother, paid the common tribute to nature, when he was upon the point of going to pillage a particular district; being, at the time of his decease, seventy-three years of age, according to Abu'l-Faraj. From what has been already related concerning him, as well as from Ebn Shohnah, it appears, that he reigned twenty-three years at Damascus, and nineteen in Egypt. The last-mentioned author gives him the character of a wise, mild, and prudent prince. We are told by Ebn Shohnah, that Al Mâlec Al 'Adel left behind him sixteen sons, besides several daughters; and that no prince had ever more reason to be delighted with his children. None of his sons attended him during his last illness; but Al Mâlec Al Moadhdhem came from Nabolos, soon after his death, which for some time he kept concealed, interred him at Damascus, seized upon all the jewels, horses, and arms he found in the palace, and constrained the people of that capital to take the oath of allegiance to him. He then communicated to his brothers the news of their father's demise. The money Al Mâlec Al 'Adel had deposited in his treasury, which remained for his successor's use, amounted to one hundred thousand dinârs. 'Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Arslân Shâh, the sâheb of Al Akr, and Modhaffero'ddîn Ebn Zîno'ddîn, the sâheb of Arbel, hav-

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ing received advice of the recognition of Nâfero'ddîn Mahmûd's authority at Al Mawfel, they entered into an alliance against him, excited by his tender age, assembled all their forces, and made the necessary dispositions for attacking that city. Of which preparations Bedro'ddîn Lûlû having been apprized, he solicited succours of 'Azzo'ddîn Aybec, the commander of Al Mâlec Al Ashraf's troops at Nâsibîn, who immediately began his march for Al Mawfel, at the head of a considerable reinforcement; and having passed the Tigris, encamped on the eastern bank of that river, at the distance of about a parasang from Al Mawfel. The sâhebs of Al 'Akr and Arbel also, with their forces, crossed the Zâb, and took possession of a spot of ground about two or three parasangs from the army under the orders of Lûlû and Aybec. The two armies had not been long in this position, before an engagement ensued. 'Azzo'ddîn Aybec with his right wing fell upon the enemy's left, commanded by Zenki, the sâheb of Al Akr, and put it to flight; whilst Modhaffero'ddîn's right wing treated Bedro'ddîn's left in the same manner. Modhaffero'ddîn charged with his main body that of Al Mawfel, under the conduct of Bedro'ddîn himself, with so much bravery, that he routed and dispersed it; obliging Bedro'ddîn to fly first to Al Mawfel, and afterwards to a castle on the other side of the Tigris. Hither Modhaffero'ddîn having pursued him, he posted himself behind the hill of Nineveh; where he remained three days, and then retired undiscovered by favour of the night. The late action was, however, by no means decisive; for though Amâdo'ddîn Zenki Ebn Arslân Shâh made himself master of the castle of Al Cawâshi, yet Bedro'ddîn reduced Tel A'far, and Al Mâlec Al Ashraf Senjâr to his obedience. Indeed it appears from Abu'l-Faraj, that all the contending parties being soon tired with this war, a treaty of peace was concluded between them, by the intervention of the khalif Al Nâser, the following year. About this time the khalif Al Nâser dreading the resentment of Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh, sent an envoy to Jenghîz Khân, in order to excite that conqueror to invade the Shâh of Khowârazm on one side, whilst he attacked him on the other. Nevertheless, it does not certainly appear that Al Nâser, however his conduct on this occasion may have been censured by the Moslem historians, ever gave any material assistance to the grand khân of the Moguls^a.

^a Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 438—442. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 615. Ebn Katir, in Innikh. Salat. Nissawi, Mirkhond, Pet. de la Croix, ubi sup. lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 132—133.

*The chief
occurrences
of the year
616.*

In the 616th year of the Hejra, soltân 'Azzo'ddîn Kaykâwas Ebn Kaykhofrû Ebn Kilij Arslân, the sâheb of the Belâd Al Rûm, departed this life. As none of his sons had arrived at puberty, the army elected for his successor his brother 'Alâo'ddîn Kaykobâd Ebn Kaykhofrû, who had been confined in the castle of Al Menfhâr near the Euphrates, at a small distance from Malatiya. Being therefore brought out of prison, he was formally inaugurated, and his subjects took the oath of allegiance to him. This prince has been represented as an excellent ruler, though strict and rigid in his deportment, being a person of uncommon gravity, magnanimity, and resolution. The same year died also Al Mâlec Al Mansûr Mohammed Ebn Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer Takîo'ddîn Omar Ebn Shâhînshâh Ebn Ayûb, the sâheb of Hamah. He was a valiant and learned prince, supported at his own expence two hundred grammarians and fakîhs, and wrote a considerable number of books. He had a taste for poetry, and is said to have been the author of several poems of merit. Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Mahmûd Ebn Karâ Arslân Ebn Samkân Ebn Artak or Artok, the sâheb of Amed, paid likewise the common tribute to nature in 616. He was succeeded by Al Mâlec Al Mas'ûd his son; who reigned at Amed, till he was dispossessed of his territories by Al Mâlec Al Câmel, the sâheb of Egypt. This year Kitâda or Katâdah Ebn Edrîs Al 'Alawi Al Hafani, the emir of Mecca, sent an army, under the command of his brother and his son Al Hasan Ebn Katâdah, to reduce Medina. But this expedition did not meet with the desired success; for Al Hasan found means to assassinate his uncle, whilst they were upon their march, and then returned to Mecca, where he hanged his father Katâdah. After the perpetration of two such horrid acts, he decoyed his brother, then absent from that city, to Mecca, and barbarously put him to death. Katâdah lived about ninety years, and left behind him the character of a good poet. The Franks reduced Dimiyât, or Damiata, in Egypt, in the month of Shaabân; to which place they laid siege in the preceding year. The citizens of Al Kâhîrah were struck with such terror on this occasion, that they once proposed, after they had received advice of the devastation of the maritime towns, to have abandoned that capital. Al Mâlec Al 'Adel himself, who in his wars with the Christians, through the whole course of his life, had met with almost uninterrupted success, was so affected by this invasion of the Franks, that he fell into a distemper which carried him off in about three months.

Before

Before the surrender of Dimiyât, a body of about ten thousand Moslems, an undisciplined rabble that plundered all the Christian churches in their march, advanced to the camp of the Franks, and attacked it with incredible fury; but they were entirely defeated in this battle, and most of them put to the sword. This defeat excited the Egyptian Moslems to treat the Christians settled amongst them, and particularly the Melchites, whom they abhorred, in the most cruel manner; either forcing even the priests into the service, that they might be constrained to act with the Moslem troops against the Franks, or extorting large sums of money from them. The fine church of St. Mark in the suburbs of Alexandria, denominated Kamsha, was, by Al Câmel's order, levelled with the ground; lest, as it was an exceeding high edifice, the Franks should use it as a tower, and from thence make an attempt upon the city. In short, all, both Christians and Jews, who could not redeem themselves with money, were compelled to enlist in the service, and the tribute now exacted was much higher than it had formerly been. At this time Al Mâlec Al Moadhdhem Isâ, the sâheb of Damascus, being alarmed at the progress of the Franks, commanded the walls of Jerusalem to be demolished, that they might not serve them as a fortification. Al Mâlec Al Câmel was not less solicitous at this juncture for the security of his subjects. He rebuilt and fortified the city of Al Manfûrah, seated upon the Nile, on a spot where that river divided itself into two principal branches, in order to cover all the neighbouring country from the invasion of the Franks. One of these branches took its course towards Dimiyât, and the other towards Ashmûn. Soltân Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh having been defeated with prodigious loss by the Moguls, Jenghîz Khân arrived with his numerous forces, in the plains of Bokhara, and encamped before that city, after he had reduced Zarnuk and Nûr. Ebn Shohnah also relates, that the Tartars, or Moguls, penetrated as far as Nîfabûr, in Khorasân, and cut to pieces Al Sheikh Nodhâmo'ddin Ahmed Ebn Mahmûd Al Hadhîri, a person of considerable learning and worth*.

*and of the
year 617.*

The following year, being the 617th of the Hejra, the persecution of the Christians and the Jews still continued

* Greg. Abu'l Faraj. ubi sup. p. 442. Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, Al Emir Abu'l Mahassen Yusef Ebn Tangri Wirdi, in Mawredo'llarâf. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 616. Abu'l Ghazi Bahad. Khan, Gen. Hist. of the Turks, Moguls, and Tartars, &c. p. 109. Lond. 1730. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 572, 573.

in Egypt, large sums of money being levied on them in order to carry on the war against the Franks. As corn was likewise exceedingly dear, they found themselves so grievously oppressed, that a considerable number undertook for sustenance the most servile offices, many out of desperation destroyed themselves, and not a few turned Mohammedans. The merchants were not only deprived of the corn and provisions they had laid up for their own use, but their houses were plundered by the soldiery. These licentious proceedings continued till a peace was concluded between the Moilems and the Franks, which happened the following year. Towards the beginning of Al Moharram, Jenghiz Khân, with his army of Moguls, besieged the city of Bokhâra, then defended by a garrison of twenty thousand men, reduced it, and afterwards laid it in ashes. A little before the reduction of Bokhâra that prince's sons, Jogatâi and Awcatâi, or Oगतâi, had made themselves masters of Otrâr, with a body of Tartar or Mogul troops. In the former Rabî, Jenghiz Khân invested Samarkand, into which soltân Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh had thrown a body of a hundred and ten thousand horse, according to Abu'l-Faraj. Having obliged that city to surrender, he gave it up to his soldiers to be plundered, to reward them for the great fatigues they had sustained. His troops also took Saganâk, Uskend, Urkend, or Uzkant, Al Shâsh, Jund, Tonkât, Khojand, and Zâveh. Nisâbûr submitted at the approach of some of the Mogul generals. The grand khân likewise sent a detachment of thirty thousand men to pursue soltân Mohammed, who had fled by way of the Amû to the country of Termed, and pushed on his conquests in that prince's territories with surprising rapidity.

Next year, being the 618th year of the Hejra, Jenghiz Khân having passed the Jihûn with his numerous forces, advanced to the city of Balkh. The principal inhabitants were no sooner informed of his approach than they hastened to meet him, with many valuable presents, and all kinds of refreshments for his troops; notwithstanding which he cruelly massacred them all, on account of their attachment to soltân Jalâlo'ddîn, the son of Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh. From Balkh he marched to Tâlakân in Tokhârestân, possessed himself of that fortress, slew most of the garrison, and carried the remainder into captivity. He then advanced to Al Bâmiyân, formed the siege of that place, and at last took it by storm. As his favourite grandson, one of Jogatâi's sons, was killed with
an

*What happened in
618;*

an arrow during the siege, which was extremely obstinate, he put to the sword all the people he found in the town, without distinction of age and sex. He did not spare so much as the cattle and beasts of burden, belonging to the place, nor even the very infants, whom he caused to be cut out of their mothers' wombs. After which barbarities he entirely destroyed the city, and laid waste the whole surrounding territory. Some authors relate, that the Moguls reduced and ruined Corcânj, the capital of Khowârazm, after they had butchered either a hundred thousand or two hundred thousand persons in that city, before the close of the present campaign. Kât, Farabr, Darkân or Dargân, Zamakshar, and other considerable places in Khowârazm, surrendered without making any resistance to the Moguls. Termed, Nefâ or Nifâ, the citadel of Kaendar, Dâmagân, Ray, Kom, Dînawar, Sûvan, Holwân, Nahawend, Kaswîn, Merû, Nîfâbûr, which had returned to soltân Jalâlô'ddîn, Tûs and Herât, were also obliged to submit to the arms of Jenghîz Khân. It is computed, that above two millions of Moslems lost their lives before the end of this boody campaign, which was concluded by the battle at the Indus, fought in the month of Rajeb, wherein soltân Jalâlô'ddîn was vanquished by Jenghîz Khân; but, for the particulars of all the great actions barely mentioned here, we must refer our readers to a subsequent part of this work. This year Al Mâlec Al Moadhdhem, Al Mâlec Al Ashraf, Al Mâlec Al Nâser, the sâheb of Hamah, Al Mâlec Al Mojâhed, the sâheb of Hems, together with the sâhebs of Mâredin and Haleb, or Aleppo, assembled all their forces, and joined Al Mâlec Al Câmel, the sâheb of Mesr or Egypt, in order to recover Dimiyât, or Damiat, from the Franks. After this junction those princes led the Moslem troops against the common enemy, whom they at last reduced to such difficulties, that they found themselves constrained to sign a treaty of peace upon the following terms: 1. The Franks shall restore Dimiyât, with its dependencies, to the sâheb of Egypt. 2. They shall release all the Moslem captives in their hands. 3. The Moslems shall on their part deliver up all the Christian prisoners they have taken. The pope's nuncio, the king of 'Accâ, the masters of the Hospitallers and Templars, and other princes of the Franks, attended at the signing of this treaty; in consequence of which Al Mâlec Al Câmel took possession of Dimiyât, on Wednesday the 19th of Rajeb, the present year. The cession of that important place, after the Franks had possessed it near two years, is attributed

buted by some writers to the dissensions which prevailed amongst the commanders of the Christian troops; who, by acting with unanimity and vigour at this juncture, might have conquered the kingdom of Egypt with considerable loss *.

The 619th year of the Hejra proved favourable to the Moguls, who, after they had subdued Great Bukhâria, and in 619. Khowârazm, Khorasân, and the Persian Irâk, entered the province of Adherbijân, took Ardebîl, Tauris, and Marâgha, and obliged Hamadân, whose governor Jamâlo'ddîn, or Jemâlo'ddîn, had revolted, to submit to the grand khân. They also reduced Kûi, or Koy, and Salmûs, in the most western part of Adherbijân, as well as Nakshiwân, or Nakhjiwân, Pîlkân, and Ganja, in the province of Arrân, and defeated an army of Georgians that pretended to oppose them. After which conquests, partly under the orders of Jenghîz Khân, and partly under those of his generals, they reduced Kandahâr, Mûltân or Moltân, and Gazna. Jogatâi likewise subjugated Kermân, and the khân of Tangût submitted, and became tributary to Jenghîz Khân. Al Mâlec Al Mas'ûd Yusef, the sâheb of Al Yaman, dispossessed Al Hasân Ebn Kitâda, or Katâdah, according to Ebn Shohnah, of the city of Mecca, in 619 *.

In the 620th year of the Hejra the Mogul generals defeated the Tartars of Daghestân, and having crossed the Wolga by favour of the Kalmûks, entered Kipjâk. They also subdued Astrakhân, called Haji Tarkan by the Mohammedans, situated in an island of the Wolga near the Caspian Sea. The same year died Al Mostanser, the king of Garb, who leaving no son behind him, was succeeded by Abd'alwâhed Ebn Yusef Ebn Abd'almûmen, his father's uncle. Abd'alwâhed being a very corpulent person, and much attached to his pleasures, concerned himself but little with the affairs of government. His subjects, therefore, after he had sat upon the throne nine months, deposed him, and substituted in his room Aod'allah Ebn Yakûb Al Mansûr Ebn Yusef Ebn Abd'almûmen, who assumed the surname of Al 'Adel *.

In the following year, being the 621st of the Hejra, and of the died Al Mâlec Al Afdal, the eldest son of Salâh'addîn year 621.

* Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 446—450. Abu'l Ghazi Bahad. Khan. ubi sup. p. 123—128, & seq. De la Croix, ubi sup. p. 237—317, & seq. Fadhil. Nissawi, ap. de la Croix, p. 323, & seq. Ebn Shohn. ad ann. Hej. 619. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. * De la Croix, ubi supra, p. 348, & seq. Ebn Shohnah, ad ann. Hej. 620. Yusef

Yusef Ebn Ayûb, a prince of considerable learning and genius, but inconstant, regardless of the welfare of his people, indolent, and greatly deficient in point of judgment. He was dispossessed successively both of the kingdoms of Damascus, including that of Jerusalem, and Egypt, and was obliged to content himself with the city of Someisât, or Samosata, and its district. His father had given him rather a learned than a polite education. He consequently made a considerable progress in the knowledge of the Arabic tongue, and poetry. The Mogul monarch held a diet in the plains of Tonkat with uncommon pomp and magnificence, after which Tûshi Khân, to whom the grant of that kingdom had been confirmed by Jenghîz Khân, returned to Kipjâk. Al Soltân Jalâlo'ddaïn Ebn Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh having received advice that Jenghîz Khân had repassed the Jihûn with his Moguls, and taken his route through Tartary, he repassed the Indus likewise with his troops, and re-entered 'Ajem, or Persia, by the southern provinces of Kistshe and Macrân. Upon his arrival in the Persian territories, he was welcomed by the principal lords, as well as the governors of Fârs, the Persian Irâk, and Adherbijân, who came again to pay their homage. The people also, in every place through which he passed, received him with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

*The khalif
Al Nâser
Ledini'llah
dies.*

Next year, being the 622d of the Hejra, the khalif Al Nâser Ledini'llah died at Baghdâd in the seventieth year of his age. He is said to have amassed immense riches, though he expended in buildings exceeding large sums. He was the first prince who appropriated to himself the succession of all the foreign merchants that died in his dominions; the only stain that tarnished the lustre of his reign. Notwithstanding which he has been greatly celebrated by some of the eastern writers for his grandeur and magnificence. It has not been observed that he was a very considerable encourager of learned men, though several individuals, who possessed great merit, flourished whilst he sat upon the Moslem throne. Ebn Shohnah barely mentions Al Nâser Ledini'llah's demise, without descanting upon his character. From what will be related of him when we come to the conclusion of the khalifat of his grandson Al Mostanser Bi'llah, it must appear, that he was a prince of a very covetous and rapacious disposition^a.

SECT.

^a Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 541. Ibn. Abu'l-fed, in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 622. Al Makin, in Târikh Al Moslemîn, ad ann. Hej. 622.

S E C T. XI.

From the Accession of Al Dhâher Bi'llah to the Taking of Baghdâd by the Tartars.

THE khalif Al Nâser Ledini'llah's decease was no sooner publicly known, than his son Oddato'ddîn Abu Nafr Mohammed was saluted khalif. This prince, who assumed the title or surname of Al Dhâher Bi'llah, was inaugurated on the 2d of Shawâl, according to Abu'l-Faraj. The old khalif, in his life-time, had caused him to be acknowledged heir apparent of the crown of Baghdâd, and to be prayed for as such in the mosques throughout all the provinces under his jurisdiction; but finding him bold, valiant, hasty, and of an enterprising genius, he was afterwards afraid of him, and therefore not only forbid the khotba to be made in his name, but likewise caused him to be imprisoned, and cast his eyes upon his younger son Al Emîr Ali, as the most proper person to succeed him. That prince, however, dying before his father, and Abu Nafr Mohammed being now the only surviving son, Al Nâser declared him again his successor, and bequeathed the khalifat to him. Upon that monarch's demise he was therefore taken out of prison and placed upon the throne. At his inauguration he is reported to have said, "It is something absurd that a person should open shop in the evening. I am now above fifty years old, and shall I at this age be created khalif?" It must be here observed, that notwithstanding his father's displeasure, the people of Baghdâd were always extremely well affected to him^b.

He is succeeded by his son Al Dhâher Bi'llah.

In the course of the same year Al Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn possessed himself of the Persian Irâk, and restored Shîrâz to Saad Ebn Daclâ, the former sâheb of that city. He also made himself master of Tabriz, or Tauris, and put to flight Modhaffero'ddîn Azbec Ebn Albahlawân, the sâheb of Adherbijân, who pretended to oppose his progress. After these conquests he married Azbec's wife,

Other occurrences of the year 622.

622. MS. inedit. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Ebn. Shohnah, ad ann. Hej. 622. Ebn Al Athir, in Al Câm. Khondemir, Mirkhond, apud Teixeira, p. 306. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. art. Nasser Ledini'llah, &c. p. 663.

^bGreg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 450, 461. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 622. Khondemir, Mirkhond, apud Teixeira. ubi supra. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Dhâher Bi'llah, &c. p. 944.

who had been divorced from her husband in form by the kadi of Tabriz. That lady was the daughter of Togrol Bek, the last of the princes of the house of Seljûk. In short, Al Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn had so aggrandized himself by the conquests he had made, that his power gave umbrage to the khalif of Baghdâd himself. About this time Al Mâlec Al Nâser Salâh'addîn Dawd, the son of Al Mâlec Al Mo-adhdhem Isâ, the sâheb of Damascus, at the invitation of the inhabitants, took upon him the government of Hamah. In the beginning of this year the emperor Jenghîz Khân, having passed through Tartary, arrived at the river Tûla, if the Chinese historians may be depended upon^c.

*The khalif
Al Dhâher
Bi'llah
dies.*

The 623d year of the Hejra proved fatal to the khalif Al Dhâher Bi'llah; who, before the close of it, died at Baghdâd. He sat about nine months and sixteen days upon the throne, and left behind him the character of an excellent prince; being justly admired by all his people for his love of justice. In consequence of which disposition he ordered several of his subjects properties, of which they had been forcibly deprived, to be restored to them. He also remitted the tribute that had been lately imposed, and constructed a very large new bridge over the Tigris at Baghdâd, at a prodigious expence. He ruled with great justice, lenity, and moderation, gained the affections of all his people, and departed this life on the 14th of Rajeb^d.

*His son Al
Mostanser
Bi'llah is
advanced
to the kha-
lifat.*

Upon the death of Al Dhâher Bi'llah, his son Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr was proclaimed khalif. He was inaugurated the same day on which his father died, and assumed the title or surname of Al Mostanser Bi'llah, as we learn from Abu'l-Faraj. As soon as the principal officers of state and of the army, together with the chief inhabitants of Baghdâd, had taken the oath of allegiance to him, he appeared in public on horse-back. And this he continued to perform daily for a considerable time, in order to ingratiate himself with the people. The eastern historians agree, that this khalif surpassed all his predecessors in liberality; and that in administering justice he far exceeded his father himself, who was highly celebrated for his excellency in that particular. He caused several public edifices to be erected, for the convenience of his subjects; and amongst others the famous college denominated from him Al Ma-

^c Ebn Shoh. ubi supra. Gaubil. ubi sup. p. 45, & seqq. ^d Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 461. Ilm. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 623.

drasah Al Mostanseriyah, which had not its equal in the Moslem world, whether we consider the large extent and elegance of its buildings, the materials of which they were composed, the number of students it contained, or the ample revenues assigned it by its founder. Here he settled a professor for each of the four orthodox Moslem sects, and seventy-five students in the Mohammedan law to be instructed by him in the principles he professed, amounting to three hundred in all; for whom he appointed monthly salaries, and even more than a sufficient quantity of provisions. These students and professors had likewise a bath for their use within the college, a physician who visited them every day, an apothecary's shop wherein all kinds of medicines were prepared, and a kitchen to dress their meat in, provided by the khalif. Some authors relate, that Al Mostanser Bi'llah had himself an apartment in this edifice, as also a gallery which joined together the schools, where he came every day to learn what was done in the college, and from whence by means of lattice-windows he frequently heard the disputations both of the doctors and their disciples. He moreover kept a great number of public tables, extremely well served, principally during the nights of the month Ramadân, when the Moslems are allowed to eat and drink after the abstinence of the day. As a farther instance of this prince's unparalleled liberality, we are told by Mirkhond and Khondemir, that being one day on the highest gallery of his palace, he saw from thence most of the terraces of the houses of the city adorned with different sorts of habits: upon which, he asked his wazîr, what was the meaning of this appearance? The wazîr replied, that the inhabitants of Baghdâd, having washed their cloaths, had placed them there to be dried by the sun, on account of the approach of one of their beirâms, or principal annual feasts. Al Monstanfer immediately answered, "I did not think, that the citizens of Baghdâd had been so poor, that they were forced to wash their old garments, for want of new cloaths, to celebrate the feast." At the same time, he ordered a great sum of money to be converted into cross-bow bullets, and shot from the gallery of his palace upon all the terraces of the city where he had seen the habits exposed to the sun. In consequence of this liberal spirit, he, in less than twenty years, distributed amongst the people the immense treasures which his predecessors had amassed during the space of five hundred years.

*The principal events
of the year
624.*

In the 624th year of the Hejra, Al Mâlec Al Moadhdhem Isâ Ebn Al Mâlec Al 'Adel Abu Beér Ebn Ayûb, the sâheb of Damascus, departed this life, at the age of forty-eight. He was a prince of an amiable disposition, uncommon magnanimity, as well as great application, and extremely well-skilled in grammar. His son Al Mâlec Al Nâser Salâha'ddîn Dawd succeeded him in the sovereignty of Damascus, Jerusalem, and the maritime part of Syria; whose uncles Al Mâlec Al 'Azîz and Al Mâlec Al Sâleh, when he was settled upon the throne, carried the covering of his horse's harness before him. This year, according to the author of the Nighiaristân, the armies of sultân Jalâlo'ddîn and the Moguls, whom he calls Tartars, met in the neighbourhood of Esfahân; but without coming to blows, the Tartars retiring, as it were by agreement, into Khorasân, and Gayâtho'ddîn, the sultân's brother, flying with so much precipitation towards the borders of Laristân, without any apparent reason, that he abandoned his own equipage, and the baggage of his whole army. The inhabitants of Esfahân, seeing this rout, immediately ran to pillage; but were prevented by Al Kâdi Saedi, who begged they would have a little patience, promising them, that if the sultân did not appear within a short time, they should be at liberty to do what they pleased. The sultân, did not fail to return before the expiration of that term, marching with incredible celerity, in order to arrive at Esfahân; by which means he saved the baggage, that must otherwise have inevitably fallen into their hands. Some historians write, that the Moguls defeated Jalâlo'ddîn in Aderbijân, and made themselves masters of Tauris, in the preceding year; though they own, that afterwards rallying his forces, he had sometimes the better of them. They also relate, that he laid siege to Akhlât, the capital of Armenia; whither the khalif sent an ambassador, with presents to him. From thence, according to them, he passed into Anatolia, to oblige the Seljûkian Turks, occupying that country, to shew him the same respect they had paid his father; but was overthrown by 'Alâo'ddîn Kaykobâd, the sultân of Koniya, and other princes of Al Rûm. After which defeat, he was finally surprised by the Moguls; who, having entirely routed his forces, plundered his camp: but notwithstanding this and other great advantages gained by the troops of Jenghîz Khân, that conqueror thought fit to make the best of his way to Tartary, or Mogulestân; and, having put a period to the kingdom of Hîya, or Tangût,
after

after he had nominated for his successor his son Oktay Khân, expired in a forest on the road to Ching, on the 4th of Ramadân, 624 *.

In the following year, being the 625th of the Hejra, a negotiation commenced between Al Mâlec Al Câmel and the Franks; the result of which was, that Jerusalem should be ceded to the latter, together with several other places, seated in the maritime part of Syria. This cession was, however, made only upon condition, that the Moslems should be admitted into the temples Asfakhra and Al Akfa, that the city should remain dismantled, and that the court of judicature in the forum Al-Rostak should be under the direction of a Moslem governor. It must here be remarked, that Al Mâlec Al Câmel had seized upon Jerusalem, which formerly belonged to his brother Al Mâlec Al Moadhdhem Ifa, after that prince's death. The Franks had received such large supplies both of men and money from Europe, that he found himself not capable of contending with them; and was therefore afraid of losing his territories both in Syria and Egypt, if he did not prevent this by concluding a peace with that people. In consequence of the late convention, the Franks took possession of Jerusalem †.

*Jerusalem
is ceded to
the Franks.*

In the course of the same year, Jalâlo'ddîn Ebn Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh, being delivered from the fear of the Tartars, or Moguls, undertook the conquest of Georgia, or Gurjestân. But the king of that country, who found himself in a condition to sustain this war, took the field with an army, composed of Georgian and Khozârian troops, much more formidable than that of Jalâlo'ddîn Ebn Mohammed Khowârazm Shah. The latter of these princes, in order the better to reconnoitre the enemy, posted himself on a height, from whence he could discover the position of their whole camp. Perceiving that their van was formed of the Khozârs, a people seated on the northern coast of the Caspian sea, called by the Persians Desht Kipjâk, who still retained a grateful sense of the favour he had done them, when he pro-

*Other
events of
the year
625.*

* Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 464, 465. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 624. Ebn Shohin. ad ann. Hej. 624. Al Makin, in Târikh Al Moslemîn, ad ann. Hej. 624. Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'aljaafar Al Kazwini, in Nighiarist. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 372. De la Croix, ubi supra, p. 376, 377. Gaubil. ubi supra, p. 51, & seqq. † Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 465. Ebn Shohn. ad ann. Hej. 626. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 745.

cured them a pardon from his father Mohammed Khowârazm Shâh, after they had rebelled against him, he resolved to attempt detaching them from their ally. For this purpose, he sent them bread and salt, in order to put them in mind of the good office he had formerly done them, and the alliance he had contracted with them. This present produced the desired effect : for the Khozârs, ashamed of being engaged in a war against their benefactor, abandoned the Georgians, and immediately returned home. After their departure, the sultân gave the king of Georgia to understand, that, notwithstanding the defection of the Khozârs, he would grant him a cessation of arms for one day, to treat of an accommodation. During this short interval, in which several feats of arms were performed, Jalâlo'ddîn dismounted successively a valiant Georgian and three of his sons, and afterwards killed in single combat another of the same nation of a gigantic size and strength ; a sight which struck the Georgian army with terror. The sultân, taking advantage of the panic into which the enemy were thrown, fell upon them with such bravery, that he gained a complete victory, and reduced to his obedience the whole kingdom of Gurjestân without striking another stroke. However, having entered Teflis, the capital of that kingdom, he received advice that Borâk, governor of the province of Kermân, who had formerly been one of his door-keepers, accustomed to live in a state of independency during the war of the Tartars, did not obey his orders. He, therefore, took a resolution to march directly to Kermân with only a detachment of three hundred horse ; hoping by this step to be able to chastise him for his disobedience, before it broke out into open rebellion, and before he had put himself in a proper posture of defence. Having accordingly left Teflis, he reached that province with his detachment before Borâk was apprized of his departure ; surprised the disaffected governor, before he was in a condition to oppose him ; and inflicted upon him the punishment due to his temerity and presumption.

*The chief
occurrences
of the year
626 ;*

Next year, being the 626th of the Hejra, Al Mâlec Al Afhrâf and Al Mâlec Al Câmel formed the siege of Dâmascus ; which, after a vigorous defence, they reduced. However, Al Mâlec Al Nâser Salâh'ddîn Dawd, the sâheb of that place, had assigned him the cities of Al Carac, Al Belkâ', or Al Belkâa, Al Shawbec, and some other places, with the districts belonging to them. The Belâd Al Sharkîa was given to Al Mâlec Al Câmel, the sâheb

fâheb of Egypt; and Al Mâlec Al Ashraf, by the consent of all parties, remained in possession of Damascus. This year, died Al Mâlec Al Mas'ûd Ebn Al Mâlec Al Câmel, the fâheb of Al Yaman, at Mecca; which, with the sacred territory appertaining to it, was now under his jurisdiction. His corpse having been carried to Al 'Ala, and there interred, his son Yusef was saluted fâheb of Al Yaman, and without any difficulty, or obstruction, ascended the throne. About the same time, Al Mâlec Al Modhaffer Takîo'ddîn Al Amjad or Amjed Ebn Al Mâlec Al 'Adel, the fâheb of Baalbec, after he had been dispossessed of his capital by Al Mâlec Al Ashraf, was assassinated by one of his slaves, whom he had formerly imprisoned in a chamber; who having made his escape to the top of the palace, threw himself headlong from thence, and was killed. Al Mâlec Al Amjad, who is said by Ebn Shohnah to have been one of the most famous of the descendants of Ayûb, reigned many years at Baalbec, and was buried in his father's college, erected on a very high eminence, in the city of Damascus. At this period, the authority of Awcatâi, Ogatâi, or Oktay Khân, as grand khân of the Moguls, was unanimously recognized, at a general assembly of the great lords and princes of that nation, held at Karâkorom, or Ardûbâlik, the metropolis of the empire of Jenghîz Khân *.

In the 627th year of the Hejra, soltân Jalâlo'ddîn *and of the year 627.* Khowârazm Shâh having blocked up Takîo'ddîn Al 'Abbâs and Mojtiroddîn Yakûb, Al Mâlec Al Ashraf's brothers, together with Al Emîr Hofâmo'ddîn Al Kaymari, and Azzo'ddîn Aybec, one of Al Mâlec Al Ashraf's mam-lûks, or purchased slaves, in the city of Akhlât; he played upon that part of it facing the sea with twenty of his military machines, and at last, after the inhabitants had for some time fed upon dogs, and a Damascene pound of bread had been sold for an Egyptian dinâr, obliged them to submit. Al Emîr Hofâmo'ddîn Al Kaymari, however, found means to escape on horse-back to the castle of Kaymar. As for 'Azzo'ddîn Aybec, Takîo'ddîn, and Mojtiro'ddîn, Jalâlo'ddîn made them prisoners of war, and carried them about wherever he marched. Of which circumstance Al Mâlec Al Ashraf, who had lately reduced to his obedience Al Rakkâ upon the Euphrates, having been informed, he immediately advanced at the head of a

* Ebn Shohn. ubi sup. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 465, 466, 467 Gaubil. ubi sup.

body of horse to Abolostain, and was joined by 'Alâo'ddîn Kaykobâd, with the forces of Al Rûm, a few parafangs from that place. Soon after this junction, the combined army came up with the Khowârazmian forces, consisting of forty thousand men, that had marched from Akhlât, with an intention to give them battle. Both armies on Friday coming in sight of each other, a bloody engagement immediately ensued; but the night intervening, nothing decisive happened that day, though the Khowârazmian troops were upon the point of being put to the rout. The following night the soldiers on both sides lay under arms. On Saturday morning, by day-break, the fight was renewed with the utmost fury, and ended in the entire defeat of the Khowârazmians; who, as we learn from Abu'l-Faraj, lost a very considerable number of men. Many of the fugitives fled as far as the mountains of Trabezond; from the summits of which fifteen hundred men precipitated themselves, and were killed. The sultân himself escaped first to Khartabert, and afterwards into Persia; having before sent Takîo'ddîn, Al Mâlec Al Ashraf's brother, bound, as a present, to the khalif at Baghdâd, who honourably released him, and sent him back to Al Mâlec Al Ashraf. After the action, Al Mâlec Al Ashraf marched to Akhlât, and repossessed himself of that capital. From thence he dispatched an ambassador to Jalâlo'ddîn, to treat with him about an exchange of prisoners, and to beg he would treat with humanity those he had taken. The ambassador had no sooner opened the purport of his commission to the sultân, than the latter replied, "I have amongst my prisoners some of your master's relations, whereas he has only a few of my slaves; nevertheless, if he is desirous of peace, I am ready to conclude a treaty with him." Al Mâlec Al Ashraf insisting upon his abandoning all the towns he had reduced, the sultân rejecting this condition, the negotiation was broken off; upon which, he first commanded 'Azzo'ddîn Aybec, who had been confined in the castle of Akhtamâr, to be brought before him, and afterwards put to death. Receiving, however, advice, not long after, that the Tartars, under the conduct of Jûrmâgûn Nowayn, had passed the Ammawaih, and were arrived at Tauris, in their intended expedition against him, he dispatched an ambassador to the khalif at Baghdâd, and another to Al Mâlec Al Ashraf, and a third to 'Alâo'ddîn, the sâheb of Al Rûm, in order to solicit the assistance of these princes against the numerous forces of Oktay Khân. He represented

represented to them, that if the Tartars could once overwhelm the shâh of Khowârazm, as the only barrier against them on that side would be thereby destroyed, they would easily subjugate all the neighbouring powers; who were therefore obliged, by their common interest, to support him, to act against them with all their forces, and to oblige them to return home, before they had made any farther progress in those parts of the world. But this representation not producing the desired effect, he fixed his winter-quarters at Arimiah, and continued there till the following spring. It may not be improper to observe, that Oktay Khân, the emperor of the Tartars, or Moguls, had, in the preceding year, sent Jurmâgûn Nowayn, with a body of thirty thousand horse, to penetrate into Khorasân; and Sontây Bahâder with the same number of troops towards the frontiers of Kipjâk; a third army, under the orders of Sakfîn and Aylgâr, to Al Tobba, whilst he himself proceeded against Katay, or Khatay^b.

In the 628th year of the Hejra, Al Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn Khowârazm Shâh retired to the province of Diyâr Becr, where he gave himself up entirely to wine, gaming, and all kinds of pleasures. But whilst he was immersed in this voluptuous course of life, Bâymâs Nowayn, with an army of Moguls, penetrated into Diyâr Becr, and surprised him, though Al Emîr Awrkhân, by facing the enemy with a body of Khowârazmian troops, gave him an opportunity of making his escape. Next morning the Khowârazmians were put to the rout, and pursued for some time by the Moguls, who imagined that the sultân himself was amongst them. But as soon as they were informed of their mistake, they left off the pursuit. In the mean time, Jalâlo'ddîn fled, with only three servants, to a mount near Amed, where he was attacked by a party of Curds; who, taking him and his servants to be Khowârazmian soldiers, that had escaped the fury of the Moguls, for the sake of their horses cloaths and arms, put them all to the sword. This circumstance was discovered by a Kurd, who appeared afterwards, with Jalâlo'ddîn's arms, at Amed; and was executed in that city, for the part he had acted in this tragedy. Others relate, that it was not Jalâlo'ddîn himself, but his armour-bearer, that was killed near Amed; he and his companions having disguised

The most material transactions of year 628,

themselves,

^b Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 467, 468, 469, 470. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 372.

themselves, in order to avoid the Moguls, in the habits of Sûfis. These writers pretend, that he wandered about from one place to another, till the 652d year of the Hejra; when passing the Jihûn, with a caravan of merchants, he was seized, as a spy, by the al karâgûl, or guards, posted on the roads, put by them to the torture, though he confessed himself to be the shâh of Khowârazm, and under it expired. With regard to Jalâlo'ddîn's grandeur and magnificence, in may not be amiss to remark, that the march of Dhi'lkarnaim, or Alexander the Great, was beat on twenty-seven drums, set with jewels, before him, twice a day, viz. at the rising and setting of the sun, after the manner of the Seljûkian sultâns. The day on which this pompous ceremony commenced, according to Ebn Shohnah, twenty-seven sovereign princes beat the march of Dhi'lkarnaim at his palace. All his utensils were also covered with precious stones. His brothers had likewise marches beat on five drums each in honour of them, constantly at the stated times of public prayer. That Jalâlo'ddîn was a general of invincible courage as well as consummate conduct clearly appears from his glorious exploits related by Ebn Shohnah. Besides other effects of almost inestimable value, Jenghiz Khân is reported to have plundered him of ten chests full of precious stones; two of which, says Ebn Shohnah, were equivalent to the revenues of the whole earth. When he wrote to the sâhebs of Al Rûm, Mesr, and Al Shâm, the first of which was of the house of Seljûk, and the others descended from Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb, as he enjoyed the sovereignty of all his father's large dominions, and was of course a most puissant monarch, to the end of his letter he added his name, without subjoining either "your brother, or your servant;" when to the khalif of Baghdâd, he subscribed himself, "your servant;" but when to the sâheb of Al Mawfel, and other such princes, he only affixed his seal; the inscription of which was, "help is from God alone." He harangued his troops with such persuasive eloquence, as made the deepest impression upon them. He assumed, after his father, the title of King of the world. His passage of the Sind, or Indus, by swimming over it on horse-back, in the month of Rajeb, was looked upon as so wonderful an event, that it produced amongst the Orientals the following proverb, "Live till Rajeb and you shall see wonders." The sâheb Al Târikh, which is the correction of the Arab and Persian kalendar, called also Târikh Al Neiran, that is to say, *the Calculation of the*

the *Course of the Sun and Moon*, has by some been attributed to him¹.

In the following year, being the 629th of the Hejra, Al Malec Al Câmel, the sâheb of Egypt, took Ahmed and Hifn Caifâ, in Mesopotamia, from Al Mâlec Al Mas'ûd Ebn Al Mâlec Al Sâleb Mahmûd, of the house of Artak, on account of his dissolute and immoral life. However, Al Câmel elevated Al Mâlec Al Sâleb, probably another prince of the same family, to the throne. Some writers pretend that Al Mâlec Al Câmel received the ambassadors of the emperor Frederic II. in Syria this year, where that monarch himself then arrived; by whose intervention a treaty of peace was concluded between the Christians and Mohammedans. By virtue of which treaty Jerusalem, though entirely demolished, except the Church of the Resurrection, and a few buildings adjoining to it, as it had been left by Al Mâlec Al Moadhdhem Ifa, the sâheb of Damascus, with the territory appertaining to it, Bethlehem, Lydda, Al Ramla, and the whole tract extending as far as Yâffâ and 'Accâ, were ceded to the former. This memorable event has however been placed by Ebn Shohnah in the year of the Hejra 626. At this period Oktay, the grand khân of the Moguls, reduced to great distress the emperor of the Kin, and entered into a negotiation, which terminated in a treaty with the Song emperor, then reigning in the southern parts of China.

In the 630th year of the Hejra Al Soltân 'Alâo'ddîn, the sâheb of Al Rûm, sent an embassy to Oktay Khân, to tender his submission; which so pleased the grand khân, that he offered him a considerable post at his court. This year was remarkable for the death of Al Sheikh Abu'l Hafan 'Azzo'ddîn Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alcarîm Ebn Abd'alwâhed Al Shaibânî, known by the name of Ebn Al Athîr Al Jazari, a native of Jazîrat Ebn Omar, the *Isle of Omar*, a city upon the Tigris, a little above Al Mawfel, where he was born, and received his education. He is said to have composed three histories. The first was intitled Al Câmel, or a *General History*, to which we have frequently referred in this work, beginning with the fall of Adam, and ending with the year of the Hejra 628; the second bore the title of Ebrât Uli Al Abfar, *Examples for Sages*; and the third was the History of the Dynasty of the Atâbeks.

and of the
year 629.

The principal
events
of the year
630;

¹ Greg. Abu'l- Faraj. ubi sup. p. 470—474. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Heij. 628. Khondemir, D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 372. Gaubil, ubi sup. p. 58—62, & seqq.

and of the
year 631.

At this time Al Mâlec Al Câmel permitted both the Christians and Jews in Egypt to ride upon horses and mules; to adorn, repair, and even build as many churches and synagogues as they pleased; to have all their disputes determined in a judicial way by magistrates professing the same faith; and to enjoy the free exercise of their respective religions, and all the other privileges they could desire, in their utmost extent. Nor is this the only instance of that prince's equity and moderation, recorded in history. About the 623d year of the Hejra, Ebn Sirûn, one of the Egyptian emirs, having visited the monastery of the valley of Habib, the monks of which had been wrongfully accused by a renegado, formerly a member of their convent, of defrauding the solhân of the tribute due to him, that emir caused those religious to be whipped and tortured in a most cruel manner, without making the least enquiry into the affair, and extorted from them no less than six hundred dinârs. Al Mâlec Al Câmel, however, disapproving of this iniquitous conduct, would not receive the money when it was brought by the emir, but ordered him to restore it to the monks, who had been so unjustly deprived of it. Nor would the same just prince take a sum of money offered him as a bribe by the friends of one Dawd, an Egyptian priest, to prevail upon him to command the Jacobites to elect that priest their patriarch. He also refused an equal sum when brought him on the same account by the adherents of another person who then aspired at the Jacobite patriarchate of Alexandria. He declared his intention never to concern himself in the ordination and election of a Jacobite patriarch, but to leave that matter entirely to those to whom it properly belonged; recommending to them, in the strongest terms, peace and unity. But neither the favourable disposition nor salutary advice of the soltân could inspire the Jacobites, who were rent by parties and divisions, with more moderate sentiments, nor induce them to concur amicably in their election of a new patriarch; though Al Câmel had given his consent, in compliance with their request, that Yahya Ebn Mûtmen, a deacon in the church of Al Moallaka, might be their patriarch, if unanimously elected. The Mogul arms being now employed against the emperor of the Kin, the Moslem provinces bordering upon the grand khân's frontiers enjoyed some repose^k.

^k Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 475. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 631. Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, Al Emir Abu'l Mahassen Yusef Ebn Tangri Wirdi, in Mawredo'llataf. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 240. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 573, 574, 575.

The 632d year of the Hejra, commencing September 26, 1234, was distinguished by some remarkable occurrences. *The most memorable events of the year 632;* Al Soltân 'Alâ'oddîn, the sâheb of the Belâd Al Rûm, took the city of Al Rohâ or Edeffa by storm; and for three days together butchered the inhabitants, both Christians and Mohammedans: he also gave the city up to his troops to be plundered. Terrified by this example, the citizens of Harrân presented him with their keys. Al Rakka and Al Bîra, upon the Euphrates, were also obliged to submit. But as soon as his forces were withdrawn, Al Mâlec Al Câmél, the sâheb of Egypt, marched to Al Rohâ, laid siege to that city, and at the end of four months possessed himself of it. The Rûmean troops that he found therein, being prisoners of war, he sent in chains upon camels into Egypt; after he had demolished a large tower belonging to the castle of that place. At length being pressed on one side by the Moguls, and on the other by the princes of the house of Ayûb, he was obliged, after he had acquired an immense quantity of spoil, to abandon the territories of other princes, in order to preserve his own. This year died Al Mâlec Al Zâhed Dawd, the sâheb of Al Bîra, upon the Euphrates; as did likewise Al Kâdi Bohoâ'ddîn Ebn Sheddâd, the biographer, who wrote the life of Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb, in a very advanced age. This writer was one of Salâh'addîn's greatest favourites, and had appointments under Al Malec Al Azîz, at Aleppo, that amounted annually to one hundred thousand dinârs¹.

In the 633d year of the Hejra the Tartars over-ran the district of Arbel, penetrated into that of Nînivch, and encamped upon the river Tarjalah and Carmalîs. *and of the year 633.* Hereupon the inhabitants of the latter of those towns retired into their church, where they were surrounded by the Moguls, two of whose principal officers posted themselves at the doors on each side, and allowed the people to return to their respective habitations. Notwithstanding which, all those that went out of one of the doors were put to the sword, whilst those that passed out of the other were unmolested. At this extraordinary conduct, the reason of which could never be known, every body was surprised. About this time a great number of young men, in the towns and villages near the chief monasteries in Egypt, put on the monastic habit, in order to avoid paying the usual taxes, that would otherwise

¹ Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 632.

have

have been demanded. This fraud being discovered, the collectors of the tribute treated the monks themselves with extreme severity. To prevent such impositions for the future, an edict was also issued by the sultân, confirming the privileges of monks to those who received the habit regularly in some monastery, and had their names inserted in the register of the dîwân. This year Dawd or David, Ebn Laklak, an ambitious Egyptian priest, by whose intrigues the Jacobite church had been embroiled no less than twenty years, was elected patriarch of the Jacobites at Alexandria. He had, ever since the death of John, the last patriarch, aspired at that dignity, and at last, by the influence of bribery, and the assistance of every wicked art, obtained that office. In conformity to a custom which then prevailed, when a monk was vested with the supreme ecclesiastical authority, he assumed the name or rather surname of Cyril, and left behind him, after his decease, which happened in 640, according to Al Makrizi, a most infamous character.

*Al Solân
'Alâo'ddîn
Kaykobâd,
the sâheb
of Al Rûm,
dies.*

In the following year, being the 634th of the Hejra, Al Solân 'Alâo'ddîn Kaykobâd, the sâheb of Al Rûm, died suddenly in his capital. For, at the feast which he made for his chief lords and officers, just as he was in the height of his jollity, and boasting of the extent of his dominions, he felt a pain in his bowels, and being taken at the same time with a flux, discharged such a quantity of blood, that he died two days after, having reigned eighteen years. He was prudent, temperate, and brave; but kept his nobles and dependents in great awe. He restored the high reputation of the Seljûks, which the sons of Kilij Arslân had impaired by their divisions, enlarged the empire to its former limits, and re-established order in the state. He was endued with great firmness of mind, and feared by the neighbouring princes; who readily submitting to him, he for that reason assumed the title of King of the World. 'Alâo'ddîn being dead, the Rûmean princes took the oath of fidelity to his son Gayâtho'ddîn Kaykhofrû; who, says Abu'lfeda, in the year 641, was assassinated by the Tartars. Soon after his accession to the crown, he seized Gâyer Khân, the chief emir of the Khawârazmians; upon which the other emirs of that nation fled with their troops. Those fugitives taking their route through Malatîa or Malatya, Câkhtûn and Khartabert made Saifo'ddîn Al Sûbâshi prisoner, and put Babarmîr or Tabarmîr Al Sûbâshi to the sword at Khartabert. They also ravaged the country of Someisât, and advanced

to Al Sowaidâ, pillaging the whole tract through which they moved in a dreadful manner. But having the cities of Al Rohâ or Edeffa, Harrân, and others on that side, assigned them by Al Mâlec Al Nâser, the sâheb of Aleppo, for their habitations, they desisted from farther ravages, and were incorporated with the other inhabitants of those towns, who enjoyed his protection^m.

In the course of the same year Al Mâlec Al 'Azîz Mohammed Ebn Al Mâlec Al Dhâher Ebn Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Ayûb, the sâheb of Aleppo, departed this life, and was succeeded by his son Al Mâlec Al Nâser Salâh'addîn Yusef, the last prince of the house of Ayûb who reigned in that city. We are told by Abu'l-Faraj, that Al Mâlec Al Nâser Salâh'addîn, the last sultân of Aleppo of the house of Ayûb, was killed by Holagu, or Hûlâcû, the Tartar, in 658, two years after the taking of Baghdâd by the Tartars.

Al Mâlec Al Azîz, the sâheb of Aleppo, departs this life.

The city of Arbel having been besieged by the Tartars in the month of Shawâl this year, the garrison and inhabitants retired into the castle, where they defended themselves with great bravery for forty days, at the end of which the Tartars were prevailed upon for a sum of money to abandon the siege.

Other transactions of the year 634.

Next year, being the 635th of the Hejra, Al Mâlec Al Ashraf Modhaffero'ddîn Mûsa Ebn Al Mâlec Al 'Adel Abu Becr Ebn Ayûb paid the common tribute to nature at Damascus, where he had reigned a little above eight years. He left the kingdom he governed to Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ismael, his brother, and was sixty years old at the time of his demise. Al Mâlec Al Ashraf was strongly attached to his pleasures, and denied himself no kind of gratifications, though he is said to have been a very gracious, affable, and munificent prince. His arms were every where attended with such success, that his standard, as Ebn Shohnah expresses it, was never broken by his enemies. The news of his death no sooner arrived in Egypt, than Al Mâlec Al Câmel, his brother, marched with a powerful army to Damascus, shut up Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ismael in that city, and obliged the new sâheb to surrender it to his arms. Then he made his public entry into that capital, and gave Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ismael in lieu thereof, Baalbec, Al Bokâ', or Al Bekâ', the adjacent plain from whence the city of Baalbec derived its present

The most memorable events of the year 635;

^m Greg. Abu'l Faraj. ubi supra. p. 476, 477. Khondemir, D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. art. Alaeddin Ben Kaikho'srou, p. 83. & art. Caicobad Alaeddin, p. 240.

name,

name, and Bosra. Ebn Shohnah seems to intimate, that Al Mâlec Al Câmel affixed fifty of Al Mojâhed Shiracûh's men, sent by him with an ill design to Damascus, to gibbets, erected for that purpose in the gardens of the palace. He had no sooner made himself master of Damascus than he detached a body of his troops to drive Al Mâlec Al Mojâhed Shairacûh from the city of Hems; but whilst he was pursuing his conquest of Syria, and forming great designs against the Franks, the Tartars, and the Seljûks, who on all sides surrounded his dominions, he died at Damascus, after he had lived seventy years and reigned twenty in Syria and Egypt. He left behind him the reputation of a wise and learned prince. Egypt received many benefits and advantages from him whilst he sat upon the throne. Men of letters in particular owed great obligations to him; for he frequently held conferences with them, and attended their disputations in his palace: nor did he ever dismiss them without some considerable presents. He is said to have been a person of consummate gravity and prudence, a lover of learned men, and extremely well versed in the art of government. It is no wonder, therefore, that his councils were generally crowned with success. As soon as his death was known, the emirs of Egypt saluted his younger son Al Mâlec Al 'Adel Abu Becr Ebn Al Mâlec Al Câmel, without any regard to his elder brother Nojmo'ddîn, sultân, and took the oath of allegiance to him, he residing at Al Kâhirah, and being the governor of Egypt when his father expired. With regard to the kingdom of Damascus, Al Mâlec Al Câmel was succeeded by Al Mâlec Al Jawâd Yûnes Ebn Dawd Ebn Al Mâlec Al 'Adel Abu Becr Ebn Ayûb. This year the patriarch Cyril was upbraided in the severest terms by the leading men amongst the Jacobites, with simony, which he endeavoured to excuse, by saying, that without this he could not raise the money he had engaged to pay the sultân; but so far were they from being satisfied with this excuse, that it incensed them still more against him. They farther urged, that they had no hand in his election; and that, after he had been guilty of the vilest practices in order to carry his point, he had bought the patriarchate of Alexandria of the sultân. The same year the Tartars made an irruption into Irâk, and penetrated almost to the very gates of Baghdâd; but were attacked at Zancâbâd and Sûmanrây, by Mojâhedo'ddîn Al Dowaidâ and Sharfo'ddîn Akbâl, with the khalif's forces, and overthrown with incredible slaughter. However, the khalif

liff fearing their return, ordered a sufficient number of military engines to be planted upon the walls of Baghdâd. Nor was this precaution unnecessary, as the Moguls, before the end of the year, advanced to Khânekîn, defeated the troops of Baghdâd sent against them, killed a multitude of men, and then returned into their own territories loaded with spoil. A considerable part of the city of Baghdâd was, this year, laid under water by a dreadful inundation of the Tigris, during which two vessels then on the river were lost, with fifty men on board^a.

The 636th year of the Hejra produced two or three remarkable events. Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb, ^{and of the year 636,} in the room of Al Mâlec Al Jawâd Yûnes Ebn Dawd, of the house of Ayûb, mounted the throne of Damascus. As Al Mâlec Al Jawâd, who was the grandson, voluntarily resigned the sovereignty of Damascus to Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ayûb Ebn Al Mâlec Al Câmel, he received in exchange the cities of Sinjâr, Al Racca, and 'Ana, with the territories belonging to them. The patriarch Cyril was accused this year before the dîwân, of having exacted of the bishops and priests that he had ordained, or taken from the revenues of churches and monasteries, under the pretext of paying the sultân, no less than nine thousand dinârs, upon which he was first fined a thousand dinârs, and afterwards five hundred, his principal accuser being a monk, formerly his friend, who had greatly forwarded his promotion to the patriarchate of Alexandria. A fresh accusation was soon after brought against him, in which Hamad, or Hamed, a monk, who had actually been employed by him in making a bargain with the sultân for the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, was chiefly concerned. Being found guilty of what was alleged against him, the new sultân sent an order to the governor of Alexandria to deliver him up into the hands of Hamad, at whose instigation he was first imprisoned at Alexandria, and afterwards in Al Kâhirah. At last, however, by the intercession of friends, he was released, and admitted to an audience of the sultân. As he brought some valuable presents with him, he was well received, and taken under that prince's protection. Nor could Hamad, who had been confined at the instance of Cyril's

^a Ebn Shohmah, ad ann. Hej. 635. Ism. Abu'l-fed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 635. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 478. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Camel, p. 246. Renaud. ubi supra, p. 578, 579, 580. Sharif Al Edrisi, apud D'Herbelot. ubi supra.

*The chief
occurrences
of the year
637.*

friends, obtain his liberty before he had engaged to pay the sum of four thousand eight hundred dinars.

In the following year, being the 637th of the Hejra, the Moguls seemed to meditate an irruption into the Belâd Al Rûm, but were prevented from carrying their design into execution by a body of troops, which Al Soltân Gayâtho'ddîn had sent into Armenia to observe their motions. Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb, having settled himself upon the throne of Damascus, marched with an army into Egypt, to take upon himself the government of that kingdom. Soon after his departure, Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ismael, the sâheb of Baalbec, and Al Mâlec Al Mojâhed Shairacûh, the sâheb of Hems, advanced with their united forces to Damascus, laid siege to that capital, and forced it to surrender. When the news of this unexpected event reached the ears of Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb, he was at some distance from his army, then encamped in Gaur. However, he soon put himself at the head of his troops, took Al Mâlec Al Nâfer Dawd, the sâheb of Al Carac, prisoner, and afterwards released him, on condition that he should march with him to Jerusalem, in order to reduce that city, and demolish the new fortifications raised by the Franks. They had no sooner occupied Al Kuds, than they concluded a treaty of alliance in the temple of Asâkhra; by the principal article of which Al Mâlec Al Nâfer Dawd had assigned him the Belâd Al Sharkîa and Damascus, and the kingdom of Egypt was allotted to Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb. They then moved together at the head of the combined army of Damascus and Al Carac, towards the frontiers of Egypt, and received advice on their march, that Al Mâlec Al 'Adel Abu Becr had been seized by his own servants. Upon which they pursued their march with the utmost expedition, and in a short time entered Egypt. Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb possessed himself of Khal'at Al Jebal, or *the Castle of the Mountain*, and was received every where by the Egyptians with all possible demonstrations of joy. At this time civil dissensions reigning amongst the Moslems in Egypt, the principal emirs being embroiled amongst themselves, the affairs of the Christians were in a very bad situation. They were insulted by the populace on all occasions, especially if they appeared in public without those infamous marks of distinction which they had formerly been obliged to wear, but were excused from carrying them through the whole mild reign of Al Mâlec Al Câmél. Nor were they only insulted, but likewise

likewise beaten, and used with uncommon cruelty; which induced some of them, in order to avoid such barbarous treatment, to renounce the Christian faith.

In the 638th year of the Hejra, Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ismael, the sâheb of Damascus, to the great regret of the Moslems, delivered up Safad and Al Shâkif to the Franks, lest those places should fall into the hands of his nephew Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ayûb'. Nor was it long before a general peace was concluded, after some slight skirmishes, between the Moslems and the Franks. By one article of this treaty, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, 'Askalân, with their respective territories, Beit Gabriel, Gaza, without the districts appertaining to them, Tiberias, Majdel Yâfâ, Al Ramla, Cawcab, Tyre, Tebnûn, and all the other towns and fortresses seated in the maritime part of Syria, were ceded by the former to the latter. The prisoners on both sides, by another article of the same treaty, were to be released; and the Franks in the citadel of Al Kâhirah, by a third article, had the church of St. Mercury assigned them by the sultân for an hospital. This year, a Turkmân impostor, named Bâbâ, who pretended to act the prophet, appeared at Amâsîâ, in Natolia; and, by his artifices seduced a multitude of people of the tribe of Al Gâga. He had a disciple called Ishak, whom he sent in a doctor's gown through the other parts of Natolia, or the Belâd Al Rûm, to invite the Turkmâns to join him. Ishak accordingly coming into the territory of Someisât, published his commission, and prevailed on so many, especially amongst the Turkmâns, to embrace his master's sect, that he was soon at the head of six thousand horse besides a considerable body of foot. With these Bâbâ and his disciples made open war on all who would not cry out with them, There is no god but God, Bâbâ is the apostle of God! and put a vast number of the inhabitants of Hîsn Al Mansûr, Cakhûn, Carcar, Someisât, and the country about Malatiya, who refused to follow them, both Moslems and Christians, to the sword. They also defeated the troops sent to oppose them and obstruct their march to Amâsîâ; but were at length overthrown by a body of Franks, in the pay of the sâheb of Al Rûm, when that prince's Moslem forces durst not engage them. The action was so bloody, that they were all killed upon the spot, except the two doctors, Bâbâ and Ishak, who, being taken prisoners by the Franks, had their heads struck off by the executioner, after they had ravaged and pillaged a very considerable part of the Belâd Al Rûm. In the course of this, or the fol-

lowing year, Oktay Khân, emperor of the Moguls, put a period to his days by a debauch, if we may depend upon the Chinese historians *.

What happened in some of the Moslem territories the following year.

The Moguls make an irruption into the Belâd Al Rûm.

In the 639th year of the Hejra, Jarmâgûn Nowayn penetrated into the Greater Armenia, as far as Arzen Al Rûm, the Arzerum, or Erzerum of the moderns, which he reduced. The Moguls behaved with their usual barbarity on this occasion, putting Senân the sub-basha, with many of the inhabitants, to the sword, carrying away their children into captivity, and ravaging all the adjacent tract.

Next year they made an irruption into the Belâd Al Rûm, put soltân Gayâtho'ddin to flight, took Siwâs or Saiwâs, and Kaifariya, and seemed to indicate an intention to advance to Malatiya. Rashîdo'ddin Al Khowaini, the emir of the place, fled with the utmost precipitation to Aleppo, and was followed by as many of the principal inhabitants of Malatiya as could conveniently retire. Amongst others the father of Abu'l-Faraj having made the proper dispositions for his departure, and endeavouring to put the best of his moveables and effects upon the back of a mule brought for that purpose, the beast ran away, and could not be brought back before a rumour was spread over the city, that certain young men posted at the gates, pillaged all those that went out of the town. Upon which, the father of Abu'l-Faraj had a conference with Dionysius, the metropolitan of Malatiya; who having convoked the leading men, both of the Moslems and Christians, in the great church, to deliberate upon the present critical situation of affairs, they all unanimously bound themselves by mutual oaths to be true to one another, to obey the orders of the metropolitan in every thing relative either to a pacification with the Tartars or the defence of the place, and to post guards upon the walls to prevent evil-disposed people from committing any disorders. But the alarm was soon over, as the Moguls, instead of marching to Malatiya, took the route of Arzancân, carried that city by assault, and forced soltân Gayâtho'ddin to sue for peace; which they granted him, on condition that he should annually pay a certain tribute P.

* Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 638. Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, Al Emir Abu'l Mahassen Yusef Ebn Tangri Wirdi, in Mawredo'l-lataf. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 479. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Baba, p. 158. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 591, 592. Gaubil. ubi sup. p. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 480, 481, 482. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Alaeddin Ben Kaikhostrou, p. 33. & art. Gaiatho'ddin Kaikhostrou, p. 336, 357.

The same year died Al Mostanser Bi'llah Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr, the khalif of Baghdâd, after he had almost completed the seventeenth year of his reign. He was prudent, just, munificent, an encourager of learned men, and distributed great sums of money amongst the poor. A large number of mosques, schools, and hospitals, in his dominions were fallen down, all which he caused to be repaired at his own expence. Adjoining to his college, of which we have spoken already, he had a delightful garden; in which, according to Abu'l-Faraj, he used daily to divert himself. To what has been already observed of his liberality, we may add, from the author of the Târîkh Al Abbâs, the following remarkable story. This khalif visiting one day his treasures with a particular friend, found a cistern full of gold and silver; upon which, he said immediately to the person then with him, "Would to God I could live long enough to spend all this money." The other hearing these words, presently fell a laughing; of which, when the khalif asked him the reason, he answered in terms to this effect: "I remember, that accompanying the khalif Al Nâser, your grand-father, to the same place, this cistern wanted two fathoms, or twelve feet of being full; which circumstance, Al Nâser having perceived, he said, Would to God I could live to fill this vacuity. It is this diversity of sentiments, that has excited the laughter which has just now escaped me; when I consider that Al Nâser thought of nothing but filling it, and you of nothing but emptying it." This khalif caused his portrait, or effigies, to be imprest on some of his coins, contrary to the custom of the earlier khalifs. Ebn Shohnah relates, that he lived a pious and good life, and mentions his college, erected on the eastern bank of the Tigris, as a monument of his excellent disposition.

*The khalif
Al Mostan-
ser Bi'llah
dies.*

The same day that Al Mostanser Bi'llah expired, his son Al Mosta'sem Bi'llah was inaugurated at Baghdâd. He was attached to his pleasures, fond of birds, and entirely under the dominion of women. He was also deficient in point of judgment, had little firmness of mind, and altogether neglected the affairs of government. When he was told, that he ought either to pacify the Tartars by submitting to them, or to meet them with an army in Khorasân,

*Al Mostâ-
sem Bi'llah
is saluted
khalif.*

¶ Al Makin, ad an. Hej. 640. MS inedit. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 640. Khondemir, Mirkhond. apud Teixeira. p. 306. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 640. Ebn Khalecan, Tarikh Al Abbas, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Mostanser Billah, p. 632, 633.

and not suffer them to make themselves masters of the province of Irāk; he replied, "Baghdād is sufficient for me; the Tartars will not envy me that city with its district, if I cede to them all the other provinces, nor will they attack me there, as it is my residence." This khalif is reckoned the 37th of those of the house of Al Abbās, though he was only the 24th or 25th in a lineal descent from the founder of that house: for several collateral members of the family of Al Abbās enjoyed the khalifat. As for Al Mosta'sem Bi'llah, he was revered as the only lawful khalif and imām, and the sole sovereign pontiff of the Moslems. For though some princes in the West, that is to say, in Africa and Spain, had assumed the title of khalif, yet this was done only with regard to their own immediate subjects. The whole body of the eastern Moslems, as well as those of Egypt, acknowledged him alone for the rightful successor of Mohammed. He is said to have been the richest, the most powerful, the most respected, and at the same time the most unfortunate prince of his race.

Other eminent persons die this year.

The same year died at Aleppo Saïfa Khâtûn, the daughter of Al Mâlec Al 'Adel Abu Becr Ebn Ayûb, born in 581, who had been espoused to Al Mâlec Al Dhâher, the sâheb of Aleppo, in 609, and directed the whole system of affairs there for several years. She was buried in the castle of that capital. Cyril, the Jacobite Alexandrian patriarch, likewise departed this life in the present year. Al Makrîzi has handed down to future ages a very indifferent character of him, on account of his avarice and simoniacal extortions; though he praises him for his skill in theological matters, which commendation M. Renaudot says he did not deserve.

The most memorable transactions of the year 641,

In the following year, being the 641st of the Hejra, Yafâwer Nowayn, with a detachment of the Mogul troops, made an incursion into Syria, or Al Shâm, and advanced as far as a place called Hailân, almost to the very gates of Aleppo; but his horses not being shod in a proper manner for that country, he was obliged to retire. Taking then the road of Malatiya, as he passed by that city he ravaged all the district appertaining to it, and pillaged the inhabitants in a dreadful manner. Yafâwer Nowayn himself, being at this time ill of a dysentery, was obliged to apply to the father of Abu'l-Faraj, a physician of Malatiya, for his assistance; and, for that purpose, took him with him to Khartabert. Having cured him, that physician returned to Malatiya; but soon after settled, with his family, at Antioch. The retreat of the Tartars was followed by a famine.

famine and a plague, which swept away an infinite number of people; infomuch, that several were forced to sell their children for want of bread. This year, according to Ebn Shohnah, the Tartars likewise over-ran a great part of the Belâd Al Rûm, possessed themselves of Akhlât and Amed, and obliged sultân Gayâtho'ddîn Al Seljûki to acknowledge himself one of the vassals of their khân. About the same time, if that writer may be depended upon, Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ismael, the sâheb of Damascus, ceded Jerusalem, Askalân, and Tiberias to the Franks, in order to procure their assistance against the sâheb of Egypt; though that cession seems to have been made, if other authors referred to above merit any regard, three years before. It may not be improper to remark here, that the patriarch Cyril's enemies, who had pursued him with so much violence, whilst alive, did not desist even after his death. Some of them signified to the sultân, that he had amassed vast sums of money in an illicit manner, besides a very large quantity of rich furniture that ought to be confiscated; upon which Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ayûb, then the sâheb or sultân of Egypt, ordered Cyril's house or palace, to be sealed up; and afterwards seized upon all the money, books, church-plate, and every thing valuable it contained, whether the property of the patriarch, or belonging to the churches over which he presided. His two nephews were sent to prison, and put to the torture, to force them to discover where the rest of his treasure was hid. Two purses, one containing a thousand dinârs in gold, and the other the same sum in silver, in consequence of that discovery, were dug up, and carried to the sultân; as were also many costly garments, more plate, some tapestry of great price, all which were publicly sold, and the money applied to the sultân's use; so that there scarce remained of this patriarch's ill-acquired substance enough to bury him. Cyril Ebn Laklak, represented as such a monster of iniquity both by the Christian and Moslem writers of Egypt, sat in the Jacobite patriarchal see of Alexandria about seven or eight years^r.

The next year, being the 642d of the Hejra, which commenced June 9, 1244, the Tartars invaded the territory of Baghdâd, but were not able to form the siege of that

*and of the
year 642.*

^r Greg. Abu'l Faraj. ubi sup. p. 486, 487. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 641. Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, Al Emir Abu'l Mahassen Yussuf Ebn Tangri Wirdi, in Mawredo'llataf. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 593. & alib.

capital. The Rûmean troops before Tarsus received the news of soltân Gayâtho'ddîn's death, when that city was upon the point of surrendering to them, which obliged them to retire with some precipitation : but the roads being rendered so slippery by the continual rains which for some time had fallen, that the horses of their cavalry could not stand on their feet, several of them, together with their baggage, were picked up by a body of Armenian foot that harrassed them in their retreat. The same year a considerable body of Khowârazmians passed the Euphrates, in order to enter into the service of Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb, the sâheb of Egypt. In their march through Hems and Baalbec to Al Kuds, they ravaged the country in a dreadful manner, and put a great number of the people to the sword. Being arrived at Jerusalem, they burnt a great multitude of Christians in the Church of the Resurrection ; and continued their route to Gaza, where they found themselves obliged to halt, Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb having forbidden them to approach nearer to the frontiers of Egypt. In the mean time Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ismael, the sâheb of Damascus, and Al Mâlec Al Manfûr, the sâheb of Hems, having formed a design to invade Egypt, and engaged the Franks to assist them with all their forces, by promising to cede to them the maritime districts of Al Mâ and Al Magreb, if their enterprize was attended with success ; Al Mâlec Al Manfûr, who was appointed to command the combined army in this expedition, whilst Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ismael staid at Damascus, advanced to 'Accâ, where he was received with open arms. Having been joined by the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, he marched into the neighbourhood of Gaza, where the Egyptians and Khowârazmians waited for him. The two armies had not long faced each other before a general action ensued, in which the Syrians, with their allies, were put to flight. However, the Knights Templars and Hospitalers rallied, and stood their ground with the utmost firmness, till they were all either killed or taken prisoners. The Egyptians and Khowârazmians possessed themselves of the enemy's tents, baggage, and military chest. Al Mâlec Al Manfûr himself escaped, with a few of his shattered troops, to Damascus ; but Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ismael, being probably irritated at this defeat, did not come out as usual to meet him. This omission Al Mâlec Al Manfûr took extremely ill, and resolved to retire immediately to Hems, but was persuaded by his friends to remain at Damascus, and set on foot a private negotiation with

with the sâheb of Egypt. The latter of those princes sent a numerous army to form the siege of Damascus, under the conduct of Maïno'ddîn, the generalissimo of his forces, whom he commanded to represent him, and to sit at the head of the somât, according to the custom of the eastern kings. The Egyptian forces having invested Damascus, Al Mâlec Al Mânûr, the sâheb of Hems, in resentment of the affront that had been offered him by Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ismael, entertained thoughts of letting in the Khowârazmians at the eastern gate, and betraying the city to them; but he afterwards laid aside that design, for fear of the Moslems amongst the Khowârazmian troops. Nevertheless, that capital being attacked with the utmost fury, it was at last unanimously agreed to deliver it up into Maïno'ddîn's hands, on condition that the garrison and inhabitants should be permitted to retire in safety with their effects; and that Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ismael should have his former possessions restored to him, viz. Baalbec and Bosra, with their respective districts, and the country of Al Sawâd, containing Hems Al Badam, and Al Rahaba upon the Euphrates. The capitulation being signed, Maïno'ddîn took possession of Damascus on the 12th of the Former Jomâda, 643, but would not suffer the Khowârazmians to enter the town; and Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ismael departed for Baalbec, as Al Mâlec Al Mânûr did for Hems. Every thing being thus settled, Maïno'ddîn, who presided over the territories and fortresses of Damascus, with the character of an excellent governor, assigned the Khowârazmians and their emirs, for the service they had done the sâheb of Egypt, the most considerable part of Syria and the maritime coast. Al Mâlec, the sâheb of Egypt, having been informed of Ismael's retreat, wrote to Shahâbo'ddîn Rashîd Al Cabîr and the Egyptian emirs, greatly blaming them for permitting him to retire to Baalbec. Maïno'ddîn having, by Al Mâlec's express command, sent Al Hîjâwî and Amîn Al Dawla Al Sâmari, the sâheb of Baalbec's wazîr, under a strong escort to Egypt, that prince caused them to be thrown into irons, and confined in Kal'at Al Jebal, or *the Castle of the Mountain*. The Egyptian and Khowârazmian forces also reduced Baalbec, seized Al Mâlec Al Sâleh, Ismael's children, and threw them also into prison. This year Nâsero'ddîn Ebn Nâfedh, Al Mosta'sem, Bi'llah's wazîr, who had served his father Al Mostanser Bi'llah in the same capacity, being dead, that khalîf gave his office to Mowayyado'ddîn Ebn Al 'Alkami; substituting in the room of one of his most faithful servants

wants the most perfidious of ministers, who proved the total ruin both of his master and the khalifat.

The principal events of the year 643.

In the 643d year of the Hejra, Oktay Khân, or Kâân, the emperor of the Moguls, departed this life, according to Abu'l-Faraj. This event has, however, been placed either in the 638th or the 639th year of the Hejra by the Chinese historians, as we have already observed. When the Kâân found his distemper increase upon him, he sent for his son Cayûc; who, being met on the road by a courier with the news of his father's death, did not proceed to Karâkorom, then the residence of the great khân. In the mean time, Tûrâkînâ Khâtûn, Cayûc's mother, a lady of uncommon sagacity and penetration, by the consent of Jogâtâi, and all the other members of the imperial family, caused herself to be acknowledged for regent of the empire, till the al kûriltâi, or grand assembly of the Mogul princes, was convoked. Soltân 'Azzo'ddîn, the sâheb of Al Rûm, gained so much time by amusing the emperor of the Mogul's ambassadors with presents, money, and specious promises, that he avoided both coming to a rupture with that prince, and paying him homage at Karâkorom †.

The chief occurrences of the year 645.

In the 645th year of the Hejra, the khalif Al Mosta'sem Bi'llah sent an ambassador to Karakorum, perhaps in order to congratulate Cayûc Khân on his accession to the crown. Be that as it may, the great khân treated this minister in a very haughty manner; intermixing menaces with promises, and pretending to give counsel and advice to the khalif himself, though the sovereign pontiff and spiritual director of all the Moslems. As for the ambassadors who came to him from the Al Molâhedah, that is, the *Impious*, or the Ismaelians, commonly called *Assassins*, he treated them with the utmost contempt. He granted the government of the Belâd Al Rûm, under Nowayn Ayljîctâi, to soltân Roeno'ddîn, and commanded soltân 'Azzo'ddîn to be removed. Dawd also, commonly called Ebn Kaiz, he placed under Dawd, the sâheb of Teflis. He farther wrote friendly letters, containing his promise of security and protection, to Al Tacfûr and Al Mâlec Al Nâser Salâh'addîn, the sâheb of Aleppo. Cayûc Khân likewise treated as atâbek one Kadâk, a certain great emir who had been baptized, and believed in Christ; to whom he joined, in the same office, another emir, named Jînkâi. The metropolitans, bishops, monks, and in fine the Christians of all

† Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 488, 489. Gaubil, ubi supra, p. 93, & seqq.

ranks and denominations, subject to Cayûc Khân, were looked upon by the emperor himself, his mother Tûrâkînâ Khâtûn, and the whole imperial family, with a favourable eye. This year, the Moslems took 'Askalân and Tabariya, if Ebn Shohnah may be credited, by storm.

The next year, being the 646th of the Hejra, Al Mâlec Al Nâser, the sâheb of Aleppo, made himself master of Hems, expelled Al Mâlec Al Ashraf Mûsa, the sâheb of that city, and gave him in lieu of it Tel Bâshar, as an addition to Rahaba and Tadmor, which he possessed before.

*and of the
year 646.*

In the 647th year of the Hejra, died Tûrâkînâ Khâtûn, the mother of Cayûc Khân, emperor of the Moguls; as did likewise that prince himself, at a place called Komesteki, in Al Belâd Al Gorbiya, or the western part of his dominions; about five stations from Bîsh Bâleg, on the 9th of the Former Rabî, according to Abu'l-Faraj. The grand khân was no sooner dead than his wife Ogûl Gânmiş, dispatched a courier to Bâtû, the son of Tûshi, the eldest of the sons of Jenghîz Khân, to acquaint him with that prince's death. Bâtû was then coming to court, in order to pay a visit to Cayûc Khân; but being met by the courier at Al Akmâk, a village about eight stations from the city of Kayâlik, he thought fit to halt. From thence he sent back the courier to Ogûl Gânmiş, with a permission to that princess to take upon her the government of the Mogul empire, till the election of a new khân. He also called a general diet for that purpose, at which all the Mogul and Tartar lords, as well as the princes of the imperial family, were summoned to attend. In the course of the same year, Lewis IX. king of France, called St. Lewis by the French writers, landed with a formidable army at 'Accâ; and, after he had refreshed his troops, set sail for Dimiyât, or Damietta, in Egypt, which the garrison, formed of the Banu Kenânah, abandoned at his approach. The news of this misfortune reached the ears of Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb Ebn Al Mâlec Al Câmel, the sâheb of Egypt, in his camp before Hems; upon which he immediately raised the siege of that city, and began his march for Egypt: but at Al Mansûrah he was attacked by a gangrene in his thigh; which, ending in a mortification of the affected part, put a period to his days. However, his life being a short time prolonged by the amputation of his thigh, the fugitives who had fled from Dimiyât appeared before him; and, after they had given an unsatisfactory account of their conduct, were ordered to be affixed to gibbets. Fifty-four of the emirs, or officers, who commanded the garrison of Dimiyât,

*The most
material
transac-
tions of the
year 647.*

yât, were hung up for their cowardice, with their cloaths and accoutrements, just as they were brought before him; and the day following he expired. He reigned nine years, eight months, and twenty days; and was about forty-four years old, at the time of his demise. This prince is said to have been innocent and inoffensive in his discourse, incapable of thinking intensely, but of so majestic a deportment, that none of his subjects durst speak to him but by way of answer. Al Mâlec Al Moadhdhem Tûran Shâh, his only surviving son, was at Hîfn Caîfâ when his father expired. Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Nojmo'ddin Ayûb founded the city of Sâlehiyah, for the conveniency of hunting, and also built Al Kabîsh, between Mesr and Al Kâhirah. He formed his army for the most part of mamlûks, or Turkish slaves, a step which proved fatal to his family. His favourite concubine Shajr Al Dor, a Turkish lady of uncommon sagacity, for some time concealed his death; and, by the advice of al emir 'Azzo'ddin Al Turkomâni, the chief of the Turkish or Turkmân mamlûks, then at the head of the administration, convened all the principal emirs and officers of state, obliging them, as she pretended, by the sultân's order, to take the oath of allegiance to Al Mâlec Al Moadhdhem Tûran Shâh. After which ceremony she continued to govern the kingdom of Egypt till the arrival of the new sâheb or sultân at Al Mansûrah, to whom she resigned her authority. Al Mâlec Al Moadhdhem Tûran Shâh, being thus settled upon the throne, made the necessary dispositions for driving the Franks out of Egypt; which were attended with the desired success. Al Nâser Dawd, the sâheb of Al Carac, finding himself in a declining condition, retired to Aleppo, in order to solicit succours of the sâheb of that place. He carried with him jewels, to the value of a million of dinârs; which he afterwards sent to Al Mosta'fem, the khalif of Baghdâd, putting them as a deposit into his hands: but the Moslem pontiff never thought fit to restore them. His eldest son Al Moadhdhem Isâ, whom he left at Al Carac, being seized by his brothers Al Amjed Hafan and Al Dhâher Shâdi, who envied him; Al Amjed Hafan, the former of those princes, went to Egypt, surrendered Al Carac to Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Nojmo'ddin Ayûb, and, to the inexpressible joy of the sultân, introduced an Egyptian garrison into that city, near two months before his decease.

^u Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 492, 493, 494. Ism. Abu'l-fed. in Chron. ad ann. Hej. 647. Takio'ddin Ahmed Al Makrizi, Al Emir Abu'l Mahassen Yusef Ebn Tangri Wirdi, in Mawredo'l-latâf. Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dakmak, in Al Jawhar Al Thamîn,

The 648th year of the Hejra, was memorable for the defeat of the Franks, as well as for a surprising revolution in Egypt. The king of France sent a detachment of two thousand horse towards Al Mansûrah, in order to reconnoitre the enemy; which fell in with part of the Moslem army, attacked and routed it, and afterwards entered Al Mansûrah sword in hand. Here they found Fakhro'ddîn Othmân, commonly called Ebn Saif, the Moslem general, whom they cut to pieces, in a very advanced age, as he was painting his beard in a bath. However, the streets of Al Mansûrah being so narrow, that they could not form therein, and the gates so small that their largest horses could not get through them, the people within annoyed them in such a manner with stones, bricks, and gravel, that they forced them to abandon the town. Being returned to the Christian camp, they gave the king of France a particular and distinct account of the advantage they had gained over the Moslem troops; which so animated the French monarch, that he resolved to attack the Egyptian army, not doubting but he should defeat it, if he could engage it in a plain, where all his forces would be at liberty to act. The Egyptians, having been apprised of his resolution, seemed to be afraid of him, till he had passed the Ashîmûn, or Ashmûn, a branch of the Nile, running between Al Mansûrah and Dimiyât; but then looking upon his retreat as cut off, they boldly advanced against him, and, after an obstinate engagement, overthrew him with very great slaughter. Many of the Franks, besides those that fell upon the field of battle, were driven into the Ashîmûn, and drowned. The king of France was taken prisoner; in the action, together with a considerable number of his officers and nobles. Ebn Shohnah writes, that he was thrown into irons, imprisoned in a house built by Fakhro'dîn Ebn Lokmân, and committed to the custody of Al Tawâshi, one of Al Mâlec Al Moadhdhem's attendants. Al Mâlec Al Moadhdhem was no sooner master of his person than he was persuaded by some of the young mam-lûks about him, of the same age with himself, to release him, and conclude a temporary peace with him, as well as the other princes of the Franks, on condition that Dimiyât should be restored, together with all the money and jewels the French king had in that city. In

Thamîn, Ebn Shohn. ad ann. Hej. 647. Ebn Khalecan, Al Makin. ad ann. Hej. 647. in Op. Part. inedit. MS. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Al Jannab. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Mamlouk, p. 545.

order to carry their point on the present occasion, they insinuated to the young sultân, that he was in reality only a nominal prince; that Shajr Al Dor, and the emirs in her interest, governed Egypt with absolute power; that the war he was engaged in with the Franks only rendered the assistance of these emirs, who lorded it over their subjects, necessary; that it would be better for him to be in the situation of a private person than to be the sâheb of Egypt, and at the same time stripped of all power and authority; and that if he could happily extricate himself out of the difficulties in which the war with the Franks had involved him, he might act as he pleased, as he would then have no enemies to contend with. The principal emirs, or rather leaders, of the mamlûks having been informed of Al Mâlec Al Moadhdhem's conduct in this affair, which soon transpired, and thinking themselves slighted at least, if not hated, by the sultân, as they had not been consulted by him, they unanimously rushed in a body upon him, and, after he had been wounded by Rocno'ddîn Abu'l Fatah Bibars, one of them who was afterwards sultân, drove him to a wooden tower in that neighbourhood, where he found himself obliged to take refuge. Not content with this insult, they set fire to the tower, and forced him to throw himself from thence into the Nile; where, after he had received several dangerous wounds from a shower of arrows they discharged at him, he miserably perished. After his death, the mamlûk emirs vested with the supreme authority the concubine Shajr Al Dor; upon which, the khotba was performed, and money coined, in her name. From the time of her elevation to the throne, according to the same author, she was generally denominated Omm Khâled; as she had a son, by Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Nojmo'ddîn Ayûb, called Khâled, who died in his tender years. Al Mâlec Al Moadhdhem Tûran Shâh, the late sâheb of Egypt, upon his first arrival in that country, had seized Mogayâtho'ddîn Faraho'ddîn Omar, of the house of Ayûb, and sent him prisoner to Al Shawbec; but that prince was no sooner dispatched than he was set at liberty. Al Shawbec and Al Carac were then likewise restored to their proper master. The Turkish mamlûks considering it as a reproach to them to be ruled by a woman, placed Al Mâlec Al Moezz 'Azzod'dîn Aybec Al Turkomâni Al Jashenkîr, their principal emir, upon the throne of Egypt, towards the close of the Former Rabî, in the present year. However, some time after repenting of what they had done, and being desirous of having a sultân of the family of Ayûb, they deposed Al Mâlec

Al

Al Moezz 'Azzo'ddîn Aybec, and conferred the sultânat upon Al Mâlec Al Ashraf Mûsa Ebn Al Nâser Yusef Ebn Mas'ûd Ebn Al Mâlec Al Câmél, inaugurating him in form, on the 5th of the Former Jomâda. The khalif Al Mosta'sem having confirmed their election of him, they appointed 'Azzo'ddîn Aybec his tutor, or atâbek; which post, notwithstanding his late deposition, transferred to that prince the absolute sovereignty of Egypt. As Al Mâlec Al Ashraf Mûsa was only six years old, 'Azzo'ddîn Aybec exercised the supreme power, without any fear of a competitor; married Omm Khâled, to insure to himself the continuation of that power; assigned the government of Alexandria to Fâres Aktâi, one of his favourite emirs; and ratified the treaty that Al Mâlec Al Moadhdhem 'Turân Shâh had concluded with the king of France, upon that monarch's cession of Dimiyât, which was occupied by the Egyptian troops the 8th of Safar, and his payment of one million of dinârs. King Lewis, having resided a little while at 'Accâ, repaired the city of Cæsarea, and left some of his people as a colony in that place, returned home. Ebn Shohnah remarks, that he has been celebrated by a Moslem poet, named Jemâlo'ddîn or Jamâlo'ddîn Ebn Matrûh; several of whose verses, written in praise of this Christian monarch, have been handed down to us by that author. Lewis's brother, according to Al Makîn, remained in a state of confinement with him, whilst he was imprisoned in Fakhro'ddîn Ebn Lokmân's house. The same historian adds, that, in the battle fought on the banks of the Ashîmûn, the Egyptians killed above ten thousand of the Franks upon the spot, and took a much greater number prisoners; that the latter were for the most part destroyed, three hundred of them being butchered, and thrown every night, during a certain term, into the Nile, and others put to different kinds of death; that Dimiyât was entirely demolished, lest the Franks should in some future period again possess themselves of it; and that the Moslems built another town near it, which they denominated Al Manshîa, though it was called in Abu'lfe'da's days Dimiyât, and still retains that name. Omm Khâled, or Shajr Al Dor, endeavouring to exclude her husband 'Azzo'ddîn Aybec from a share in the administration, he formed a design to destroy her, and take another wife. Of which design being apprized, she resolved to counteract him; and accordingly hired some of the younger mamlûks to assassinate him. This service they accordingly performed with knives, as he was washing his head in a bath. His fate so incensed the Turkish or mamlûk emirs that

that they killed her, and cast her body into a ditch, where it was devoured by dogs. Whilst Egypt was thus harassed by civil dissensions, Al Mâlec Al Nâser Salâh'addîn Yusef Ebn Al Mâlec Al Azîz, the sâheb of Aleppo, marched with a body of horse to Damascus, which opened its gates to him, at his approach. That city he entered the 8th of the Latter Rabi, and made it the royal seat of his kingdom. Being invited by some of the mamlûks to Egypt, he marched with a powerful army towards the frontiers of that region, after he had confined Al Nâser Dawd in chains at Hems. He was attended in this expedition by ten princes of the house of Ayûb, as well as several other persons of the first distinction, and penetrated into Egypt, about the middle of Ramadân. Having advanced to Al Carâ', near Al Kashbi, in the sands, he attacked the Egyptian forces posted there, routed them, and drove them out of the field. Many of the fugitives fled with the utmost precipitation to Al Kâhirah and Meffr; nay, some of them, more terrified than the rest, continued their flight even as far as Al Sa'id. But Al Mâlec Al Nâser was soon after deserted by a very considerable number of his emirs; who went over to Al Moezz 'Azzo'ddîn Aybec Al Turkomâni, and prevailed upon him to venture a second battle with that prince. He accordingly re-assembled his scattered troops, and again engaged Al Mâlec, whom he totally defeated in the neighbourhood of Gaza. Al Moezz, being returned to the palace, was informed, that Al Emir Saifo'ddîn Al Kaymari, then a prisoner in the castle, had caused Al Mâlec Al Nâser to be publicly prayed for, on a Friday, in Kal'at Al Jebal; and that several persons of distinction, confined with him, had been privy to this step, which incensed Al Moezz to such a degree, that he ordered two of them, namely Nâsero'ddîn Ismael Yagmûr, one of the ministers of Al Mâlec Al Sâleh Ismael, and Amîn Al Dawla Al Sâdari, his wazîr, to be hung up before the gates of Kal'at Al Jabal, or *the Castle of the Mountain*, for being concerned in advising the khotba. He also intended, after his triumphant entry into Al Kâhirah, that the same punishment should have been inflicted upon the ringleader Saifo'ddîn Al Kaymari; but changing his resolution, he thought fit to respite him, and sent him into Syria. In the course of the same year, Bedro'ddîn Lûlû reduced to his obedience the island of Ebn Omar; Al Mâlec Al Mas'ûd Ebn Al Mâlec Al Moadhdhem, of the house of Zenki, the sâheb thereof, being thrown into the Tigris, and drowned, by an officer who was conducting him in a small vessel to Al Mawfel. This cruel action is said to have been

been perpetrated by Bedro'ddîn Lûlû's order; though it was pretended, that the unfortunate prince cast himself into the river, in the night, when the people that escorted him were asleep. About the close of this year, Mûnacâ or Mangu Khân, at a general meeting of the states of Mogulestân, was elected, by the influence of Bâtû, emperor of the Moguls *.

In the 650th year of the Hejra, a great dispute arose between the Sonnites or Traditionists, and the Shiïtes or the followers of Ali, at Baghdâd, which occasioned a tumult and commotion in that capital. Abu Becr, the khalif's son, protected the Sonnites; and Mowayyado'ddîn, that prince's wazîr, was closely connected with the Shiïtes. Abu Becr, not being able to bear any longer the frequent seditions excited by the Shiïtes, went one day with an armed force to seize the chiefs of that sect, and filled all the prisons with them. This action so displeased Mowayyado'ddîn, that he resolved to revenge those persons, whom he took to be unjustly persecuted, and at the same time formed the cruel design of destroying the house of Al Abbâs; the members of which he looked upon as the authors of, or at least as accessory to, this persecution †.

In the 651st year of the Hejra, which began March 3, 1253, Hûlâcû, brother of the emperor of the Moguls, moved with a most formidable army from the neighbourhood of Karâkorom towards the western provinces. At first he intended to push his conquests towards the west and the north, and to attack Thrace, Russia, and Poland; but he was diverted from this resolution, and persuaded to lay siege to the city of Baghdâd, by the famous Oriental mathematician Nassîro'ddîn, who had quitted the khalif's court in disgust, gone over to the Tartar, and assured him, that this prince's capital was incapable of making any defence. Ebn Shohnah relates, that, in the course of this year, a luminous appearance in the air, extremely bright and resplendent by night, emitting a smoke in the day, for a considerable space of time, greatly terrified the

The principal occurrences of the year 651;

* Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 494—499. Ism. Abu'lfed. in Chron. ad an. Hej. 648. Ebn Khalecan, Al Makin, in Op. Part. inedit. ad an. Hej. 648. MS. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Al Jannab. Golî Not. ad Alfriagan. p. 151. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Mam-louk, p. 545. & art. Ybek, p. 479. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 596, 597.

† Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 500, 501, 502. Khonde-mir, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Mosta'dhem ou Mostazem, p. 629.

people of 'Aden, in Al Yaman, and the neighbouring district 7.

and of the
year 652.

In the 652d year of the Hejra, Al Moezz 'Azzo'ddîn Aybec killed Khoshdâshoh Aktâi Al Jimdâr, and deposed Al Mâlec Al Afhraf Mûsa, a child about ten years old; after which deposition, according to Ebn Shohnah, none of the princes of the house of Ayûb had any power or influence in Egypt.

The most
remarkable
transac-
tions of the
year 653;

In the following year, before the close of Shaabân, Hûlâcû Il Khân encamped with his numerous forces in the plains of Samarkand, and remained in that position forty days; during which term his brother Sontâi Ogûl departed this life; and he received advice of another brother's death, that happened in the district of Balâdor. These melancholy accidents greatly afflicted him. Al Emîr Argûn and many of the grandes of Khorasân, who, notwithstanding the severity of the season had passed the Jihûn, soon after joined him. As the winter was extremely cold, and the ground in those parts covered with snow till the following spring, he found himself obliged to continue in a state of inaction for several months. However, he ordered some of his generals, with the forces under their command, to advance against Rocno'ddîn Khûz Shâh Ebn 'Alâo'ddîn, prince of the Ismaelians or Assassins, who had already demolished five of his castles, which he did not think capable of sustaining a siege, as soon as the season would permit. Nevertheless the reduction of all the fortresses occupied by these murderers was not entirely effected in one campaign.

and of the
year 654.

Next year, being the 654th of the Hejra, Cayd Bûkâ, Al Bâwarji, one of Hûlâcû's generals, having taken the castle of Shâhedîz, and three others, from Rocno'ddîn Khûz Shâh, prince of the Ismaelians, justly termed Al Molâheda, that is, *The Impious*, on account of their enormous crimes, Hûlâcû himself advanced to Kasrân, in order to begin the operations of the campaign. From thence he marched to 'Abâsâbâd or 'Abbâsâbâd; where he received a boy, seven or eight years old, dispatched to him by Rocno'ddîn, seemingly to intimate his submission, whom that prince gave out to be his son. Hûlâcû treated the child with marks of affection and honour, though he did believe him to be Rocno'ddîn's son, and then ordered him to return to his pretended father. Rocno'ddîn afterwards, sent his brother Shîrân Shâh, with a train of three hundred at-

7 Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 502, 503. Khondemir, Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 653. D'Herbel. ubi sup.

tendants,

tendants, to the Mogul camp. Hûlâcû, upon their arrival, commanded the men that attended Shîrân Shâh to be conducted under an escort to Jemâlâbâd, in the territory of Kazwîn; but dismissed Shîrân Shâh himself, ordering him to acquaint his brother, that if he did not in person pay him homage, in five days time, he would immediately attack him. In consequence of this intimation, Rocno'ddîn dispatched an ambassador to Hûlâcû, to inform him, that his own troops would not suffer him to leave them at that time; but that, when a proper opportunity offered, he would most certainly wait upon him. Hûlâcû, finding that he sought only to gain time, moved from Bîshcâm to a spot of ground opposite to Al Maimûm Dara, and there encamped. He also gave private orders, that the three hundred Al Molâheda at Jamâlâbâd should be put to death; whence it came to pass, that the inhabitants of Kazwîn said by way of proverb, when any person was executed, or killed, "He was sent to Jamâlâbâd." When Rocno'ddîn perceived that Hûlâcû Il Khân actually approached him, he assured him by another ambassador, that he would not fail to make his submission to him in person, either that or the following day. The most resolute, however, of the Al Molâheda, or Ismaelians, who acted under him, would not permit him to retire to the Moguls, as he intended to do; of which circumstance Hûlâcû being apprized, he commanded him to endeavour first to pacify them by fair words, and to leave them even in disguise, if no other method could render his escape practicable. In the mean time, the Mogul general invested the fortress wherein Rocno'ddîn was shut up, with his troops, and planted his military machines round it in such a manner as plainly indicated an intention of carrying it by storm. The siege of the place being formed, the Ismaelians sallied out vigorously upon the Moguls; an opportunity which enabled Rocno'ddîn Khûz Shâh, who probably headed them in this action, to go over, with his family and friends, to Hûlâcû, and acknowledge himself one of the vassals of the grand khân. At their first interview, Rocno'ddîn expressed the most unfeigned sorrow and concern for the enormous crimes he had been guilty of, and met with a very favourable reception from Hûlâcû; which being observed by the Ismaelian garrison of the aforesaid fortress, they surrendered it to the Moguls, in hopes of being treated after the same manner. Hûlâcû's detachments likewise possessed themselves of all the other places of strength in that part of the Ismaelian territories, with-

out sustaining any considerable loss. Having demolished all the castles and fortresses that had been occupied by his troops, Hûlâcû summoned the commandant of Al Mût, who seemed determined to defend that strong hold to the last drop of blood; but upon the approach of Balgâi Ogûl, with a large body of Moguls, he thought fit to deliver it into his hands, towards the close of Dhul'kaada, of the present year. This and the other fortresses of Kehestân, amounting to above fifty in number, which the Moguls had reduced, Shamso'ddîn, the governor of Kahestân, with a detachment of the Ismaelian troops, at Hûlâcû's command, laid level with the ground. Nevertheless Cazdhacûh and Camshîr held out till the year 656. The Moguls granted the nobles of Deylam a peace, upon condition that all their castles and fortresses should be demolished; after these exploits Hûlâcû put his men into winter-quarters in the territory of Hamadân, and ordered Rocno'ddîn, with his family, to be conducted to Kazwîn. Ebn Shohnah relates, that Al Mâlec Al Nafr Salâh'addin Yusef, the sâheb of Haleb or Aleppo, and Al Shâm, sent Al Câmel Ebn Al 'Adîm, with a splendid retinue, at this time, as his ambassador to the khalif Al Mosta'fem Bi'llah, to sue for the kastân of Ioltân. Al Câmel, not having been able to execute the commission with which he was charged, to his master's satisfaction, was poisoned at his return ^z.

*Al Moezz
'Azzo'd-
dîn Aybec
is assassi-
nated.*

In the 655th year of the Hejra, which began January 19, 1257, Al Mâlec Al Moezz 'Azzo'ddîn Aybec Al Turkomâni Al Jâshenkîr, the first Turkish mamlûk sultân of Egypt, was assassinated by certain mamlûks, hired by his wife, Shajr Al Dor, as has been already observed, to perpetrate that horrid fact. As she would not allow Al Moezz any share in the government, he resolved to divorce her, and to take another wife. In order to prevent this step, and to rule the more absolutely, she caused him to be precipitated from the throne by a violent death. However, she did not long enjoy the fruits of her wickedness; the principal mamlûk emirs having, at the instigation of Al Mâlec Al Mansûr, Al Moezz's son, and his mother, soon after slain her, and thrown her body to the dogs. Before her tragical exit, she pounded all her most valuable jewels in a mortar, till she had reduced them to powder, that they might not fall into her enemies hands.

^z Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 505, 506, 507, 508. Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'al-Jaafar Al Kazwini, in Nighiarist. Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 654. D'Herbel. & Renaud. ubi sup.

Al Mâlec Al Mansûr Nûro'ddin Ali, then only fifteen years old, who succeeded his father, Al Moezz, was proclaimed sâheb, or sultân of Egypt, in the year 655, and deposed in 657. This year, according to Ebn Shohnah, a fire broke out in the haram or great temple, at Medina, through the negligence of the attendants; which for some time raged with great violence, and consumed the roof, together with several of the pulpits, before it was possible to extinguish the flames. As this disaster happened in the night, the blaze occasioned by it was seen at a great distance from the place; which struck the Arab Moslems with terror, they imagining that some signal calamity to Islamism was portended by so dreadful and unexpected an event.

In the course of the same year Hûlâcû sent Rocno'ddîn Khûz Shâh, prince of the Ismaelians or Assassins, at his own request, to Karâkorom, whither he proposed to go in order to pay homage to Mûncacâ Kâân, emperor of the Moguls; but he no sooner arrived at the city of Bokhâra, with nine of his subjects, and the ambassadors dispatched by Hûlâcû to Mûncacâ Kâân, who in his journey attended him, than he quarrelled with the latter, and gave them very opprobrious language, which so incensed them, that they placed his conduct to the grand khân in a very bad light. Upon his arrival, therefore, at Karâkorom, he was refused an audience by Mûncacâ Kâân, who commanded him to return home, to demolish the castles of Cazdhacûh and Camshîr, which were still garrisoned by his troops, and to visit a second time the Mogul court. Upon his compliance with this command, he was promised a more favourable reception. In pursuance of the order he had received, Rocno'ddîn set out for Kazwîn; but was put to death, together with the Ismaelians that accompanied him, upon the road. Karâkây Al Yabtac-taji, a Mogul general, sent by Hûlâcû for that purpose to Kazwîn, also cut off his sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, and, in short, his whole family. All the Ismaelian forces, and particularly a body of twelve thousand of them, drawn up as it were to be reviewed before Awtcûbanâ Nowayn, another of the principal Mogul officers, were likewise put to the sword. In a word, this impious nation of desperate fanatics was wholly extirpated^a.

*Hûlâcû ex-
tirpates the
whole race
of Ismae-
lians.*

^a Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 508, 509. Ahmed Ebn Moham-med Abdal'jaafar Al Kazwini, in Nighiarist. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Ismaelioun, p. 505, 506. Renaud. ubi supra. p. 598.

*A dreadful
famine in
the terri-
tory of
Malatiya
this year.*

'Azzo'ddîn, the sâheb of the Belâd Al Rûm, having sent Tafalâ, one of his mamlûks, into the parts about Malatiya and Khartabert, to raise an army of Curds, Turkmâns, and Arabs, that officer engaged Sharfo'ddîn Ahmed Ebn Belâs, of the Belâd Al Haccâr, and Sharfo'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Al Sheikh 'Adi, of the territory of Al Mawfel, two commanders of the Curds, in his service; but these being both cut off after the first of them had, on Palm-Sunday, burnt the monastery of Mâdhîk, or Dair Mârîk, in his retreat towards Amed in Mesopotamia, 'Azzo'ddîn appointed Ali Bahâder to preside over the people of Malatiya in the room of Ebn Belâs, to whom he had before assigned the government of that city. Ali Bahâder had not been long at Malatiya before he was driven from thence by Bâyejû Nowayn, one of the generals of the Moguls; but that commander having afterwards received a sum of money from the citizens of Malatiya, and passed the frontiers of the Belâd Al Rûm, on his route to the borders of Irâk, Ali Bahâder returned, and laid siege to Malatiya, the inhabitants, for fear of Bâyejû Nowayn, refusing to admit him and his Turkmân troops into the town. Having at last, in a manner starved them to surrender, the weavers, and others of the lower sort of people, opened a gate in the night, by which Ali, and the Turkmâns under his conduct, entered the place. He then caused a proclamation to be made, that the citizens, both Christians and Mohammedans, might again apply themselves to their respective callings and professions, as he would take them all under his protection. Next morning, however, he imprisoned Fakhro'ddîn Ayyâz, soltân Rocno'ddîn's governor, and put to death Shahâbo'ddîn Al 'Ared, after he had caused him to be led on a mean horse, by way of derision, through all the most public streets of the city. Al Mo'ayyen Al Aycan Bashâfi had by his order his neck tied to that of a dog, and was constrained to walk in that attitude through the most noted parts of the town; after which procession the executioner struck off his head. A similar punishment he inflicted upon three emirs, the sons of Al Emir Shahâbo'ddîn Aysû, the Kurd, and some few others of the leading men who had the most vigorously opposed him. The famine occasioned by the siege was most dreadful, and such as was perhaps never before known in that part of the world. During the time of this terrible calamity, as an intimate friend assured Abu'l-Faraj, a company of women at Bâ'b-dûn, a village in the district of Jûbâs, one of the dependencies

tencies of Malatiya, fed upon the flesh of a corpse; and another woman having baked her own child, and her neighbours being upon the point of pulling her to pieces for so execrable an action, she swore that she had not killed him, but only baked him after he was dead, imagining him then to be much fitter food for her than for worms^b.

Hûlâcû had for some time past resolved to besiege the city of Baghdâd; but he had endeavoured, with all the art a great captain is master of, to conceal the point he had in view. He had, by marches and counter-marches, and other military feints, rendered it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to judge on what side the storm, with which he had long threatened some of the neighbouring powers, would fall. Whilst his forces were employed in reducing the castles occupied by the Ismaelians, he sent an ambassador to Al Mosta'sem at Baghdâd, to desire his assistance against those murderers; which the khalif, not aware of the snare the crafty Tartar intended to lay for him by this demand, seemed inclinable to grant; but the most faithful of his ministers, who plainly perceived the pernicious tendency of Hûlâcû's request, would by no means give their consent to his compliance with his demand. They represented to Al Mosta'sem, that the Mogul general did not stand in need of his assistance, but only wanted to drain the city of Baghdâd of its troops, that it might the more easily fall a prey to him. After Hûlâcû had dispossessed the Ismaelians of their fortresses, he talked to the khalif, by the mouth of another ambassador, in a loftier strain. He even upbraided him with not contributing to the extirpation of the Assassins, who were now become a common pest. As for Mowayyado'ddîn, the wazîr, having penetrated Hûlâcû's real design, by means of some emissaries he had in the Tartar camp, he resolved to avail himself of the present opportunity to ruin without resource his master and his whole family, and completely to revenge the outrages suffered by the sect he had always favoured. With this view he advised Al Mosta'sem forthwith to disband his troops, as they were altogether useless at a time when he was feared by all the kings and princes professing Islamism. He added, that with regard to the Tartars, nothing was to be apprehended from them, they seeming, by all their motions, determined to turn their arms towards the north, which would be more advantageous to them than any

*Hûlâcû
moves from
Hamadân
to Bagh-
dâd.*

^b Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 509, 510, 511, 512.

southern expedition. The khalif, who loved money, listened to the advice with pleasure, and instead of augmenting the troops he had on foot, amounting to seventy thousand men, he issued an order for a reform, laid aside all thoughts of making the proper dispositions for his defence, and entirely abandoned himself to those pleasures to which he was so much attached. In the mean time the wazîr, with whom the khalif had trusted the absolute government of his estates, that his treason might be crowned with success, dispersed all the best officers of the forces in places remote from Baghdâd, and dispatched an express to Hûlâcû, to inform him of the facility with which he might make himself master of the capital, and the khalif's person, if he would immediately march his army that way. Upon this advice the Tartar left the neighbourhood of Hamadân in the month of Shawâl, without imparting to any person the route he intended to take, and broke all at once unexpectedly into the Babylonian Irâk, the province in which Baghdâd stood. On the arrival of this melancholy news, the principal lords of the court repaired directly to the khalif, and laid before him, in the most lively colours, the necessity he was then under of quitting his debaucheries, and thinking seriously of his affairs: but the wazîr rendered ineffectual all their laudable endeavours, by still amusing that prince, to his destruction, and telling him, that he ran no manner of risk from the Tartars and Moguls; and that, if they should enter the city, the very women and children alone would be able to knock them on the head with stones from the terraces of their houses. Being consulted, however, by the nobility, at this critical juncture, he said that Hûlâcû would not be satisfied with any thing less than all their treasures, jewels, sumptuous garments, slaves, mules, camels, and, in short, every thing valuable belonging to them; by which they plainly perceived, that he had procured from Hûlâcû good terms for himself, by betraying his sovereign and fellow-subjects to the Tartars. Nevertheless, the khalif still, in some measure, listened to him, and sent several presents to the Mogul general, as an intimation that he was willing to come to an accommodation with him; but these not being of sufficient value, Hûlâcû returned them with indignation; and insisted that either the wazîr, the dowaidâr, or Sdimân Shâh, should be instantly dispatched to his camp. None of them, however, though commanded by the khalif, would stir out of the town, so that Al Mosta'fem found himself obliged to send Ebn Al Jawzi, and Ebn Mohio'd-dîn,

dân, as his plenipotentiaries, to Hûlâcû, who were incapable of executing the commission with which they were charged. All hopes of peace thus vanishing, Hûlâcû detached a strong body of his troops, under the orders of Bâyejû Nowayn and Sûnjâk Nowayn, to move through Arbel towards Baghdâd, whilst he himself, with the bulk of his army, advanced by the way of Holwân to the gates of that capital. The khalif, who had been so long imposed upon by the wazîr, began now to be sensible of the fatal mistake he had been guilty of in listening to the pernicious counsel of that wicked minister, and having received advice that Bâyejû Nowayn had already passed the Tigris, and was encamped on the western bank of that river, he commanded the dowaidâr, with all the forces that could be assembled, to observe the motions of the Moguls. Whilst things were in this situation, Aybec Al Halebi, one of the khalif's emirs, was taken by one of the enemies parties, and carried to Hûlâcû, who spared his life on condition that he should give him a true account of the state of affairs in Baghdâd. Having conducted the Mogul army to the walls of that city, he wrote to his friends, telling them, that as they were utterly unable to resist the mighty power of Hûlâcû, he could not forbear entreating them to surrender to his arms. They answered the emir's letter in the following terms: "Who is Hûlâcû, and what is his power, that he should presume to make war upon the house of Al Abbâs? Their empire is derived from God alone, and therefore no prince can meet with success who endeavours to overturn it. If Hûlâcû had been a friend to peace, he would never have entered and ravaged the khalif's territories. Nevertheless, if he should now be desirous of it, let him return to Hamadân, and we will intercede with the dowaidâr to prevail upon the commander of the faithful to forgive the enormous crime he has committed." Which answer being shewn by Al Emîr Aybec to Hûlâcû, that conqueror laughed at their weakness and simplicity; knowing that the dispute between him and Al Most'asem, who had been reduced almost to the last extremity by the infidelity of his wazîr, would be brought to a speedy decision by the sword.

The dowaidâr, finding the city upon the point of being invested by the Moguls, posted himself at Yâakûbâ; but, in order to watch more narrowly their motions, he remov-

*The khalif's
forces are
over-
thrown by
the Moguls*

^c Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 515, 516, 517. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. art. Mosta'dhem ou Mostazem Billah Ben Mostanser Billah, p. 629.

ed from thence to a spot of ground opposite to Bâyejû Nowayn's camp. Having received afterwards advice that a body of the Tartars, under the command of Sûnjâk Nowayn, was arrived at Al Anbâr, he led his forces against them, attacked them, and put them to flight; but Bâyejû Nowayn coming up with his men, forced the fugitives to return to the charge; and, after an obstinate and bloody engagement, by dint of numbers, gave the khalif's army a total defeat. Most of the Moslems were killed in the action and the pursuit, a few of them only escaping with the dowaidâr to Baghdâd. These circumstances we learn from Abu'l-Faraj: but of the preceding operations the following particulars have been handed down to us by Khondemir, the Persian historian. Hûlâcû having detached from his army Sûjûjâk and Mangû, with a considerable corps, who had traversed the desert, in order to approach nearer the city of Baghdâd, the khalif sent two of his general officers, named Fatho'ddîn and Mojjâho'ddîn, with a body of ten thousand men, to reconnoitre the Moguls. Those generals found the enemy encamped along an arm of the Dijlat, or the Tigris, and immediately gave them battle. The two armies engaged near that river a whole day, without any apparent advantage on either side: but the Moguls having cut through one of the mounds of the Euphrates, near the spot on which the Moslem troops were posted, the following night, they were all either drowned by an inundation of that river, or put to the sword by the Tartars, Mojjâho'ddîn only with great difficulty making his escape to Baghdâd. The khalif being informed of his arrival, and knowing nothing of the defeat of his army, cried out three times, "God be praised, Mojjâho'ddîn is in good health^d."

*Hûlâcû
forms the
siege of
Baghdâd,*

The 656th year of the Hejra, commencing January 8, 1258, has been rendered memorable to all succeeding ages by the great revolution that happened at Baghdâd: a revolution, which, however, was brought about not so much by the power of a foreign enemy, though extremely formidable, as by the wicked intrigues of a domestic foe. Whilst the khalif's troops were advancing to meet the Tartars who had taken their route towards Baghdâd through the desert, Hûlâcû himself arrived with his numerous forces by the way of Holwân before the gates of that city. About the middle of Al Moharram, having

^d Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 517. Khondemir, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 629.

been

been joined by all his detachments, he invested the place; the inhabitants, of all ranks and denominations, at that time thinking of nothing less than a siege. As for the khalif himself, he still continued in his debaucheries; and had so little knowledge of his affairs, that he was scarce sensible of the enemies being before the walls when his capital had been near two months besieged. The Persians, in order to express the present state of Baghdâd, and the security in which its citizens now lived, say, "The oven was heated every night and morning as usual." Hûlâcû having erected a sîbâ, or high wall, and strengthened it with a deep trench on the eastern side of the city, as Bûkâ Tîmûr, Sûnjâk Nowayn, and Bâyejû Nowayn, had done on the western, and thereby formed a complete line of contravallation, the Moguls planted their she-pau and ho-pau, or stone-engines and fire-engines, as well as all their other military machines, in a proper manner, round the place, and began to play with them upon the walls the 22d of Al Moharram, on which day the siege commenced. The khalif hereupon, however ignorant he might be of the deplorable situation he was in, by the advice of his principal courtiers, sent the prefect of his dîwân and Ebn Darnûs, with some presents to Hûlâcû, to make his submission to him: but as these presents were of little value, Al Mof-ta'fem imagining that richer would have been interpreted as a sign of fear, they met with but a cold reception; Hûlâcû demanding, in an authoritative tone, why the dowaidâr and Solimân Shâh had not been ordered to attend him? In the mean time, Hûlâcû carried on his attacks against that part of the town where the tower Al 'Ajemi, or the Persian tower, stood; Bûkâ Tîmûr prosecuted his on the western side, near the herb-garden; and Sûnjâk Nowayn, sustained by Bâyejû Nowayn, made his approaches against the quarter occupied by the hospital Al 'Adadi. The prefect or sâheb of the dîwân and Ebn Darnûs being returned, with an account of the indifferent treatment they had received from Hûlâcû, the khalif dispatched the wazîr Al 'Alkami himself, accompanied by his two sons, and several of his friends, to the Mogul camp. The Tartar general told him, that when he was at Hamadân he would have been satisfied with the attendance of either the wazîr, the dowaidâr, or Solimân Shâh; but that now, when things wore quite a different aspect, he expected that all those three ministers should wait upon him. The Moguls having rendered it impossible for any of the people and garrison of Baghdâd to escape by means
of

of the Tigris, and made themselves masters of the walls, that capital, with all the riches in it, was in the most imminent danger of falling into their hands. Every thing being ready for storming the place, Hûlâcû caused it to be signified to the khalif's subjects by an Arabic inscription cut on some of his archer's arrows, and shot into the town, "that the nobles, the descendants of Ali, the learned men, and in short all who should not be found in arms when he entered the place, should be safe, together with their families and effects." The dowaidâr and Solinân Shâh, with a large retinue of the grandees, in obedience to his commands, then appeared before him; but he permitted the khalif himself either to stay in the imperial palace, or retire to the Tartar camp^e.

*and takes
it.*

The wazîr Al 'Alkami having been conducted on horseback to Hûlâcû's, or Il Khân's tent, that prince received him in a very gracious manner, and set both him and his sons at liberty, but made the rest of his attendants prisoners. As for the dowaidâr, he returned into the city; but the next day, endeavouring to escape out of it, was slain. In fine, Baghdâd being now in a defenceless state, as the Moguls had possessed themselves of the walls, Hûlâcû, the 4th of Safar, gave a general assault, and almost without opposition, entered it with his victorious troops^f.

*The khalif
Al Mosta'sem Bîl-
lah is bar-
barously
put to
death by the
Mogul
general.*

The common people of Baghdâd having before made their submission to Hûlâcû, and sent Sharfo'ddîn Al Marâghi and Shahâbo'ddîn Al Zencânî to testify their attachment to him, the khalif found himself deserted by all his subjects, and consequently was obliged to ask Hûlâcû's leave to wait upon him. This being granted, he left his palace; but was stopped, for some time, with his family, by Hûlâcû's order, at the gate of Calwâd. But the Mogul general going soon after to view the imperial palace, Al Mosta'sem appeared in his presence, with the jewels, unions, and other pearls, of almost inestimable value, in dishes, that had been collected by his ancestors, during a long course of years; all which, without reserve, Hûlâcû caused to be distributed amongst the principal officers of his troops. At night, that conqueror returned to his tent; when all the women, belonging both to the khalif and his sons, about seven hundred in number, together with three

^e Khondemir, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 517, 518, 519.
^f Khondemir, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 519. Mirkhond, apud Teixeira, ubi sup. Ism. Abu'lfed. Al Makin, Ebn Khalecan, & Ebn Shohn. ubi sup. D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 630. Renaud. ubi sup.

hundred eunuchs that waited upon them, were brought before him. The khalif Al Mosta'sem Bi'llah, being thus fallen into the hands of the Tartars, Hûlâcû was, for some time, at a loss how to dispose of him; but at last it was resolved, that he should be sewed up in a leathern bag, and dragged through all the streets of the city; which sentence being put in execution, he quickly expired. Other writers, however, inform us, that both he and his sons were trode to death by the army of the Moguls. Abu'l-Faraj only relates, that after Hûlâcû had given up Baghdâd to his troops to be plundered seven days, he departed from thence, the 14th of Safar, and put to death the khalif Al Mosta'sem, together with his middle son, and six eunuchs, by night, in the first station from his capital. His eldest son, and many of his friends, had been killed before at the gate of Calwâd; which, according to Khondemir, that young prince had valiantly defended. Such was the deplorable end of the last khalif of the Moslems, and even of the khalifat itself; which commenced immediately after Mohammed's demise in the person of Abu Becr, and continued in the house of Al Abbâs about 523 years.

The khalif Al Mosta'sem Bi'llah was forty-six years old at the time of his decease, and had reigned near sixteen. He had no proper successor; for Bîbars, the fourth sultân of the Turkish mamlûks in Egypt, acknowledged for khalif Al Mostanser Bi'llah, who pretended to be a member of that house, three years after the fatal catastrophe above mentioned; but his authority was not recognized by the most considerable part of the Moslem world. With regard to the khalif Al Mosta'sem, it may not be improper to remark, that although he was a prince of but little sense, and altogether without conduct, he affected to display on all occasions a higher degree of pomp and magnificence than any of his predecessors. As he was extremely covetous, he added immense riches to the treasures which his ancestors had left him. His pride was so great, that the most powerful Mohammedan princes could scarce find access to him. The author of the book intitled Waffaf relates, that this khalif had caused a stone to be placed at the threshold of the door of his palace, which was as much respected by the Moslems as the famous Black Stone of the temple of Mecca. Over the door there was a piece of black velvet, which hung as low as a man could reach.

His character.

‡ Khondemir, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. Ism. Abu'lfed. Al Makin, Mirkhond, apud Teixeira. Ebn Khalecan, Ebn Shohn. & D'Herbel. ubi sup. Renaud. ubi sup. p. 598, 599.

When

When the principal lords made their court to the khalif, they stood without the palace, to which they rendered almost divine honours, by rubbing their eyes and forehead upon the velvet and the stone, and kissing them with profound humility. When this proud Moslem pontiff went out of his palace, he generally wore either a mask or a veil over his face, to attract the greater respect from the people, whom he did not think worthy of looking upon him. Notwithstanding which, the streets were so crowded, when he appeared in public, that they were too narrow to contain the multitude that flocked together to see him; and the windows and balconies, near the way he was to pass, were let at an extravagant price.

The Tartars reduce Hella and Wâset.

Hûlâcû, having committed the repairing of the city of Baghdâd and its fortifications to the late khalif's prefect or sâheb of the dîwân, the wazîr Al 'Alkami, and Ebn Darnûs, detached Bûkâ Tîmûr with a body of troops to Hella, to make himself master of that place. Bûkâ, having executed Hûlâcû's orders with regard to Hella, marched from thence to Wâset; which he entered with his detachment, staid there a week, and put a multitude of people to death. Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs, according to Ebn Shohnah, is reported to have said, "By God the khalifat shall continue in my family, till a conqueror shall come from Khorasân;" by which expression, as that author insinuates, he seems to have predicted Hûlâcû's conquest of Baghdâd. After the Tartars had taken that capital, they set it on fire, and put a great number of its inhabitants to the sword. The treasures they found in it were immense; that place, when it was pillaged by the Moguls, being, if Khondemir may be credited, the richest and most powerful city of the universe^b.

^b Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 520. Khondemir, Ebn Shohn. ad an. Hej. 636. D'Herbel. ubi sup.

List of the Khalifs or Successors of Mohammed.

Khalifs.	Began their Reign.		Places referred to in this work.	Page.
	Year of the Hijra	Year of CHRIST.		
The first four Khalifs.				
Abu Becr - -	11	632	Vol. I.	192
Omar - -	13	634	- -	252
Othmân - -	23	644	- -	348
Ali - -	35	655	- -	361
Khalif of the family of Mohammed.				
Hafan, or Al Hafan, the son of Ali and Fâtema	40	660	- -	404
Khalifs of the house of Ommiyah.				
Moâwiyah I. -	41	661	- -	412
Yezîd I. - -	60	680	- -	435
Moâwiyah II. -	64	684	- -	462
Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, not of the house of Ommiyah, is saluted khalif of Mecca	64	684	- -	466
Merwân I. -	64	684	- -	467
Abd'almalec -	65	684	Vol. II.	1
Al Walîd I. -	86	705	- -	33
Solimân - -	96	715	- -	47
Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz, or Omar II. -	99	718	- -	54
Yezîd II. - -	101	720	- -	60
Heshâm - -	105	724	- -	64
Al Walîd II. -	125	743	- -	77
Yezîd III. -	126	744	- -	80
Ibrahim - -	126	744	- -	82
Merwân II. -	127	744	- -	84
Khalifs of the family of Al Abbâs.				
Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâh	132	749	- -	96
Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr	136	754	- -	102
Al Mohdi -	158	775	- -	135
Mûsa Al Hâdi -	169	785	- -	148
Harûn Al Rashîd	170	786	- -	152
Al Amîn - -	193	809	- -	175
Al Mamûn -	198	813	- -	185

Khalifs.	Began their Reign.		Places referred to in this work.	
	Year of the Hejra.	Year of CHRIST.	Page	
Al Môtasem, or Al Mo'tafem - - -	218	833	Vol. II.	203
Al Wathec Bi'llah	227	842	- -	213
Al Motawakkel Ala'llah	232	847	- -	219
Al Monrafer Bi'llah	247	861	- -	238
Al Mosta'in Bi'llah	248	862	- -	243
Al Mo'tazz - -	252	866	- -	249
Al Mohtadi Bi'llah	255	869	- -	254
Al Mo'tamed Ala'llah	256	870	- -	258
Al Mo'taded Bi'llah	279	892	- -	275
Al Moctafi Bi'llah	289	902	- -	288
Al Moktader Bi'llah	295	908	- -	297
Al Kâher Bi'llah -	320	932	- -	325
Al Râdi Bi'llah -	322	934	- -	330
Al Mottaki Bi'llah -	329	941	- -	345
Al Mostacfi Bi'llah -	333	944	- -	353
Al Motî Li'llah -	334	946	- -	355
Al Tay' Li'llah -	363	974	- -	386
Al Kâder Bi'llah -	381	991	- -	427
Al Kâyer Beamri'llah	422	1031	Vol. III.	I
Al Moktadi Beamri'llah	467	1075	- -	48
Al Mostadher Bi'llah	487	1094	- -	73
Al Mostarshed Bi'llah	512	1118	- -	95
Al Râshed Bi'llah -	529	1135	- -	108
Al Moktafi Beamri'llah	530	1136	- -	110
Al Mostanjed Bi'llah	555	1160	- -	132
Al Mostadi Beamri'llah	566	1170	- -	149
Al Nâser Ledin'i'llah	575	1180	- -	172
Al Dhâher Bi'llah -	622	1225	- -	273
Al Mostanfer Bi'llah	623	1226	- -	274
Al Mosta'fem Bi'llah	640	1242	- -	293

The four first Khalifs - - -	4
Khalif of the family of Mohammed -	I
Khalifs of the house of Ommiyah -	15
Abd'allah Ebn Zober, saluted khalif at Mecca	I
Khalifs of the family of Al Abbâs -	37

Total - 58

TABLE

TABLE of the Months both in the Julian Solar and the Arabian Lunar Year, with the Days collected.

		Days of the Months.	Days col- lected.	In Biflex- tile.	Arabian Months.	Days of the Months.	Days col- lected.
1	January	-	31	31	Al Moharram	30	30
2	February	-	59	60	Safar	29	59
3	March	-	90	91	The Former Rabi	30	89
4	April	-	120	121	The Latter Rabi	29	118
5	May	-	151	152	The Former Jomâda	30	148
6	June	-	181	182	The Latter Jomâda	29	177
7	July	-	212	213	Rajeb	30	207
8	August	-	243	244	Shaabân	29	236
9	September	-	273	274	Ramadân	30	266
10	October	-	304	305	Shawâl	29	295
11	November	-	334	335	Dhu'lkaada	30	325
12	December	-	365	366	Dhu'lhajja	29*	354

* N. B. In the intercalated Arabian years, of which there are 11 in every 30, viz. 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 15, 18, 21, 24, 26, 29, Dhu'lhajja has 30 days.

C H A P. V.

General History of the Turks, and the Empires founded by them in Tartary and the Lower Asia. The Origin, Country, and different Tribes or Branches of the Turkish Nation; with their public Transactions till the Destruction of their Empire in Tartary.

S E C T. I.

The Origin of the Turks.

*Origin of
the Turks.*

TURK is a name known in all languages; from which the Arabs formed the plural *Atrâk*, that is, *Turks*. There are three traditions concerning the origin of these people; one given by themselves, the other by the Persians and Arabs, and the third by the Chinese. The Turkish historians derive themselves from *Turk*, whom they affirm to be the son of *Yafis* or *Japhet*.

*According
to the Per-
sians.*

According to the Persian historians, the Turks are descended from *Tûr*, third son of *Frayhdûn*, the seventh king of Persia; or, according to others, sixth king of the first race of kings called *Pishdâd*, contemporary with *Abraham*. *Frayhdûn* having divided his dominions among his three sons, *Masharek*, or the Eastern Countries, came to the share of *Tûr*, who built the city of *Turân*, in *Turkestan*, near the *Caspian* sea. *Tûr* having joined his second brother *Salm*, against his eldest brother *Ireje*, and slain him by treachery, *Manucher*, *Ireje*'s son, killed him; whereby, upon *Frayhdûn*'s death, which happened soon after, *Turân* or *Turkestan* fell under his dominion.

*Exploits of
Afrasiab.*

In the fiftieth year of *Manucher* or *Manujer*'s reign, *Afrasiab*, son of *Pashangh*, king of *Turkestan*, rebelled in that country, under pretence of revenging *Tûr*'s death, from whom he was descended; defeated *Manucher*, and obliged him to appoint the river *Jihûn* or *Amû* the boundary betwixt Persia and *Turkestan*. *Nauder* succeeding his father *Manucher*, *Afrasiab* invaded him with four hundred thousand men, and pursued hostilities, till he had taken and put him to death; subduing all Persia, which, with *Turkestan*, became subject to his father *Pashangh*.

But

But the cruelties of Afrafiab soon obliged the Persians to throw off the Turkish yoke; and he quitted Persia, after he had been possessed of it twelve years. In the reign of Kaykobâd, the eleventh king of Persia, Afrafiab invaded that kingdom again, but was defeated by Rostâm, the famous Persian champion; who, in the reign of Kaykaws, the twelfth king, contemporary with Solomon, routed him a second time, pursued him as far as Turân, the capital of Turkeftân, and plundered it of great treasures. Kaykhosraw, the thirteenth king of Persia, sent an army of thirty thousand men to invade Turkeftân, but they were defeated; and their general, Gudarz, being besieged by the Turks in the mountain of Damawand, in the province of Mazanderân, would have been lost, if Rostâm had not come to his relief.

The fame of that siege brought two kings, neighbours of the Turks, to their assistance; the one called Khakhon or Khakhân, the same as Khâân, the title of the Mogol kings, and the other Shangol; the former of whom was slain. Gudarz afterwards vanquished four armies of Turks, took a hundred thousand prisoners, and some time after Afrafiab himself was slain.

This is the account of the original of the Turks, given by Mirkhond (A), a famous Persian historian, which differs greatly from that composed by Fadlallah, another Persian, who wrote the history of the Mogols and Tartars, at the command of Ghazân Khân, one of Jenghîz Khân's successors in Persia.

It is easier to account how the Persian historians came to differ so much, than to reconcile them; for those who wrote before the Turks obtained the dominion in their

(A) Mirkhond, or Mirkhavend, as the Persians pronounce it, is an abbreviation of the true name of this author; which is Mohammed Ebn Amîr Khawând Shâh or Khavand Shâh. He wrote a general history of the world in Persian, from the creation to the year 875 of the Hejra, and of Christ 1471, consisting of seven thick volumes in folio, collected from a great number of histories, general and particular.

veller and geographer, published an abstract of Mirkond's history; but it is too concise, and in many places confused, as well as defective. Nor are the larger extracts of the reigns of kings, furnished by D'Herbelot in his Oriental Dictionary, sufficiently particular and accurate. However, for want of better, we have made use of them, and the translation of Texeira by Stephens, which is also very incorrectly printed.

Texeira, a Portuguese tra-

country, framed their history to agrandize their own nation, and depreciate the Turks, whom they detested for their cruelty; whereas those who wrote under the Turkish monarchies, through fear or flattery, adhered to the traditions of their masters; or, not thinking it for their honour to adopt the old Persian account, framed another more agreeable to their humour, from whence naturally arose the contradictions we meet with.

By the above account of Afrasiab, he must have lived three or four hundred years. Hence some authors make Afrasiab or Farfiab (which signifies *Conqueror of Persia*), a title common to those kings of Turkestan, who obtained so many victories over the Persians in ancient times; and for the same reason, others compare his reign to a very dark night which covered Persia.

However that be, all the Turkish families which have made a figure in the world, claim to be descended from this great conqueror. Seljûk, founder of the Seljûk monarchy asserts, that he was the thirty-fourth of his descendents, in a right male line; and the Othmân monarchs, who pretend to be related to the Seljûks by the family of Ogûz Khân, assume in their titles that of Afrasiab, as well to denote their nobility as valour; especially as they have, in latter times, obtained great victories over the Persians¹.

*Khân of
Turkestan.*

One would imagine that Abulghâz Khân, who undertook professedly to write a genealogical history of the Turks, could not have avoided speaking of the khâns of Turkestan, and particularly of Afrasiab; yet he treats of no descents from Ogûz, but those relating to the Mogols and Tartars; and only mentions Afrasiab once, on occasion of Ilék, khân of Balâsfâgûn, who, he tells us, was descended from Afrasiab Khân, without saying any thing more of this hero, or his race. In short, the whole history of the origin and descent of the Turks bears the marks of fiction: for although we should admit that there might have been such persons as Afrasiab, Ogûz, and Turk, among the ancestors of the Turks, yet it is manifest that both the times and actions ascribed to those heroes must be false, as well as the tradition of Turk being the son of Japhet, since he is not to be found in the genealogy of that patriarch, given by Moses, which both the Christians and Mohammedans follow.

According to the Chinese historians, the Huns and Turks are the same people, who, at different times, went

¹ D'Herb. p. 895. art. Touran. p. 66. art. Afrasiab. & p. 800. art. Selgiouk.

under those different names. They gave them the appellations of Hyong-nû and Tû-ki-ûk, that is, *Huns* and *Turks*; the first is that which they had before the Christian æra; the second, that which a remnant of those Huns, re-established in Tartary, assumed afterwards; and say that they dwelt* in the neighbourhood of the great Desert, extending from the country of Korea, in the east, to that of the Getes, in the west; which part of Tartary was their habitation from the highest antiquity: that Mau-ton, son of the last Chinese monarch, of the first family, or the Hya race, was the first Tanjû, or emperor of these Huns; and the same with the famous Ogûz Khân, so renowned among the present Turks and Tartars, and acknowledged for the founder of their empire: that, in the reign of one of his successors, they were divided into two distinct Tanjûs; one branch was called the northern, the other the southern Huns; but the Persian historians distinguished them by the names of Tartars and Mogols: that the northern Huns, being expelled by the Chinese, removed westward, and passed, at least part of them, into Europe. That the southern Huns, in the sequel, became best known by the name of Turks; about which time they were subdued by the Juijen, eastern Tartars; and at length, being greatly reduced, they retired into the mountain of Erganakon, where they forged iron for their conquerors: that they afterwards vanquished them in their turn, and established a new empire under the name of Turks.

*Origin of
the Turks
from the
Chinese
historians.*

In this account we discover two very material facts, hitherto unknown to the historians of Europe, and perhaps to those of the west of Asia; first, the original of the Huns, about which Jornandes and other writers have related such ridiculous fables: secondly, that the Huns and Turks are the same people, under different names; which latter seems not to have been given them till about the year 500, when they became known by it in Europe.

* Ven-hyen-tum-kaw, Kam-mo. Ye-tum chi van fan tum pow swi su, as cited by Guignes sur l'Origin des Huns & des Turks.

S E C T. II.

A general Description of Great Tartary, with an Account of the Turkish Tribes or Nations inhabiting it, according to the Arab Authors.

Bounds and extent.

TARTARY, in its greatest extent, is situated between fifty-seven and one hundred and sixty degrees of longitude (B); and between the thirty-seventh and fifty-fifth degrees of latitude: being bounded on the north by Siberia, or that part of North Asia which belongs to Russia; on the west, by the rivers Don (C), the Wolga, and Kama, which separate it from Russia; on the south, by the Euxine and Caspian seas, Karazm, the two Bukhârias, China, and Korea; and on the east, by the Oriental or Tartarian ocean. From this account it appears that Tartary, or Great Tartary, as we call it, is a vast region, being almost in the middle of Asia, and extending the whole length of it, in that part from the west to east, the space of one hundred and four degrees in longitude, or four thousand one hundred and forty-five geographical miles: but its breadth is not proportionable; being not above nine hundred and sixty miles where broadest, and, where narrowest, three hundred and thirty.

Division.

This vast region is divided into two great parts; the one called the Western, the other the Eastern Tartary: which last is scarce one-fourth part so large as the former; beginning at about the one hundred and thirty-ninth degree of longitude, and ending at the one hundred and sixty-first. Hence it contains only twenty-two degrees of longitude, or is but nine hundred geographical miles from west to east, though eight hundred and eighty broad, from south to north. But with this part of Tartary we have nothing to do at present: for although some Oriental authors derive all the inhabitants of Tartary in general from the same stock, making the people of Katay, under which denomination they seem to comprize all the inhabitants of

(B) Reckoning from the west end of the ile of Ferro, supposed to be twenty degrees west of Paris, and seventeen degrees thirty-five minutes west of London.

(C) The limits might be

carried westward, beyond the Dnieper or Boristhenes; but these parts were rather conquered in later ages, than originally inhabited by Turkish or Tartar tribes.

Eastern

Eastern Tartary, to be descended from Turk, the son of Japhet; yet, in the genealogy of those tribes given by Abu'l-ghâzi Khân, and doubtless in that of Fadlallah (D), from whom chiefly he extracted his history, we meet with none but what are to be found in Western Tartary: for which reason we shall confine our description, in this place, to that part only.

In this large region of Western Tartary (containing in extent one hundred and thirty-nine degrees of longitude out of one hundred and sixty-one), although the lands belonging to every nation or tribe are marked out, and well known to the inhabitants; yet as there are few or no cities, towns, or villages, to direct strangers, their several situations or possessions are best distinguished and ascertained by the natural marks or boundaries, such as mountains, rivers, and lakes, with which Western Tartary abounds. But it will be sufficient for our present purpose to mention only the most remarkable.

The principal mountains, or rather chains of mountains found in this part of Great Tartary, may be divided into three classes: first, those which run along the northern borders; and though perhaps not always contiguous, or of the same denomination; go under the general name of Vlug Tâg or Dâg, that is, *the Great Mountain*: secondly, those which make the southern bounds, and are called Kichuk Tâg, or, *the Lesser Mountain*: the third great chain is called mount Altay, lying nearly in the middle, between the Caspian sea and Eastern Tartary, and extending between the other two, in about the one hundred and tenth degree of longitude.

The chief deserts or plains are, first, those of Kipjâk or Kapchâk in the west, extending many days journey on the north and north-east of the Caspian sea. These are generally fertile lands. Secondly, those stretching eastward from Kipjâk to mount Altay. Thirdly, that called the Great Kobi, or Sandy Desert, by the Moguls, and Sha-mo by the Chinese. It is divided by ridges of hills into three or four parts, and extends eastward from mount Altay to Eastern Tartary.

The principal rivers of Western Tartary, besides the Dnieper, Don, and Wolga, are the Jaïk or Yaïk and Yem, both descending from the Ulug Tâg, and falling

(D) We cannot be positive as to this point, because De la Croix, in his history of Geng- his Khân, taken chiefly from Fadlallah, has mentioned only the Mogol tribes.

- The Ili.* into the Caspian sea, on the north side. The river Ili or Khonghis, which rises out of the Kichuk Tâg, on the borders of Little Bukharia, about the one hundred and fourth degree of longitude, and runs north-west into the lake Palkafi (E): on this river the khân of the Eluths or Kalmûks usually resides. The river Irtish, Irtis, or Erchis, which rises in mount Altay, and runs westward, inclining to the north, between two branches of it, into the lake Sayfan (F); from whence issuing again, it passes north-west, through part of Siberia, and falls into the
- The Obi.* Obi, which has its source out of the same mountains, about one degree to the north of that of the Irtish; and seven or eight degrees to the north-east rises the Kem, or
- Kem,* Jenisea, which runs westward for the space of seven or eight degrees, and then turning northward, enters Siberia.
- Selinga.* The next river of consequence is the Selinga, which rises out of the lake Kofogol or Hutûktû (G), not far from the source of the Jenisea, takes a sweep southward round by the east, and falls northward into the lake Baykâl, in Siberia, about thirty leagues north-west of the city Selinghinskoy, which stands upon its banks. Into the Selinga runs the Orkon, coming from the south-west; and into the Orkon the Tula, rising eastward in mount Kentey; two rivers very famous in the history of Jenghîz Khân. Out of the same mountain, and not far from the source of the Tula, rise two other rivers, still more famous than the former; first, the Onon, called also by the Mogols
- Orkon and Tula.* Saghalian Ula, or the Dragon River, and by the Russians Amûr; which running north-eastward, and then taking a large circuit by the south, rolls along the bounds of Eastern Tartary, and falls into the Eastern ocean, in about the 53d degree of latitude, and 159th of longitude. On its bank stands two cities; Nerchinskoy, or Nipchew, a frontier of the Russians, almost due north of Pe-kin, in China; and Saghalian Ula, possessed by the Chinese.
- Onon or Saghalian Ula.* The river Kerlon or Kerulon, which running north-
- Kerlon or Argun.* (E) It is about forty miles long, and thirty broad, in latitude forty-eight degrees, longitude ninety-seven, reckoning from the isle of Ferro. (F) Saffan or Ifan, called also Honhotu Nor, ninety miles long from west to east, and
- forty broad; in latitude forty-seven degrees thirty minutes, longitude one hundred and four degrees. (G) Or Khutuktu, seventy miles long from south to north, and twenty broad. In lat. 52°, long. 118°, east-

eastward, falls into the lake Kulon, or Dálav (H), and, passing out again under the name of Ergona or Argun, joins the Saghalian Ula, about one hundred and seventy miles beyond Nerchînskoy. To these let us add the river Kâlka, from whence, though small, the Kâlka Moguls, or Mongols, take their name. It rises in the mountains separating the Eastern from the Western Tartary, and, running westward, falls into the lake Puir, and then into that of Kulon.

Having mentioned the principal lakes of Western Tartary, in our account of the rivers, we shall take notice only of two more; first, the Kâmish, about four hundred and eighty-four miles long, and near as many broad (I). The second, Issikol; a lake of small extent (K), but renowned among the inhabitants in the west of Tartary for being the place where Turk, their great ancestor, fixed his royal seat.

As to the political state of Western Tartary, we shall only say in general, that it is entirely possessed by the Mogol tribes, under several khâns, whose dominions are named after the people, or the prince who rules over them. The first and chief of these Mogol nations are the Elûths, nicknamed Kalinûks by the Mohammedan Tartars. These are divided under two khâns. The first are called Ayuki Eluths, from their khân Ayuki, who possesses the western part of Tartary, bounded by the river Jaik, containing most of that country which was formerly called Kipjak, or Kapchâk, and extending about ten degrees eastward from the river Jaik, in the 72d degree of longitude. The second are called Dsongari or Kontaishi Eluths, from the title of their prince, styled Kontaish, whose dominions extend from 72 degrees of longitude, as far as the end of mount Altay, in about the 102d degree.

The second nation or branch of the Mogols are the Kâlka, Khâlkha, or Hâlha Mogols: their country extends from mount Altay eastward to the source of the river Kâlka, whence they derive their name, in the borders of Eastern Tartary, and 139th degree of longitude. The third branch of the Mogols or Mongols, properly so called, whose territories lie to the south of that of the Kâlkas, between them and the great wall of China; to which empire both nations are subject,

(H) Sixty miles long from south-west to north-east, and twenty-seven broad. In lat. 48° 30', long. 135°. (I) In lat. 50°, long. 83° 30'. (K) Lat. 46°, long. 94° 30'.

Besides

Besides these khâns (who with their subjects are idolaters of the religion of Tibet, or the Dalay Lama) there are two others in Great Tartary, who possess that part of it called Turkesthân, situate to the north of Great Bukharia and Karazm, between those countries and the dominions of the Eluths; of which we shall speak more particularly in a subsequent section, and now return to our subject, for explaining which, this short description of Tartary, with the help of maps, is sufficient.

*Turkish
nations,*

*according
the Arabs.*

It is generally agreed by the Oriental historians, that the inhabitants of Great Tartary are originally Turks, or so many branches of the same nation: but those who wrote of Turkish affairs, and even the Turks themselves who inhabited Persia before the time of Jenghîz Khân, seem to have had but a slender knowledge of the several tribes of people into which their nation was divided. The Arab author of the book miscalled *The Geography of the Nubian*, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, says, the Turks were branched into many different kinds of people; as the Tobbat, Taghazghaz, Kharkirs, Kaymaks, Khaazljes, Hofarens, Mohamedans, Torkhoth, Odhkoth, Khoffhaks, Khalaj, Olghars, and Bolghars.

This geographer says little more concerning those different people than their names; but describes the countries inhabited by some of them: from whence we shall extract as much as may be proper to lay before our readers.

Tobbat.

The country of Tobbat (Tibet), with part of India, borders on the west on Mâwâra'n-nâhr (or Great Bukharia), and on the east on Sin (or China). The chief cities are Tobbat and Shih, Wakhan, Sakita, Berwan, Ug, Majag, Ramajag, and Danekhu. The country of Wakhan and Sakita border on those of Wakhath and Jil, in Mâwâra'n-nâhr. Wakhan abounds with rich mines of the finest gold and silver: in it is a lake called Berwân, forty leagues in length, and twenty-four in breadth.

*Taghaz-
ghaz.*

The land of the Taghazghaz, who are governed by a Khakân, is bounded on the east by Kharkir, on the south by Sin, and on the north by the people of Kaymak. It contains four cities; Kakhân or Tantabee, Mafa, Jormok, and Bakhwân. Kakhân, the capital, has twelve iron gates, and is seated on a great river that runs eastward; it is two months journey from Berfajan the Higher, in the country of Farghâna, and twelve south-east from Bakhwân. In the mountains near this last city are found the musk goats. There is among the Taghazghaz Turks a nation who adore the sun.

The

The inhabitants of Kharkir border on the sea of Sin, and possess four populous cities, all lying within the compass of four days journey. The country is large, fertile, and well watered: some of its rivers descend from the country of Sin; the greatest of them, called Menhar, is very rapid; running between rocks, and driving mills for grinding rice and wheat. On its banks grow aloe trees and costum dulce. In its stream is found a fish called shatrun; which, being eaten, affects the seminal vessels. It is said that it has not many bones, that the flesh is divided into joints, and does not smell like other fish. The city where the king resides is very strongly fortified with walls, ditches, and counterescarps, and is three stages from the sea; where there is a large peninsula, called that of the Hyacinth, from the precious stones of the same name, which are found there in abundance.

The land of the people of Kaymak has, on the south, Taghazghaz, on the south-west Khazalj, where it joins with Tobbat, on the west Khalakh, and on the east the Sea of Darkness, wherein are islands, to which the merchants pass on horseback, and lie every night on trees. The king of Kaymak is equal to the greatest monarchs for power and grandeur; the inhabitants are very numerous, and worship the sun. It contains sixteen cities; the principal whereof are Astur, Buragh, Sifian, Mannon, Mostânah, Khakân (the regal seat), Benjar, Dholan, and Hanawes; to these may be added Karan Hiya.

The great river Ghammas, rising in the mountains of Benjar, runs eastward to the city Astur, on its south bank, six stages distant, through the desert; thence to Sifian, on the north side twelve stages; it flows afterwards to the regal city Khakân, which stands on the south side: then it turns northwards to Mostânah, on its west bank, four stages distant. From this city it advances eastward till it falls into the sea, one stage distant. Along all the coast of Kaymak is found gold, when the sea rages; and the country produces plenty of musk, but not so good as that of Tobbat, which is esteemed the most valuable.

From Karan Hiya, the first city of Kaymak, to Khakân, or the *Royal City*, are twenty-four stages, from west to east. From Khakân to Buragh, four stages, south-westward; and eighteen stages, through the desert of the Turks of Khalah, to Tarân. From Tarân to Benjar are thirty-six stages: thus, to Kasra forty-five miles; to Dammortah, crossing a mountain in the way, four stages; to Khaykham castle, twenty stages, eastward; and to Benjar four stages.

The

Khazalja. The country of Khazalja contains several cities; among which are Bersajan the Higher, Nawaketh, Rudhan, Yalan, and Bersajan the Lower. From Atas, in Farghana, to Bersajan the Higher are six stages, through the country of the Turks: to Nawaketh, in the entrance of Khazalja, almost ten stages. From Atrakana to Karanttia, the first city of Kaymak, ten stages, through the deserts. From Tarân to Bersajan the Lower, consisting of towns and fields, thirty-nine miles. From Bersajan the Lower to the Higher, thus; first, to Ayas castle, six miles; to Kukfawb, twelve miles; to Kulan Ghaya town, fifteen miles; to Borak town, fifteen miles: it stands on a mountain, from whence the river Borak descends, and, running westward, through the territories of Aylan, falls into the river Alshâh, the Sihûn or Sîr: to Asîra, fifteen miles; to Ghane Burekt town, twenty-four miles; to Jerk town, twelve miles; to the city of Khakân, twelve miles; to Kobab, thirty-six miles; to Bersajan the Higher near ten stages, with the karawân ¹.

The Odhkos. The Arabian geographer says little or nothing of the other Turkish nations, and their countries, except the Odhkos and Olgharians; of whom almost every thing he relates may be esteemed fabulous.

He has mentioned rivers, lakes, and mountains, which in all probability never existed; nor are their names to be found in later writers: he has placed large and rich cities, where never any thing but deserts was seen; and, in many particulars, had recourse to fiction. In short, if we except the names of nations, which might have formerly existed, and of a few places which are still known, the whole seems to be romance. Neither are we sure, from what our author has written, that all the nations whom he mentions were branches of the Turks: in all probability they were only so in the opinion of the Arabs; it being customary to call the different nations, under one power or dominion, by the same name; or to give the name of the people who are nearest, to all the rest who are beyond them, either for want of knowing better, or to avoid prolixity.

¹ Geogr. Nub. p. 211.

S E C T. III.

An Account of the Turkish Tribes or Nations, as delivered by the Turkish and Tartarian Historians.

THE Oriental authors, who wrote in and after the time of the Seljûk sultâns reigning in the west of Asia, seem to have been much better acquainted with the Turkish nations than the Arabs, although some of them extend their branches much too far; including, under that denomination, not only the Moguls, Tartars, and Igurs or Vigurs, but also the inhabitants of Kitay or Katay, which contained the northern provinces of China, and great part of Tartary, to the north and north-west. Others, as Mirkhond and Arab Shâh (L), more distinctly inform us, that the posterity of Turk was divided into four great tribes, named Erlat, Jalayr, Kawjin, and Berlas or Perlas; which were again subdivided by Ogûz Khân into twenty-four others, of which the principal are the Mogols, the Turks properly so called, the Igurs, the Khanghelis, the Kipchaks, the Kazelaks, and the Tamgaj. These twenty-four tribes were likewise divided into the right and left wing, called by the Mogols Jivangar and Berangar, which, by their fundamental laws, were never to mix or marry one with the other ^m.

Turkish historians;

according to Mirkhond.

This detail which D'Herbelot has given us from the Oriental historians, was all to be found on the subject, till the history of Abû'lghâzi Khân of Karazm (M) lately appeared,

Abû'lghâzi Khân's history,

^m D'Herbel. Bib. Orient. p. 898.

(L) Arab Shâh, a Turkish historian, who wrote the life of Timur Bek, or Tamerlan, in elegant Arabic: but gives that prince a very bad character; probably on account of the victories obtained by him over the Turks, and the ravages he made in their country. This history has been published in French, translated by Vazier.

(M) It is written in the Mogol or Turkish language, and under the title of Shajari Tur-

ki, that is, *a Genealogical History of the Turks*. It is divided into nine parts: the two first treat of the khâns and tribes descended from Turk, the son of Japhet, to the time Jenghîz Khân: the third relates the life and actions of that conqueror: the five next those of his sons and successors in the several parts of Tartary: and the ninth treats of the khâns of Kharazm, to the death of the author, who was sovereign of that country, which lies on the

whence
collected.

peared, one of whose chief designs was to treat particularly of the tribes of the Turkish nation, and mark the descent of each. As this book is one of the chief funds which afford materials for the history of the Turks and Tartars, it will be proper to inform the reader on what authority it is grounded. Ghazân or Kazân Khân, sixth successor of Halaku, grandson of Jenghîz Khân, who subdued Persia, being desirous to preserve the memory of the Mogol tribes, as well as the great exploits of his ancestors, sent Pulâd, or Fulâd, a nobleman skilled in the Mogol language, into Tartary, in order to collect materials for that purpose. At his return the khân put his memoirs into the hands of his grand wazîr or visier Fadlallah, that he might compose a regular history from them; and ordered Pulâd to assist him in the work, which consists of three folio volumes (N), and was finished in the year of the Hejra 702, and of Christ 1302. It was from this history chiefly that Abû'l-ghâzi Khân extracted his work, excepting that part which relates to the Uzbeks of Great Bukharia and Karazm.

Turkish
tribes.

According to this author, the several different nations or tribes of people, called Aymaks, may be distinguished into two kinds; those descended from the Mogols or Mongols, and those who proceed from another source. Whence many of these latter are derived, does not appear from Abû'lghâzi Khân's history; but they must be either Mogols or Tartars, who had lost the memory of their origin; or else tribes sprung from the khâns preceding Alanza; for all the Aymaks, it seems, are derived from the khâns.

With respect to the tribes not descended from the Mogols, as the Kankli, Kipjâks, Karliks, Kalach, and Vîgurs; of these five, which derive their name from Ogûz Khân, the last only, we are told, sprung from Mogul Khân.

The Kankli.

1. The Kankli dwelt, for some time, jointly with the Turkmâns, in the sandy deserts; but when these last be-

the east side of the Caspian Sea. The khân dying in 1663, before the history was quite finished, his son and successor, Anusha Mehemet Khân, completed it two years after. Besides the history of Kojah Rashîd, as he calls Fadlallah, and eighteen others which he does not name, he made use of particular memoirs relating to several Mogol tribes.

Abû'lghâzi Khân's history, which was procured by Strahlenberg, while prisoner in Siberia, has been translated into Russian, German, French, and English.

(N) The first volume is in the French king's library, and was translated by De la Croix the son, but not published.

gan

gan to live in towns, the former went to reside about the rivers Issikul and Talash, where they have remained for a long time. Jenghîz Khân put to the sword ten thousand men, whom he found there; the rest, to the number of fifty or sixty thousand, had before become subjects to soltân Mohammed Karazm Shah, whose mother was of this tribe.

2. The Kipjaks have always inhabited the banks of the Don, Wolga, and Jaik. *The Kipjaks.*

3. The Karlîks have constantly dwelt in the mountains of the Mogols country, living on the produce of their lands. This tribe elected their khân, and might have amounted to twenty thousand families in the time of Jenghîz Khân. This conqueror having sent an envoy to persuade them to submit, Arslân, their khân, carried him a pretty daughter, besides very magnificent presents. The receiver, in return, gave him a relation in marriage; but when he was gone, said, the name Arslân Sirak suited him better than that of Arslân Khân. The Moguls use the term Sirak, signifying a meek-spirited man, when they speak of the Tajiks, who are a very simple people.ⁿ *The Karlîks.*

4. Kal-ach signifies hungry. There are, at present, several numerous branches of this tribe, not only in the country of Mawârâ'nahr, or Great Bukharia, but also the Persian provinces of Khorasân and Irâk. *The Kal-ach.*

5. The Takrins. Bugay Zinanz, khân of this tribe, being invited by Jenghîz Khân to submit, he sent, among other presents, a daughter, who appeared so beautiful in the eyes of Ugaday or Oçtay Khân, that, after his father's death, he married her, and loved her above all his other wives. *The Takrins.*

6. The tribe of the Kerghis, which was but thin at first, increased considerably in time, by the accession of Moguls, and other families who joined them, for the sake of the agreeable country which they inhabited. Urus Inal, their prince, unable to resist Jenghîz Khân, who summoned him, by two ambassadors, to submit, sent that great monarch magnificent presents, and, among the rest, a bird called shungar. The Ikar or Ikrân Murân, now called Janîsea, glides along the borders of the Kerghis, and falls into the Azokh Jenghîz, or Bitter Sea. Near its mouth, our author tells us, there is a great town, called Alakhzin, which signifies *pie'd*; which name it took, be- *The Kerghis.*

* Abu'lghazi Khân's History of the Turks, &c. p. 14. 31, & seq.

cause its inhabitants, and the dependent towns, have none but pied horses : these horses are very high ; a colt of a year old being as large as a horse of three any where else. There are likewise rich silver mines in its neighbourhood.

The Ur-mankats.

7. The tribe of Ur mankats, so called, from their living in places most remote, and full of forests, are neighbours to the Kerghis, on the Ikâr Murân, and submitted, at the same time, to Jenghîz Khân. There is another tribe who bear the same name, and follow the same course of life, but they are Mogols^o.

The Tatars.

8. The tribe of Tatars or Tattars, (by the western nations of Europe called Tartars), one of the most ancient and famous of the Turkish nation, being descended from Tatar Khân, consisted formerly of above seventy thousand families, and had only one khân, who was very powerful : but coming afterwards to be divided into several branches, its strength, by degrees, declined. The principal branch settled in the country of Biurnaver, near the borders of Kitay, to which it was brought in subjection : but, some time after revolting, the emperor of Kitay forced them, by arms, to return to their duty : and this happened often to be the case with them. Another branch went and inhabited near the river Ikar or Ikrân Murân above mentioned. Gaubil informs us, from the Chinese annals, that, in the time of Jenghîz Khân, they were settled along the rivers Kerulon and Onon or Amur ; and were tributary to the emperor of the Kin, who reigned in Kitay. From this tribe all the rest, and the country they inhabited, took their name, among the nations of the southern Asia and of Europe.

The Virats, and branches.

9. The Virats. This tribe inhabit the banks of the Sekir Murân, or eight rivers, which fall into the Ikar or Ikrân Murân, that is, the Jenisea, on the east side. After maintaining the war a considerable time, against Jenghîz Khân, their khân Tokta-beghi, with his two sons, Inalzi and Tauranzi, were obliged to submit. Several tribes have sprung from them. 1. The Torga-uts, so called, because they dwelt beyond the country of Salika, which lies beyond that of the Moguls ; but, at present, they are under Ayuki Khân, and make the whole or part of the second branch of the Eluths or Aluths, called Eluths-Ayuki, or Torga-uti. 2. The Kuris. 3. The Utilas. 4. Tumats, who dwell in the country of Barku-chin^a.

^o Abu'lghazi Khan, p. 36, 39.

tugum : their khân Tatula Sukar Khân, was obliged to submit to Jenghîz Khân. 5. The Boygazins. 6. The Hermuzins. These two last tribes dwell near the Kerghis, and are very peaceable. 7. The Telanguts. 8. The Orafuts. 9. The Kussutmaits. These three last have been always famous for their skill in physic and magic, as well as hunting and fishing ; which induced them to dwell near forests and rivers ^p.

10. The Naymans is a very ancient tribe, and very rich : they dwelt in the country of the Moguls, called Karakum, or *Black Sand* ; but did not follow agriculture. Their khân, in the time of Jenghîz Khân, was called Tayayan, who, with his son Kuchluk, was slain by that conqueror. Gaubil informs us, that the Naymans were contiguous to the Moguls near the city of Holin, or Kara-kuran, to the north of the great sandy desert. At present they are settled near the Sira Muran, to the north-east of Pekin ^q.

11. The Kara-its, that is, *Swarthy*, so called from the swarthy complexion of seven brothers, from whom they sprung. Korzakur Khân, surnamed Bufruk, son of Margus Ili Khân, was the father of Tayrel Khân, to whom the emperor of Kitay gave the title of Wang : hence some writers call him Wang Khân. This is the famous Ung Khân, styled Prester John, by Marco Polo, and other European writers, who represent him both as a Christian king and priest ; but without the least foundation that appears from any history but their own. The Kara-its were neighbours to the Naymans, and possessed a great part of the countries along the rivers Tula or Tola, and Orghun ^r.

12. The Ungutti, that is, *Men in good Circumstances* ; for these people, being situate near the Chinese wall, received great wages from the emperors of Kitay, to guard its gates. In the time of Jenghîz Khân this tribe consisted of about four thousand families, whose khân Alakus, making an alliance with that monarch, contributed much to render the conquest of Kitay easy, by joining him as he approached, and giving him a free entrance by the wall ^s.

13. The Turkâks. This word signifies a *Guard*, in the Turkish : for among the Turks, while, one half of the night, the guard took their repose, the other beat on a

^p Abu'lghazi Khan, p. 40. ^q See Souciet's *Obs. Mathemat.* p. 185. ^r Gaubil's *History of Jenghiz*, p. 4. not 6. ^s Abu'lghazi Khan, p. 42. & seq.

drum, to shew they are on the watch; and, when they want to be relieved, call to those at rest, Turkak, that is, *get up and beat*. Tur signifies *get up*, and kak, *beat*. This tribe is very numerous.

*Vigurs or
Oygurs.*

We come now to the Mogul or Mungl tribes, which are in all forty-five. The first of these are the Vigurs, who took their rise in the time of Ogúz Khân, as hath been already related. They dwelt originally between the mountains Tugra Tubusluk, Ufkunluk-tugra, and Kut, on the west of the Moguls, from whom they seem to have been separated by the mountain Kut or Altay. As there are, in this country, nineteen rivers, ten on one side, and nine on the other, those who settled about the former were called Un Vigurs, and such as dwelt along the latter Tokos Vigurs. These two tribes, which consist of more than a hundred and twenty branches, possessed a great number of towns and villages, yet had no khâns; till at length, quarrelling among themselves, the first elected a prince, called Mangatati, to whom they gave the name of Il-itar; and the second chose another, whom they called Il-irghin. Their descendants had the same titles: but, a hundred years after, the two tribes coming to unite, had but one sovereign, styled Idikut; which, in Turkish, signifies, *sent by the spirit*, but, in the Uibek tongue, a *free independent person*.

*Their
branches.*

They lived thus in union two thousand years, in the above mentioned mountains: until a new difference arising between them, they separated; one part remained where they were, and the other took possession of the banks of the river Irtysh. These last, dividing again into three branches, one went and dwelt in Bish-balik, and cultivated the lands about it; the second dispersed themselves in the neighbourhood of that city, feeding on their cattle; and the third branch continued on the Irtysh, where they lived by fishing, and hunting fables, castors, martens, squirrels, and other beasts. On the flesh of these they fed, and clothed themselves with their skins.

Banerzk Idikut, their khân, submitted to Jenghîz Khân, in order to secure himself against Kavar khân of Turkestan; and every year sent him considerable presents. He joined the conqueror also, when he went to attack Mohammed Karazm Shâh.

*And learn-
ing.*

Many of the Vigurs were skilled in the Turkish language, and expert in writing; therefore Jenghîz Khân employed them in all his expeditions, as secretaries to the chancery: in which quality also his descendants, who reigned in Ma-wârâ'nhar

wârâ'lnhar and Persia, continued them for a long time^t. On this occasion it may be observed, that the Vigûrs or Oygurs were the only people inhabiting Great Tartary, who knew the use of characters, which were the same with those now found in Tibet, where they are called characters of Tangut^u.

The Ur-mankats. They lead much the same course of life with their namesakes; and are descended from Ogûz Khân; which is all that is related of that tribe. *The Ur-mankats.*

It has been already remarked, that the descendants of Kayan took the surname of Kayat, and those of Nagos that of Durlagon or Nagosler; whence, in a short time, they came to lose their true names. The tribes mentioned as sprung from them, are thirty-eight in number; thirty derive their pedigree from Kayan, and five from Nagos.

The tribes descended from Kayan are the following. *Nirkha or Niron tribe.*
1. From the three sons of Alanku sprung a numerous tribe, in the Mogul language surnamed Nirkha; that is, a pure family.

2. The Kunkurats or Kankrats. These are sprung from Kunkurat, a son of Zurluk Mergan, who descended from Kayan. They dwelt on the banks of the river Kalassui, in the time of Jenghiz Khân; to whom their khân Turk-ili, who was his relation, went over^w. *The Kunkurats.*

3. The Burkuts; and, 4. The Kurla-uts. These two tribes lived with the Kunkurats, who are related to them. *The Burkuts.*

5. The Ankarah; and, 6. The Alaknuts; are descended from the two sons of Kabay Shira, brother of Zurluk Mergan. Ulun, called also Ulun Iga, and Ulun Kufin, the mother of Jenghiz Khân, was of the latter tribe. *The Ankarah.*

7. The Kara-nuts. These are sprung from Karanut, eldest son of Busyuday, third brother of Zurluk Mergan. *The Kara-nuts.*

8. The Kurlas, one of the most eminent tribes among the Moguls, are sprung from Kurlas, son of Meyfir-ili, son of Konaklot, son of Busyuday, the youngest brother of Zurluk Mergan. Bertizena, khân of the Moguls, when they sallied out of the mountain Irgana Kon, was a descendant of Kurlas. This tribe is divided into many branches, who have the surname of Niron. 1. The Kataguns, descended from Bokum Katagum, the eldest of Alanku's three sons. 2. The Zalzuts, from Boskin Zalzi, second son of Alanku. 3. The Bayzuts, from Bassikar and Hurmalankum, sons of Kaydu Khân. 4. The Zipzuts, from *The Kurlas.*

^t Abu'lghazi Khan, 13. & seq. 31. & seq. & 46. ^u Gaubil. in Souciet. Obs. Math. p. 146. ^w Abu'lghazi Khan, p. 43. 52. & 75.

Zapzin, Kaydu Khân's third son. 5. The Irighents, from Zapzin also. 6. The Zenas, surnamed Nagos, but different from the Nagosler; they sprung from Kauduzena and Olekinzena, sons of Hurmalankum. 7. The Butakins, from Butakin, eldest son of Tumana Khân, grandson of Kaydu Khân. 8. The Uruths, from Uruth, second son of Tumana Khân. 9. The Mankats, from Mankat, Tumana's third son; these are called Kara Kalpaks by the Russians, and possess at present the western half of Turkestan, with the city of that name; but Kyrrillow's map makes the Kara Kalpaks and Mangats distinct tribes. 10. Badurghins, from Samkarum, third son of Tumana Khân. 11. The Budats, from Batkilti, Tumana's fourth son. 12. The Burlas or Berlas, from Zedemzi-burlas, son of Kazuli, Tumana's sixth son. Of this tribe was the great Timur-Beg, or Tamerlane. 13. The Kayums, from Udur-bayan, seventh son of Tumana Khân. 14. the Vilots, from Balzar, Tumana's eighth son, called Oglan, or *the Lame*, because he halted. 15. The Bassuts, or Yessuts, from Olzingan, ninth son of Tumana*. 16. The Kayats are descended from the six sons of Kabul Khân; in whom, being strong men and great warriors, was revived the name of Kayat, which had been in a manner unknown for above three thousand years. 17. The Borzugan Kayats, sprung from the five sons of Yefughî Bahâder Khân, of whom Temujin, afterwards Jenghîz Khân, was the eldest. They were all of a fair complexion, inclining to yellow, with a red circle between the black and white of their eyes; which kind of eyes the Moguls call Borzugan, from whence their descendants had that name.

The Ilzigans.

9. The Ilzigans. This tribe is descended from Ilzigân, brother of Kurlas, son of Meyfir Ili, before mentioned.

The Durmans.

10. The Durmans, that is, *four*, in the Moguls language, derive their origin from the four eldest sons of Bizin Kavan Khân; who, resenting the election of Kipzi Mergan Khân, though it was made pursuant to the will of their father, left the country; but their descendants, in process of time, came and dwelt in the dominions of Kipzi Mergan. From these are descended two tribes. 1. The Barians, from one of that name. 2. The Sukut, from the son of a Durman, by a slave: this slave coming before her time, through the abuse she received from his wife, went and hid the infant among the shrubs, called, in their lan-

* Abu'lghazi Khan, p. 60.

guage, yulgun, but by the Moguls fukut ; the father finding it next morning, from this incident, gave it the name of Sukut.

The tribes of the Nagosler, or Durlagans, descended from Nagos, are five.

1. The Bayuts are divided into several branches, the most considerable of which are the Sadaghin Bayuts, and the Makrim Bayuts, so named from the rivers Sadaghin and Makrim, on the banks whereof they inhabit, being neighbours to the Virats. *The Bayuts.*

2. The Jalays are a very ancient tribe ; they were formerly scattered over a great extent of country, and had many princes, till the Kityans having declared war against them, they were obliged to draw closer together, in order to assist one another. Their families were so numerous, that they spread over seventy different provinces, which they called in their language Kurân ; and the greater part of them resided in a quarter of the Moguls called Umân ; but the emperor of Kitay having defeated and carried away a great number of them, the rest fled, and were reduced to live on roots.

This disaster happened in the reign of Dutumin Khân (O), father of Kaydu Khân ; who going to be married in another country, left his second brother, Mutulun, to take care of the house, and his seven other brothers. These repairing one day to a very level spot of ground near their habitation, where they used to perform their exercises, they found the Jalays digging for roots, which rendered the place unfit for their diversions. They immediately informed Mutulun of this circumstance, who hastened thither with a strong force, and put the Jalays to flight ; but the latter returning to the charge, after great loss, at length overcame Mutulun, killed him and his seven brethren ; not content with this victory, they ruined their habitations, and put to the sword as many of their subjects as fell into their hands. *Their distress.*

Kaydu Khân being informed of this misfortune, returned and demanded of the Jalays the reason why they had killed his brothers. The Jalays, terrified at the message, sent five of the chief persons concerned, with their wives and children, to the khân, to be disposed of as he thought proper ; but he was content to keep them as his slaves, which proved of great advantage to him ; for they took the surname of their master, serving him and *The Kayds Jalays.*

(O) Grandfather of Jenghîz Khân, in the seventh generation.

his posterity faithfully, to the fourth generation; inso-much that some of his descendents had ten, twelve, and even twenty families of them for their portion. In the reign of Jenghiz Khân the other Jalays took the name of their captive brethren *v*.

Besides the Mogul tribes, there are nine others; but it is uncertain whether they are sprung from Kayan or Nayos.

The Markats.

1. The Markats. Töktu-beghi Khân of this tribe was always at variance with Jenghiz Khân: one time, in the absence of that hero, he carried away his wives and subjects, with all that fell into his hands. Another time, lying in ambush for Jenghiz Khân, he made him prisoner while he was taking a walk; and it cost his subjects a large sum of money to ransom him.

*The Umma-uts.
Its branches.*

2. The Umma-uts, formerly called Urma-uts. From them are derived four tribes. 1. The Kunakhmars, sprung from a person of that name. Menglik, surnamed Izka, or the *Devout*, for his piety and virtue, was of this tribe, and married the widow Ulun-iga, mother of Temujin, or Jenghiz Khân, who was then but thirteen years of age. Some years after Vang Khân, of the Kara-its, sent a letter to him, proposing to kill Temujin, and divide his possessions between them. This murder was to be perpetrated at the time of a visit Vang Khân was to make to Menglik. Soon after he gave Temujin an invitation, under pretence of treating about a marriage between his daughter and the other's eldest son. Temujin, who frequently visited him, as having been an intimate of his father's, immediately set forward with only two domestics; but meeting on the road with his father-in-law, who informed him of Vang Khân's treachery, he returned, and escaped the snare. 2. The second branch of the Umma-uts is the Arlats, sprung from Arlat, second son of Menglik Izka, by his first wife. 3. The Kalkits, from Kalkit, third son of Menglik; so named because he could not speak plain. From the Kalkits are derived, 4. The Kishliks, from one Kishlik. This man, who, with his brother Baydu, kept the horses of a great lord belonging to Vang Khân's court, going to his master's with mare's milk, overheard him bid his wife get ready his arms, for that the khân intended to invade Temujin, and being sprung from the Moguls, as soon as they had delivered in the milk, they went and discovered the plot; for which service

v Abu'lghazi Khan, p. 53, & seq.

Jenghiz

Jenghîz Khân made them and their descendents, for nine generations, Tarkân, free from all sorts of taxes.

3. The Vishuns; 4. The Suldus; and 5. The Oklians. *The Vi-*
Of whom nothing more is mentioned, than that they are *shuns.*
branches of the Moguls.

This is the account of the tribes or branches of the Turkish nation given by Abu'lghâzi Khân, which, though the most extensive of any that has yet come to our hands, is, after all, very superficial; nor, indeed, could it well be otherwise, since it does not appear that any of the inhabitants of Tartary had written records, or even made use of letters, except the Igûrs, or Vigûrs, before the time of Jenghîz Khân; and their oral traditions must, from the nature of the thing itself, be very imperfect, as well as liable to much uncertainty and even corruption.

However that be, Abu'lghâzi Khân, and the authors *Disagree-*
whom he consulted, differ much from those quoted by *ment of*
D'Herbelot, and apparently go upon a different plan (P); *authors.*
for he speaks neither of Turk's posterity being divided into four tribes, nor of any subdivision into four others by Ogûz, conformable to Mirkhond and the earlier Persian historians. In all probability we should discover a still greater disagreement, had D'Herbelot given us the names of all the Turkish tribes from that author, or his son Kond Amîr, who wrote a particular history of the Mogul tribes, Jenghâz Khân and his successors.

What seems most singular in Abu'lghâzi Khân is, that he *No tribe*
mentions no particular tribe properly called Turks, as the *called*
Persian historians have done. Whether he omitted them *Turks,*
in consequence of nothing being said about them in the authors he made his extracts from; or, as intending to treat chiefly of the Moguls, which seems indeed to have been his principal design; or lastly, because there is at *now is*
present no tribe in all Tartary existing under the name of *Tartary.*
Turks, that people having long since passed into other countries, or been destroyed by wars, we cannot determine; but let whatever have been the reason, it is certain, that there was formerly a particular tribe or nation among the inhabitants of Tartary named Turks, for they are mentioned both by the Roman and Chinese as well as the Arab and Persian historians already cited. This truth will appear more evident still from their history, delivered in the following section.

(P) Their history undoubtedly given by the authors before
edly was calculated to do ho- mentioned was to celebrate the
nour to the Mogols, as that Seljûks.

S E C T. IV.

The Affairs of the Turks with the Nations bordering on Tartary, and among themselves, from their first Appearance, till the Time of Jenghiz Khán.

Particular
tribe of

IT may be questioned, whether all the different tribes of people inhabiting Tartary are branches of Turks; but it seems probable that there was a particular nation among the ancient Scythians who went by that name; since the Turci, perhaps better written Turki, are mentioned by Pomponius Mela the geographer², and Pliny³, who place them amongst the nations dwelling in the neighbourhood of the river Tanais and the Palus Mæotis.

Oriental
Turks.

How the Turks should be known so early to the Romans, and not to the Greeks, who lay much nearer their country, may seem a little strange; for they are not mentioned by Ptolemy, nor any writer of that nation, before the middle of the sixth century. Then, indeed, they speak of them for the first time; but far from placing them in the west of Asia, they give them a situation in the farthest East; yet it must be confessed, that the name of Oriental Turks appears to be conferred with a view to distinguish them from other Turks settled in the West. It is surprising that Khalkokondilas, who, in his History of the Fall of the Greek Empire, treats of the name and origin of the Turks, should say nothing of these eastern Turks mentioned by preceding historians; but indeed he was quite a stranger to the Seljûks, or any kind of Turks, though living near the northern borders of the empire (Q), before the time of the Ogûzians or Othmâns.

Their situ-
ation,

The Byzantine historians relate, that these Oriental Turks were the same formerly called Sakæ: that they dwelt beyond the Sogdians; and were divided into eight tribes: that they had greatly increased in power within a few years, so as to border on the Roman empire: that their king, named Disabules, sent ambassadors in the fourth year of Justin the younger; and that they brought with them iron to sell, pretending that there were mines of that metal in their country: that Disabules encamped near

according
to the
Greek

² De Situ Orbis. ³ Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. 7.

(Q) In Hungary, in and before the time of the emperor Constantine Porphyrogeni-

the

the mountain Ek-tak : that this name signifies the *Mountain of Gold* : and was given to it on account of its abounding with fruit and cattle : that it stood in the most eastern part of his dominions : that to the south of it was a place called Talas, and four hundred stadia to the west a plain Ikar ^z.

Whether this Talas was the same mentioned by later travellers, or the plain of Ikar had any relation to the river Ikar or Ikran, now called Jenifea, we shall not pretend to determine : but it is certain this account agrees very well with what is related by a curious missionary, from the Chinese history, which begins to speak of the Turks, whom they call Tu-que, in the year 545 ; at which time they were an inconsiderable people, who dwelt to the north-west of Turfân, in Little Bukharia ; and, not long before, their employment was to work iron, near a mountain called Kin, that is, *Gold* : but, in a few years, they grew very powerful ; subduing the whole country between the Caspian sea and the river Lyau, in the province of Liau-tong. They were divided into Tu-que of the North, and Tu-que of the West ; and maintained great wars either among themselves, or with the Chinese, to whom they were very formidable ^a. Whether they made any conquests in China itself, does not appear ; but we are told, that the founders of the dynasties of the latter Tang and Han in that empire were of these Tu-que ; the former commencing in the year 923, the latter in 947, of the Christian æra.

and Chinese historians.

Besides the great conformity between the Roman and Chinese history, relating to the rise of the Turkish power, it is worth observing, that they both confirm a very remarkable circumstance in the history of the Mogols, and almost prove them to be the same people with the Turks ; namely, their working in iron, near a mountain called Kin. This mountain is probably the same with that of Irganakon, Erkana, or Arkennekom, situated in the extreme north parts of the Mogols country ; where, we are told a foundery was erected by the chief of the Kayat tribe, thence called the Arkennekom smiths ^b. Hence the fable related by Abu'lghâzi Khân, of the Mogols making a way through that mountain, by melting the iron mines, doubts had its rise.

Set up iron-works, near the mountain Kin.

^z Menander, cap. 6—14. Simockatta, lib. vii. cap. 8. ap. new Collect. of Voy. and Trav. vol. iv. p. 537. ^a Gaubil. Hist. Jenghiz Khân, p. 2. New Collection of Travels, 4to. vol. iv. p. 433. ^b De la Croix, Hist. Jeng. p. 6.

But

*Turks
embassy*

*to the
Romans.*

*The Per-
sians in-
vade.*

*Roman
embassies.*

But to return to the affairs of the Oriental Turks. Disabules having, at the request of the Sogdians, whom with the Nephtalites, he had lately conquered, sent two embassies to the Persians, to establish a trade for silk; the Persians were not content with rejecting the alliance of the Turks, on account of their inconstancy and breach of faith, as they alleged; but to give them an aversion to the country, poisoned their ambassadors: whence arose the enmity between those two nations. It was on this occasion that Disabules sent ambassadors to the emperor Justin; who concluding a treaty of peace, the Turks became the friends and allies of the Romans; with whom they never had any connection before. Much about the same time the Kliats also, who were subject to Disabules, and inhabited near the borders of the Roman empire, sent ambassadors to Justin. The country of the Turks was then divided into four governments, all under the command of Disabules: several nations, and among the rest the Avars and Hungors, were subject to them; but twenty thousand of the former had revolted, and passed into Europe^d.

The ambassador engaged Justin to make war upon the Persians, offering to ravage Media at the same time: and, at the end of his fourth year, the emperor sent Zemark on an embassy to Disabules; who, professing much friendship, feasted the ambassadors under a tent, spread with carpets, of several colours, but plain manufacture; where they regaled themselves all the day. At this entertainment there was no wine; for no grapes were produced in their country; but they had other liquor, which was sweet and agreeable. Next day they were treated in another tent, whose furniture was rich and elegant.

Soon after, Disabules, proceeding on his march against the Persians, took Zemark with him, and some of his retinue; but left the rest in the country of the Kliatorians. He also presented the ambassador with a concubine, who was one of those called Cerkhises^e.

In the second year of the emperor Tiberius, Valentine was sent on an embassy to Disabules, in company with six hundred Turks, who came to Constantinople, with several ambassadors; but Disabules dying soon after Valentine's arrival, he was the next day admitted to audience by his son Toxander; who charged the Romans with breach of faith, for confederating with the Varkonites, or Avars,

^d Menand. cap. 6, 7. 15.

^e Ibid. cap. x. 13.

who

who were in rebellion against him. He afterwards, gave the ambassador to understand, that he had subdued the Alains and Utrigorians; and that Ananceas was then actually encamped before Bosphorus (P), with an army of Turks. In short, the Greek historians complain, that he treated the ambassador very ill ^f.

This account we have from Menander. The next intelligence we hear of the Turks is from Simokatta; who informs us, that the Kagân (Q) of his time (whom he omits to name), so famous among the Oriental Turks, sent an ambassador to the emperor Mauritius, in the beginning of the summer (R), with a letter, speaking in high terms of his victories: the superscription ran thus: "The Kagân, the great lord of seven nations, and master of seven climates of the world, to the king of the Romans." In effect, continues Simokatta, this Kagân had conquered the Abtelians, or Nephtalites, and seized their dominions; after which, being elated with his success, he joined Stembiskador, and subdued the Avars. Next he marched against the Ogorites, and subdued them, killing three hundred thousand and putting to death their king Kolk.

*Conquests
of the
Turks.*

This victory was followed by a civil war amongst the Turks. One of his relations, named Turon, having revolted, he was obliged to implore the aid of Sparzugun, Khunaxolus, and Tuldik; with which he defeated the tyrant, in the plain of Ikar. After he had thus settled his affairs, he sent the above embassy to the emperor Mauritius, to acquaint him with his success. The Kagân, in order to keep things in a proper posture, formed an alliance with the inhabitants of Tangasta (S) whose prince was called Tayfan ^g.

*Their civil
wars.*

These are all the transactions which the Romans had with the Turks, till the time of the Seljûks. Let us now

^f Menand, cap. 19.

^g Simokatta, lib. vii. cap. 7, 8.

(P) A city of the Romans, in the Taurica Chersonesus of the old Panticopium; and, if still existing in the Krim, is either Yeni-kala, or Kerch.

(Q) Khân, Kaan, or Kohân, as the present Mongols and E-luths pronounce it.

(R) In the year 600.

(S) A considerable city of the Turks, near Sogdiana, according to Calistus, cap. 30. Sogdiana is the same, at present, with the province of Samarkand, in Great Bukharia, or perhaps with Great Bukharia itself.

turn

turn our eyes towards the Higher Asia, and see what they were doing on that side.

*The king
of Persia,*

We have already given an account of the origin of the Turks, from an extract lately made from the annals of China, and published by Mr. Guignes, under the title of *The Origin of the Huns and Turks*; who, from thence, appear to have been the same people, known by different names. We shall in this place give the substance of that production, as it may help to explain many imperfect and obscure passages in the history which follows of those people, taken from the Oriental historians.

*named also
Turks.*

The Huns were a numerous nation of Great Tartary where they had a considerable dominion more than two hundred years before the Christian æra. They dwelt formerly in the neighbourhood of the great Desert, extending from the country of Korea, on the east, to that of the Getes, on the west. The Chinese historians give them two different names, Hyong-nû and Tû-ki-ûk; that is, Huns and 'Turks. The first is that which they had before the time of Christ: the second, that which a remnant of these Huns, re-established in Tartary, assumed afterwards.

*Way of
living.*

These Huns or Turks^b dwelt in tents, placed in carts, and removed from place to place, for the conveniency of pasture to feed their cattle, which supplied them with both food and cloathing. They despised old people, and only esteemed the young, as more proper for war, which was their sole occupation. Their riches consisted in sheep and cattle; but chiefly in the number of captives, taken in war. The skulls of their enemies served for drinking cups in their principal ceremonies. Once every year they assembled at the imperial camp, and sacrificed to their ancestors, heaven, the earth, and spirits. Every morning the emperor adored the rising-sun, and in the evening the moon. The left-hand was the post of honour with these people, as it is at present with the Turks; and in all their encampments the emperor's tent was placed towards the north. At his death, they put into the coffin with his body his richest habits; and conveyed him to his sepulchre, attended by all his family and officers. For the space of one month, they attended on him in the same manner as when living: and the men of valour engaged in tilting, like our knights in the days of chivalry, in their tournaments.

^b Ye tum chi. Ven hyen tum kau.

Thus

Thus lived the Huns in the earliest times, under their Tanjûs, or emperors ¹: but their manners changed in process of time. When re-established in Turkestan, they introduced a barbarous custom, with regard to their kings. As soon as their grand khân was dead, his son, or nearest relation, was declared emperor; and to know if his reign would be happy and long, they put a silk cord about his neck, and after drawing it so tight as to stop respiration, then slackened it, and the first words which he pronounced when he recovered, were considered as predictions of what was to happen in his reign. *Barbarous custom.*

These Huns have inhabited Turkestan from the highest antiquity ²: and it appears from their history, that afterwards, several Chinese also removed into part of Tartary. After the destruction of the Hya dynasty, a prince of that family, son of the last emperor, retired thither with all his people; and, according both to the Chinese and Persian ³ historians, the Tanjûs or emperors of the Huns are his descendents. Dibbakawi, mentioned by Mirkhond, is no other than the emperor Yû, founder of the same Chinese dynasty: and one of his posterity, named Mau-ton Tanju, is the famous Ogûz Khân, who is considered throughout Tartary as the founder of the empire of the Huns: he maintained obstinate wars against the Chinese. His posterity reigned a long time over the whole nation of the Huns, with the title of Tanjû; being the contraction of a word which, in their language, signified the *Son of Heaven*; and often committed hostilities against the Chinese, notwithstanding the treaties of peace and alliances which were made with them. *Oguz Khân their first emperor.*

Under one of these princes, named Pû kû Tanjû, the empire of the Huns began to decline considerably. A terrible famine, which happened among them, proved the fore-runner of many other evils. The Chinese, taking advantage of their miserable circumstances, attacked them; but, at their humble intreaty, granted them peace. Yet scarce were the Chinese retired, when the eastern Tartars entered their country, and obliged them to remove nearer to the north: but that which was the source of all their evils, and completed the ruin of this empire, was the dissension which crept into the royal family, on the following occasion. Pû ku Tanjû put to death his brother, who was to have been his successor, in order to place his own son on the throne. Hereupon, a prince of the same fa- *Their power declines.*

¹ Swi shu. Tam shu. Ven hyen tum kau.
tum shau. Kam-mo. ² Al Beidawi. Mirkhond:

³ Ven hyen

mily,

mily, the son of an emperor, concluded, that the succession belonged to him; an opinion which had nearly cost him his life: but being cautioned in time of his danger, he found means to escape, and put himself at the head of certain hords or tribes, who proclaimed him emperor.

Their empire divided.

Thus the the empire of the Huns was divided into two parts. Those of the South, over whom the new monarch reigned; and those of the North, subject to Pû kû Tanjû. It is this division of which the Persian historians Mirkhond and Beidâwi make mention; giving to one party the name of Mogols, and to the other that of Tartars.

That of the northern Huns destroyed.

After this defection, the northern Huns found the Chinese less disposed to assist them in their calamities than they were before. They were continually opposed by those of the South; who at length granted them peace. They then resolved to carry their arms into Mawârânahr; where, elated with success, they, without regard to the faith of treaties, bent their forces against China: but there they were opposed by the Huns of the South, who repulsed them with considerable loss. At length the Chinese always assisted by these latter, after several battles, determined utterly to destroy the Huns of the North; which they effected by their general Tew-hyen, who, in the reign of Hyau Ho-ti, emperor of the Han dynasty in China, defeated the northern Huns in Tartary: and, in order to transmit to posterity the memory of this victory, he caused an inscription to be cut on a mountain in Turkestan, indicating the time when it happened.

They advance westward.

The Huns being thus vanquished, some remained in Tartary, and mingled with the tribes who had been brought from the farthest parts of the East, to repopulate this country: but the major part continued to advance towards the West, through the regions to the north of Samarkand, till they reached the Caspian Sea, and parts about Aitrakân. Here, where the Chinese historians lose sight of them, our's begin to have them in view; and, conducting them into Europe, over the Palus Mæotis, after tracing their various migrations, seat them in Pannonia.

Southern Huns,

The southern Huns, who remained in their ancient country, preserved their power, till a tribe of the Oriental Tartars, named Juijen, entirely subdued them, and brought almost the whole extent of Tartary under their dominion. The title borne by their kings was that of khân, or khâkân,

^m Hu han shu. Kam-mo. Chin shu. U-tay shu. Kam-mo. Swi shu. Beidawi. Mirkhond. Tam-shu.

which

which was substituted in the place of tanjû. The Huns, thus expelled, established several principalities in the northern China; which were successively destroyed. One of them, whose princes descended from the emperor of the Huns, was defeated by Tay-vû-ti, emperor of the northern China. Upon this misfortune, the whole family, together with the Huns, retired into a mountain of Tartary, named Erkena-Kom. These people, at that time best known by the name of Turks, were employed, according to the Chinese, as well as Mohammedan historians, in forging iron, for the service of the khâns of the Juijen Tartars; and continued in this manner to support themselves for a certain number of years; that is, till the Juijen came to be attacked by the nations inhabiting to the west of them. *subdued by the Juijen,*

Tu-mwen Khân, at that time chief of the Irkena-Kom Turks, marched out of the mountain, at the head of those people, and defeated the enemy. Tu-mwen, making a merit of the service which he had done the khâkân or emperor of the Juijen, imagined he was intitled to demand his daughter in marriage. The khâkân, far from being of the same opinion, rejected the proposal with disdain; saying, that it did not become a slave to aspire to such an alliance with his sovereign^a. Tu-mwen, incensed at so contemptuous a refusal, immediately revolted against his prince; and, having slain the Juijen envoy, entered into a confederacy with Ven-ti, emperor of the northern China. Next year he marched against the Juijen, defeated them, and slew their khân; after which exploit he assumed that title, and caused himself to be called Tu-mwen Ilkhân. *The Juijen by the Turks.*

In this manner was established a powerful dominion in Tartary, at that time called the empire of the Turks. To preserve the memory of the origin of this family, they used to assemble every year, and, with much ceremony, hammered a piece of hot iron upon an anvil: a custom which continued to the time of Jenghîz Khân^o, who was descended from this Tu-mwen Khân; and it is from hence that some of our historians have represented this prince as the son of a blacksmith. *Empire of the Turks.*

The Juijen, thus driven out of their country by the Turks, in all probability passed into Europe; where, being known by the name of the false Avars, or Abares, they mixed with the Huns of the north, who had been settled there a long time before; and these two people uniting *Hungarians, whence.*

^a Kam-mo.

^o La Croix Hist. de Jenghîz Khân.

formed

formed the nation of the Hungarians; that is to say, Hunkorians: which last name is that which the Juijen were distinguished by in Great Tartary.

*Fable of
the Zenas,*

This is the true original of the second Huns, or Turks, in Turkestan, according to the Chinese historians: but not content with a beginning which had not something extraordinary in it, they affirm ^p, that a nation of Tartars, being at war, was so entirely destroyed by their enemies, that only one child escaped the slaughter, whose arms and legs, however, they cut off, and then threw him into a lake; that a she-wolf, touched with the misfortunes of the boy, drew him out of the danger he was in, and provided for his support; that the child, out of gratitude, married this wolf; and, returning with her into the mountains to the north-west of the Igûr's country, she there brought forth twelve children, whose descendants took the name of Assena.

*now ex-
plained.*

The account which is given by the western historians of Tu-mwen Ilkhân ^q, will explain the fable. This prince, named Tûmana by the Persian historians, was the son of Bissikar, son of Kaydu, descended from Bûzenjir, son of queen Alankawa. This queen of the Mogols or Turks, then inhabiting the mountains of Tartary, and before the re-establishment of their empire, being left a widow, with two children, according to the account both of Mohammedan and Chinese writers, assumed the government of her small state, during the minority of her sons, and constantly refused to marry again. However, her firm attachment to widowhood did not hinder her from being the mother of three other children, one of whom was named Bûzenjir. The grandson of Bûzenjir, called Dutamin, had nine children, eight of whom miserably perished: and our author is persuaded, that the above mentioned fable had an eye to this massacre.

*Tribe of
the Zenas
or wolves.*

The ninth son of Dutamin, who escaped, was Kaydu, the father of Bissikar, and another called Hurmalankum, whose children bore the name of Wolves; on which the fable is apparently founded: but then this history does not respect the Turks in general, but only that particular hord called Zenas, or Assenas, as the Chinese pronounce it, descended from Hurmalankum.

*Eastern
and West-
ern Turks,*

Tu-mwen Ilkhân, after he had subdued the Juijen, attacked and defeated several other people of Tartary. His

^p Ven hyen tum shau.

^q Hist. Gen. des Tartares. Mirkhond. Hist. de jenghiz Khân. Hist. des Monguls. Ywen shu. Kam-mo.

sons excited by their father's example, formed an empire, which extended from the Caspian Sea to Korea : but as so great a region could not long remain under the dominion of one prince, these Turks divided into two branches[†], the eastern and the western, who had each their particular khân.

The empire of the latter extended as far as the Sihun[†], *Whey-ke Turks,* and more than once became formidable to the kings of Persia, particularly Hormûzd, or Hormisdas, son of Kofrû Anushîrwân : but some time afterwards, this empire of the western Turks was destroyed by other Turks of the hord named Whey-ke, who founded a new dominion in the same country ; and from these Whe-ke Turks, in the opinion of our author, were descended the four famous Seljûk dynasties of Irân or Persia at large, Kermân, Rûm *from whom the Seljûks.* or Asia Minor, and Syria, reigning in Aleppo and Damascus.

The Oriental Turks, who inhabited at the farther end of Turkestan, were destroyed by the people named Khitân, who came originally from Eastern Tartary : the Khitân were, in their turn, invaded from the same quarter, by the Nyu-che Tartars[†], who are the Altûn Khâns of the Mohammedan writers, and called by us at present Manchews. This nation having ruined the empire of the Khitân, some of the latter passed into Persia, and established a dynasty, known to the Mohammedan authors by the name of Kara Khatayans. *Eastern Turks destroyed by the Khitân.*

The Turks, after the destruction of their empire, formed themselves into small principalities ; and every hord had its particular khân. The Kera-its or Kara-its, one of these Turkish tribes[†], were, in the twelfth century, governed by a prince named Tûli Khân, otherwise called Onk Khân, whom the Arab writers style King John, and European travellers Prester John. *Broken into tribes.*

The posterity of Tû-mwen Ilkhân dwindled insensibly, and was on the point of being extinguished, or at least of never making any considerable figure again in Tartary, when the famous Jenghîz Khân appeared[†].

This is the original of the Turks, according to the Chinese historians ; but compared, in certain periods, with the accounts given by the western Asiatic writers. In this comparison, however, Mr. Guigues does not sufficiently distinguish what is taken from the authors of each kind, *Some remarks on the foregoing extract.*

[†] Kam shu. Kam mo. [†] Ferdufi. [†] Abu'lfaraj. Beidawi.

[†] Ywen shu. [†] Guigues Orig. des Huns & Turks.

either in the text, or by the references: neither does he assign dates to all the principal facts. When he says Dibakkâwi Khân is the emperor Yu, and that Mau-ton Tanjou is Ogûz Khân, it does not appear whether those are the words of the Chinese annals, or only conjectures of his own. Supposing them to be the Chinese account, there will be found a great disagreement between it and the Tartar relation; for Ogûz Khân will be the nineteenth in descent from Dibbakâwi or Yu, according to the former, and but the fifth according to the latter. By this latter also Tu-mwen is only the fifth ancestor of Jenghiz Khân; but the Chinese annals set him at the head of the Irgana Kon race, instead of Bertizena, nineteen generations before. If Mr. Guigues had been more copious and distinct in his extract, it would have supplied many defects, and cleared up many obscurities in the history of the Turks, which we meet with in the Mohammedan historians, from whom we shall compile an account of their affairs, till the Seljûks founded their empire in Irân.

Mirkhond, the Persian historian, informs us, that, when Kefre Anushîrwân, the famous Khosroes of the Greek historians, came to the throne, which was about the year 531, he was possessed of Mawârâ'nahr, to which he added other countries; and, among the rest, that of Abtela *.

*Subdues the
Abtela.*

The country of Abtela, which signifies, in Persian, *Water of Gold*, takes its name from a people so called; who, some time before, had conquered that territory. The Greeks, corrupting the word, called them Nephtalites, Eutalites, and Ephtalites. They were denominated, by the Arabs Hayâtelah. According to Procopius, the Ephtalites were those called the *White Huns*: they seem to have been masters, for a time, of all Mawârâ'nahr or Great Bukharia; to which Abulfeda gives the name of Hayâtelah^y. Dr. Hyde observes, that Heyâteleh was the title of the king of Katlân^z, a province in the eastern part of Mawârâ'nahr: and Eutychius informs us, that Goshnawaz, king of Abtelah, who raised Firûz to the throne of Persia, about the year 465, was king of Balkh^a, and part of Khorasân; which shews, that the dominion of the Abtela had once been very extensive; though we may suppose their power to have been much reduced at the time when Anushîrwân conquered them.

*Their do-
minions.*

* Mirkhond. apud Teixeira. p. 163.

^y Abulf. Descri.

Chowarazm, p. 29.

^z Hyde in Peritfol. Itin. Mund. p. 156.

^a Eutych. Annal. vol. ii. p. 111.

But

But while this prince was busy in extending his dominions, they were invaded by Khâkân Chini, king of Tartar or Tartary, with a powerful army, who took from him Samarkand, Bokhâra, and several other cities in Mawârâ'nahr, which he afterwards was forced to quit upon the successes of his grandson Hormoz ^b.

The reader, from what has been said, will perceive that Khakân is a general name given by the Persian historians to the princes of the Turks, called also emperors of Tartary, of whom we find records from the time of Bahramjaur, son of Yazdejerd I. king of Persia, who began his reign about the year of Christ 417, as a people different, at least with regard to their original country, from the ancient Turks, or inhabitants of Turkestan, situate to the north of Persia, to whom the Persians, according to their history, engaged in wars, in the earliest times of their monarchy. The former are called Oriental Turks, by way of distinction; and the name of Chin is added to the title of Khâkân, in all probability to denote their coming from the eastern parts of Tartary towards China; although it must be observed, that Chin is a general name, sometimes used by the Orientals, to comprehend both those regions.

Hormoz succeeded his father Amîshîrwân, about the year 586, and was not long after invaded by the Greek emperor (M); of which invasion Shabashah, his cousin-german, son of the Khâkân, whose daughter Nushîrwân had married, taking the advantage, passed the Jihûn or Amu, with three hundred thousand men, and subdued Khorasân. Persia being in this distress, Bahram Chubin, the bravest man of his time, was sent to oppose the enemy; who taking with him but twelve thousand experienced soldiers, made a great slaughter, slew their king, and took his son prisoner, besides an immense booty: but afterwards being defeated in his attempts against Khosraw Parvîz, the son and successor of Hormoz, he fled into Turkestan, where he served the Khâkân Chini ^c.

From that time the Turks seem to have remained quiet, till the year 654, being the nineteenth of the reign of Yazdejerd, last king of Persia; at which time vast multitudes from Turân or Turkestan, passed the Sihûn or Sir, and desolated the countries to the south of that river. At the

^b Mirkond, apud Teixeira. p. 163. ^c Idem, p. 186. Eutych. Annal. vol. ii. p. 200.

(M) This was Mauritius, historians, Hormizdas invaded whom, according to the Greek first in 587.

same juncture the Arabs invaded his dominions on the other side; and he dying next year, the whole, by degrees, fell a prey to the latter. At length, in 716, the Arabs drove the Turks out of Karazm and Mawârâ'nahr.

However, from that time they swarmed all over the dominions of the khalif, and, by degrees, got possession of them: for being an athletic people, and famous for their courage, the khalifs, and, after their example, several of the princes, who, in time, threw off their yoke, caused great numbers of young Turkish slaves to be bought, and educated in their courts. Out of these they formed troops of militia, who often rebelled, and deposed the khalif himself. At length their commanders became masters, not only of the khalifat, and persons of the khalif^d, whose guards they were, but also of great kingdoms, which they erected in Khorasân, Karazm, Egypt, and India.

But to return to the affairs of the Turks at home. In the year 894, Ismael al Sammâni, who, throwing off his subjection to the khalif, declared himself king of Mawârâ'nahr and Khorasân, marched into Turkestan; and, defeating the khân, took him prisoner, with ten thousand men, besides a vast treasure. Some time before his death, which happened in 909, he made another expedition into that country, subduing several provinces^e.

Hej. 365.

*Invited by
the rebels.*

The Turks kept within their territories till the reign of Nûh Ebû Mansûr, sixth king of the race of the Sammâni, who ascended the throne in the year of the Hejra 365, and of Christ 975. This prince, being possessed of all Mawârâ'nahr and Khorasân, gave the government of two considerable districts to two brothers, Abuzli and Faëkh. These, at length, quarrelling, rebelled, and invited Kara khân of Turkestan to invade the dominions of Nûh. The khân joined them; and, routing the army of Nûh, took Samarkand and Bokhâra, while Nûh made haste to assemble another. Kara Khân, falling sick, was advised by his physicians to return to Turkestan; which he attempted to perform, but died on his journey.

However, the rebel brothers still held out, and raised great forces, being assisted by the neighbouring princes; at which time Sabektekin, a famous general of Nûh's, having returned with laurels from India, the king, by his assistance, marched against, and, after an obstinate battle, routed them^f.

^d See D'Herbelot. p. 898. & seq. art. Turk.

apud Teixeira. p. 197. 206. 237. 239.

^e Mirkond. Idem, p. 255. & seq.

D'Herbelot. p. 679. Art. Nouh Ben Mansour.

After this action, Nûh, at the request of Sabektekîn, made his son Mahmûd general of his forces, and went to Bokhâra; Sabektekîn repaired to Gaznin, a territory in Korafân, and Mahmûd to Nafhabûr; whence Abuali and Faëkh, who had retired thither, fled; but, raising forces, they expelled Mahmûd: however, the latter, rallying his troops, and being joined by his father Sabektekîn, routed the brothers in their turn. Abuali, upon this event, submitted to Nûh; but Faëkh retired to Ilekkhân, who succeeded Bokra Khân in Turkestân, and was persuaded by him to make war on Nûh.

Nûh, being informed of what was in agitation, ordered Sabektekîn to attend him, and Maumûd, with his troops, to rendezvous between Kesh and Nefâf, near Samarkand; but an accommodation being agreed on, whereby Faëkh was to have the government of Samarkand, an end was put to these troubles in 995; and Nûh died in peace two years after, having reigned twenty-two years, leaving his son Abu'lhares Mansûr, a youth, to succeed him at Bokhâra, in the dominions of Mawârâ'nahr and Khorafân.

On the death of Nûh, Ilekkhân invaded Abu'lhares; and, being joined by Faëkh, governor of Samarkand, attacked Bokhâra: from whence Abu'lhares fled, but soon after returned, on assurances of fidelity given by Faëkh, whom he appointed his general, and Bâktuzun governor of Korafân.

Mahmûd Gazni, son of Sabektekîn, whose government was Khorafân, complaining of this injury, Abu'lhares gave him Balk, Termed, and Herat: but Mahmûd, not being content with the exchange, marched to Nafhabûr, from whence the king fled; yet, fearing to be deemed a rebel, turned off, without visiting that city. Bâktuzun marched to the king's relief; and, meeting him on his return, under some pretence conspired with Faëkh, and put out his eyes, after he had reigned one year and seven months. They enthroned Abdalmâlek, the eighth king; but Mahmûd marching against the traitors, they fled different ways; Faëkh carrying the new king to Bokhâra. Thus Mahmûd became possessed of all Khorafân. The traitors, gathering forces, marched against him; but Faëkh dying, the expedition was abandoned.

Mean time Ilekkhân, taking advantage of these troubles, advanced to Bokhâra, under pretence of assisting Abdalmâlek. The young king, giving credit to his professions, sent the best commanders he had to return him thanks, whom the khân secured. Abdalmâlek, being in-

*Ilekkhân
with-
draws.*

*Re-enters
Mawâ-
râ'nahr.*

*Troubles in
Khorafân.*

*Takes
Bokhara.*

Hejra 390.

Seizes the king -

timidated, hid himself, with an intent to escape; but Ilek Khân having taken the city, and strict search being made, Abdalmâlek was found, and sent to Uškand (T), where he died in confinement. This event happened in the year 999.

Defeated twice,

His subjects proclaimed his younger brother king; but he did not long enjoy the dignity. Ilek Khân, being thus possessed of Bokhâra, seized the blind king Abu'lhares Mansûr, his two brothers, and two uncles, with others of the royal family, who were all separately confined, and attended by his women slaves. She who attended Abu Ibrahim Montefer, taking a liking to him, procured his escape by means of her veil. Being at liberty, he went to Karazm, where crowds resorting to him, he sent a numerous army to Bokhâra, which defeated Ilek Khân's forces, and took their general prisoner. He soon after routed another of his armies, commanded by Takîn Khân, governor of Samarkand.

Hejra 391.
A.D. 1000.*By Montefer.*

Montefer, after this battle, returned to Bokhâra; but Ilek Khân soon marching against him, he fled; and passing the Jihûn, retreated to Nishabûr, in the year 1000.

A third defeat,

About the beginning of the next year, by the assistance, of the Turkmâns, he invaded Mawârâ'nahr, where Ilek Khân met him with a great army: but as they lay encamped near each other, the Turkmâns one night, by surprize, fell upon the khân's camp, and killing many men, put the rest to flight: after which exploit, they returned to their hords, with the better part of the plunder. Montefer, finding himself deserted by the Turkmâns, crossed the Jihûn, which was then frozen, upon the ice. Mean time the Turkmâns, repenting that they had left him any part of the booty, returned to seize it; but coming to the river by day, found it thawed, and consequently impassable. Montefer afterwards obtained some victories in Khorasân; but finding he could not remain in that province, repassed the Jihûn, with his followers: and though he lost most of his men, in a conflict with the skena, or governor of Bokhâra, yet, with the rest, he assaulted that city by night, and took it by storm. Ilek Khân hastened thither: but being opposed in the territory of Samarkand by Montafar, was routed by him with considerable slaughter.

Hejra 394.

Ilek Khân, after this defeat, having recruited his forces, marched again towards Montefer, whom he found deserted by his troops. One of his generals joining the enemy,

(T) D'Herbelot writes Dizghend.

with

with four thousand men, he, despairing of success, fled. Finding no possibility of crossing the Jihûn, he came to Bokhâra, with very few followers; and though the governor promised to assist him, yet knowing that he was pursued by Ilekkhân's general, to whom most of his men had gone over in disgust, he left the city; and getting into Khorasân, hid himself in a mean house; which being forced in the night by a soldier who was in search of him, he was there killed, in the year 1004 ^g.

Hejra 365.

This was the fate of the dynasty of the Sammâni family in Persia, which properly ended in Nûb Ebn Mansûr, in whose reign arose the Gâzni monarchy, under Mahmûd Gâzni before mentioned; the foundation of which was laid by his father Sabektekîn. This Sabektekîn was a Turk, and originally slave to Alptekîn, another Turk, who was general to Nûb Ebn Mansûr, on whose death Sabektekîn succeeded in that post; and, by his conquests in India, and authority with the soldiery, he became equal in power to the king himself. D'Herbelot tells us, that he defeated Kara Khân of Turkestan in several battles; and that, at his return from the expedition, he died at Balkh, in the year 997; which is the same year in which Nûb Ebn Mansûr died.

Mahmud
founds the
Gâzni
monarchy.

Hejra 387.

However that be, his son Mahmûd, who succeeded to his father's power and authority, being disgusted, at the government of Khorasân being given to another, by Abu'l-hares, successor of Nûb Ebn Mansûr, subdued the whole province; and having entirely pacified the troubles which prevailed there, went from Gaznah to Bâlkh, where the khalif Kâder sent him a rich vest, by way of investiture in his new dominions: and thus the monarchy passed from the Al Sammâni to the Gâzni ^h.

Hejra 389.

Soon after this revolution, Mahmûd concluded a perpetual peace with Ilekkhân; and, to make it the firmer, took one of his daughters in marriage. In 1002 the governor of Siftân, or Sejestân, having revolted, he had recourse for assistance to Ilekkhân; who, in 1005, taking advantage of Mahmûd's being engaged in the war of India, sent two generals to invade Khorasân; but Mahmûd returning on this intelligence, they soon were obliged to retreat. Ilekkhân, upon this, applied for succour to Kader Khan, of Ketau Kotan; who, joining him with fifty thousand horse, assembled in Ketau

Hejra 393.

Invaded by
Ilekkhân;

Hejra 396.

^g Mirkond. ubi sup. p. 267, 270, & seq. ^h D'Herbel. p. 679.
79s. Art. Nouh ben Mansour, Sebektekîn, and Mahmoud.

*Who is
over-
thrown.*

Kotan, Turkeſtân, and Mawârâ'nahr, they paſſed the Jihûn.

Mahmûd, on the receipt of theſe tidings, haſtened to Bâlkh, with a powerful army of Turks, Gaznîs, and other people, to meet the enemy. They came to a battle, and Mahmûd's forces giving ground, he, almoſt in deſpair, ruſhed into the thickeſt of the enemy, and cutting his way through them, came up to Ilék Khân, whom his elephant unhorſed, and toſſed up in the air: his men then reſuming their courage, put the enemy to flight. This battle happened in 1006, and proved one of the moſt bloody which was fought in that age^l.

Ilék Khân, after this loſs, retired into Mâwâra'nahr; where underſtanding that his brother Togân Khân, who had been with him in that engagement, had ſent to make his apology to Mahmûd, he marched againſt him; but Mahmûd interpoſing, they were reconciled^k.

*Riſe of the
Seljûk dy-
naſties.*

Hejra 426.

During theſe invaſions by Ilék Khân, great numbers of Turks took the opportunity of paſſing out of Turkeſtân into Mâwâra'nahr. Among the reſt was Seljûk, who, with his family and followers, ſettled about Samarkand and Bokhâra, where, by degrees, they acquired large poſſeſſions: at length, in 1034, being the fifth year of the reign of ſoltân Maſſûd, ſon and ſucceſſor of Mahmûd Gaznî, the grandſons of Seljûk, Mohammed, and Dawd, called afterwards Togrûl Beg and Jaffar Beg, paſſing the Jihûn or Amû, inveſted Neſâ and Abiwerd or Bâward, in Khorafân, where they excited ſome commotions: but on the return of Maſſûd, who was then in India, they deſiſted, and ſent an envoy, offering to become his ſubjects. Maſſûd rejected their meſſage with contempt; yet, contrary to the advice of his council, returned to his Indian conqueſts, before the affairs of the Turks were ſettled. They, in his abſence, began to make their inroads through Khorafân with ſo much ſucceſs, that in two years they conquered almoſt all that province, with^l Perſian Irâk; founding, in 1037, the ſecond great monarchy of the Turks, in the ſouth of Aſia; which in time ſpread over all Perſia, and the countries weſtward, as far as the Archipelago.

Hejra 429.

Having brought down the foreign hiſtory of the Turks, from their firſt appearance out of Tartary to this period, we ought now to return to their domeſtic affairs, and ſee

^l Teixeira, p. 278. D'Herbel. p. 554.

^k Teixeira, p. 281. & ſeq. ^l D'Herbelot. p. 800; & ſeq. art. Selgiouk.

what

what they were doing in Tartary among themselves, or with their kindred nations, during that interval. But here we are at a greater loss than before: for the memory of transactions, which are not committed to writing, can never possibly be lasting; and oral records are soon corrupted. In short, we scarce know any thing of their domestic affairs during that long interval. We can only collect, in general, from certain circumstances, that their dominion, which once extended over all Tartary, in time became divided among several khâns; and their power being thus broken, gave other nations an opportunity of depriving them of the greater part of what they formerly possessed.

Turks empire broken in Tartary.

We learn from the Chinese history that, at the beginning of the tenth century, the Kitân or Lyaû, who founded the empire of Kitay or Katay (which comprized the northern provinces of China, with the adjoining part of Tartary, thence called Kara Kitay), subdued all the countries westward from Korea, as far as Kâshgar^m. And the Persian authors inform us that, in the year 1017, three hundred thousand Tartars and Mogols, comprized under the name of Turks, issuing from the borders of China, ravaged the country from the Oriental ocean, as far as Balâsfâgûn, then the capital of what is more properly called Turkestan; but that Togân or Dogân Khân, who at that time reigned in that country, not only prevented their progress any farther westward, but obliging them to retreat, pursued them for three months successively, and killed more than two hundred thousand of themⁿ.

That of the western Kitân,

Hejra 408.

These, which are here called Tartars and Mogols, were doubtless no other than the Kitân, or those from Ketan Kotan before mentioned; who, under Kader Khân, or his successor, attempted to extend their dominions, which already reached from Kitay to Kâshgar, as far westward as the Caspian sea. Not but a great part of their army might have consisted of Mogols and Tartars; these people probably, at that time, having been subject to the Kitân, as we know they were not long after.

called Karakitayans.

The Kitân having, in 1124, been dispossessed by the Kin, another nation of Eastern Tartary, retired westward, and founded the empire of the westward Lyaû, near Kâshgar. The historians of the west of Asia call these tribes Lyaû or Kitân, who, after this event, became better known

Their settlement.

^m Gaubil. *Hist. de Gentch.* p. 11. Turk.

ⁿ D'Herbel. p. 899. art.

to them by the name of Karakitayans, and say they settled in the parts about Imil, mixing themselves with the Turks^o, who, at that time, were divided into many nations, under different chiefs. The Kitân found some hords about Turfân, and others on the borders of Great Bukhâria, whom they defeated.

The Turkish empire ceases in Taryary.

These seem to have been independent tribes, which owned no subjection to the khân of Turkeştân; who, though possessed of but a part of the dominions of his ancestors, still preserved a shew of grandeur: but in a short time after his power began greatly to decline, insomuch that Ilekkhân, who reigned at Balâsfâgûn, about the middle of the twelfth century, to defend himself against the Kankli, Karliks, and Kîpjâks, resigned his dominions to the king of the Western Kitân or Karakatayans before mentioned^p: and thus Turkeştân, which for so many ages had been possessed by khâns of its own, fell under the dominion of a foreign prince: for although some Oriental historians pretend to derive even the Kitayans from Turk, the supposed son of Japhet, yet their language and manners, as well as remote situation, shew them to be people of a different origin.

The whole possessed by the Karakitayans.

As soon as this prince was settled in his new dominions, according to Abû'lghâzi Khân, he assumed the title of Kavar Khân, that is, *Great Lord*; but Mirkond writes Kûr khân, and says it was the title of the kings of Karakitay, adding, that after he had vanquished the Kankli, he pursued his good fortune, and conquered, in the year 1141, the cities of Kâshgar, Khoten, Bishbâleg, and Turkeştân: and thus all Tartary, between Mount Altay and the Caspian sea, became again united under one sovereign, the greatest prince who had reigned in northern Asia for many ages, before the time of Jenghîz Khân.

In all probability all the Turkish tribes, and even those settled about Turfân, had submitted to Kûr Khân; since we find the Vigûrs or Igûrs, their neighbours to the east, were under his protection, and so continued till the year 1212, when slaying his tax-gatherer, they went over to Jenghîz Khân^q.

To check this growing power, Senjâr, sixth sultân of the Seljûk Turks, being at Samarkand about the year 1145, was prevailed on to attack Kârkhûn, king of Karaka-

^o Mirkond. ap. Horn. arc. Noæ. p. 287, & seq. Abû'lghazi Khan's Hist. p. 44.

^p Abû'lghazi Khan, p. 44. 37. Mirkond.

ap. Horn. arc. Noæ. p. 288. ^q Gaubil. Hist. Jengh. p. 13.

tay; but he was defeated, and all his harâm (or women) taken^r.

In 1172, Takash (descended from Sabektekîn^s, the Turkish founder of the Gâzni monarchy), third sultân of Karazm (a new dominion, which sprung up in the time of the Seljûks), applying to the king of Karakitay for assistance against his brother Sultân Shâh, he sent Karamara, his son-in-law, with a powerful army, which recovered his crown^t.

The Karazm Shâhs were tributary to the Kûrkhâns; but on the death of Takash or Tokush, his son, Mohammed refused to pay the tribute; and raising great forces, in the year 1200, first reduced Bokhâra, and the other cities of Mâwârânahr (which had become independent under princes of their own); then marching into the dominions of Karakitay Kûrkhân, defeated his army, commanded by Taniku Taraz, a famous commander. He afterwards took Otrâr, at that time the capital of Turkestân, and returned home. Some years after the Karakitayans entering Mawara'nahr, besieged Samarkand; but hearing at the same time both of the approach of Mohammed and the revolt of Kuchluk the Naymân, against Kûrkhân his father-in-law, they raised the siege, and returned to Turkestân^u.

This account of the Karakitayans reigning in Turkestân, we have from the few imperfect memoirs we meet with extracted from Mirkond; according to which, there were two Kûrkhans who reigned in Turkestân, before the invasion of Jenghîz Khân; the first called Gurjasb, to whom, by the course of the history, Ilekh Khân must have resigned his dominion; the other Kuyang, to whom Kuchluk retired. But Abû'lghâzi Khân makes only one khan of the two, and differs in the date of his reign and other circumstances. He tells us that the khân of Jurjut having conquered Karakitay, its prince, called Nufi Tayghir Ili, was obliged, in the year 1177, to retire among the Kerghis, and thence to a town of Kitay called Imil: that two years after Ilekh Khân, a descendent of Afrasiab Khân, who resided at Balâfâgûn, being opposed by his neighbours the Kanklis, who had ruined all his cultivated lands, for the sake of his assistance resigned the sovereignty of that city to the Karakitayan prince, who immediately assumed the name of Kavar Khân, or the *Great Lord*; after which

Historians disagree.

Abû'lghâzi Khân's account.

^r D'Herbel. p. 736. art. Sangiar. ^s Art. Mohammed Khouarazm Shah.
^t Art. Soltan Shah. ^u Art. Mohammed Khouarazm Shah. p. 610. Horn arc. Noæ, p. 282.

event

event he conquered the towns of Andijân, Tashkant, and Turkeştân, and made Samarkand tributary. When he returned home, he sent Aris, one of his generals, with a numerous army, towards Urgheñj, who obliged Vighîsh, khân of that city, to pay his master a tribute of twenty thousand gold dinârs. However, sôltân Mohammed, his successor, refusing to do what his father had done, prepared for war. But though he had assembled all the forces of his dominions, which extended as far as Rûm (U), yet he was defeated by Kavar Khân, and obliged to take shelter among the Kanklis, till he could obtain peace *.

*Karakitay-
an empire,
divided
again.*

In the year 1209 Kuchluk, the son of Tayyan Khân of the Naymans, having been defeated by Jenghîz Khân, and his father slain, fled to Karakitay Kûrkhân, who received him honourably, and gave him his daughter in marriage †; which favours, not long after, he repaid with ingratitude. Upon his revolt, he sent ambassadors to conclude a peace with sôltân Mohammed, whom he left at liberty to take Kâshgar and Khotan, in case he could conquer them before him. Kuchluk attacked his father-in-law, and was at first attended with success, but was at length defeated. Sôltân Mohammed, on his side, entered Kûrkhân's dominions, and would have made great progress, but for the revolt of one of his generals with part of his troops. This accident, which happened in the midst of a battle, put the sôltân in great danger; so that at length he was forced, in the habit of a Tartar, to cut his way through the enemy to join his army. He then sounded a retreat, and by slow marches returned to Karazm ‡.

*Quite
over-
thrown.*

Kuchluk still continued his rebellion, and at length deprived his father-in-law of more than half of his dominions. But his ingratitude did not remain long unpunished: for, in 1216, Jenghîz Khân sent one of his most experienced generals against him; and although he advanced with an army superior to the Mogols, yet he was vanquished, and flying with some of his troops, was at last overtaken near Badagshân in Great Bukharia, and put to death. After this event, the Mogol forces over-ran Turkeştân, slaughtering all who opposed them. And thus an end was put to the very name, as well as dominion, of the Turks in Tartary.

* See Abu'lghazi Khan, p. 44, & seq.
† D'Herbel. p. 610. art. Mohammed Khouarazm Shah.

‡ Ibid. p. 85. 94.

(U) Or Anatolia.

S E C T.

S E C T. V.

*Character of the Turks before the Time of Jenghîz Khân;
and whether they were the Descendents of the Ancient
Scythians, or the present Inhabitants of Tartary are
descended from them.*

AFTER what has been said of the early Turks and their affairs, it would be proper to give some account of the manners and customs of those people: but our memoirs are very defective in such particulars. The Byzantine historians take notice of very few things concerning them, and those only occasionally: as, that the Roman ambassadors found their king, Disabules, under a tent, attended by a coach (or waggon) with two wheels²: that it was their custom to shave the beard in token of grief; and that Taxander required this ceremony of the Roman ambassadors upon the death of his father: that, during the funeral, he ordered four Huns to be brought out of prison, and slain upon the tomb, with the horses of the deceased prince: that they pay public signs of veneration to fire and water, and chant hymns in honour of the earth: that, however, they adore only one God, creator of the visible world, and sacrifice to him horses, bulls, and sheep: lastly, that their priests pretend to foretel future events³.

*Customs of
the
ancient
Turks,
purely Tarta-
rian.*

By the relation of Rubruquius the monk, and others, who travelled into Tartary in the thirteenth century, as well as of the Orientals, who wrote the history of Jenghîz Khân, it appears that the same customs were common to the Mogols and other inhabitants of Tartary in the time of that conqueror.

The Greek historians, from whom we learn these particulars, say nothing as to the character of the Turks: but that defect may be easily supplied from the Arab and Persian authors, with whom the word Turk passes usually for a highwayman or robber. Hafez, a Persian poet, who lived in the fifteenth century, speaking of some evil, says, "That it takes from our hearts all patience and repose, with as much violence as the Turks or beggars snatch the victuals from a well-furnished table." What is more surprising, we meet with a distich in the Turkish language to

*Bad cha-
racter by
Arabs and
Persians.*

² Menander, cap. 13.

³ Simokatta, lib. vii. cap. 8.

this

this purpose: "Although a Turk or Tartar should excel in all the sciences, yet the Barbarian would still be rooted in his nature." It may be seen in the history of the khalifs, of the family of Abbâs, to what a degree the blood of the Turks was thought unworthy to be mixed with their's, when it was proposed to give a princess of that house in marriage to Togrûl Beg, first sultân of the Seljûk race.

*Why hated
by them.*

The Arabs and Persians bore a hatred to the Turks for the injuries received from them, for several ages together, not only by their frequent invasions from Tartary, but also by the disturbances they raised in their dominions. Al Motaâsem, eighth khalif of the Abbâs race, Shehâb'addîn, sultân of the race of Gaur, Al Mâlec Al Sâleh, sultân of the family of Ayyob in Egypt, and several other princes of Asia, caused a great number of young Turkish slaves, the handsomest who could be procured, to be bought and educated in their courts; these being formed into troops of militia, not only often rebelled and deposed the khalif, but, involving the country in cruel war, committed unheard of outrages on the inhabitants, as we have already observed^b.

*Yet esteemed
for
their hand-
someness.*

This is the true foundation of the great animosity which the Arabs and Persians bore the Turks; who, it must be acknowledged, always were a most turbulent and insolent race, where they had power, though humble enough where they had none. However, they were not altogether so despicable and brutish as their enemies represent them. The good air and mien of these young slaves pleased the eyes of the Persians; insomuch, that the poet Hafez himself, who had passed so severe a reflection on them, makes the word Turk to signify *a handsome man*: and was charmed with one of them to such a degree, that, in his Divân, he cries out, "If I could but gain the good-will of this Turk of the city of Shirâz, I would give, for the smallest of his favours, the cities of Samarkand and Bokhâra."

*Originally
lived a
wandering
life.*

Authors divide the Turks into two kinds, with respect to their way of living, some dwelling in towns and fixed habitations, others in the fields, and leading a wandering life; like the Bedwân Arabs: these are called by the Turks Guchgunji Atrac, and Konar Kocher; which implies a roving kind of life, and without fixed dwellings^c. From these the Turk mâns, and even the founder of the Othman

^b D'Herbel. p. 89^e, & seq. art. Turk.
Othm. pref. p. 12.

^c Cantemir. Hist.

family are descended. The Turks originally, like all the other nations inhabiting Tartary, lived in the fields, under tents, and without any houses, but such as were carried on carts. And we presume it will be very difficult to prove, that ever the Turks lived in towns, or fixed habitations, till such time as they had taken them from their neighbours in the south.

Before we quit the subject it will be necessary to examine whether the Turks are descended from the ancient Scythians, mentioned by the Greek and Roman authors; whether all the inhabitants of Tartary are either originally Turks, or sprung from one and the same root.

*Descend-
ents of the
ancient
Scythians*

If, by Scythians, is to be understood not those properly so called, but all the different nations mentioned by Herodotus, Pliny, Ptolemy, and other authors, which, under that common name, inhabited that vast region, it may, without hesitation, be answered, that the present inhabitants are the descendants of the ancient; or rather of such of that people as remained in Tartary, over and above those which might have been destroyed, or migrated into other regions: for not only there is a great conformity in the persons, manners, and customs of both, but no other nation or nations can be assigned from whence the present possessors of Tartary could proceed. To the south of them live people, as the Persians, Indians, Tibetians, and Chinese, who always dwelt in cities, or fixed habitations; and, consequently, could never be tempted to change their country and manner of living for those of the Scythians, unless compelled by force; of which we meet with no instances in history.

As to the second question, whether all the inhabitants of Tartary are either originally Turks, or sprung from the same root, our opinion is in the negative: for there is no probability that people, so extremely different in their make and features, as most of the Mohammedan Tartars, and the Elûths or Kalmûks are, should proceed from the same stock, any more than fresh and salt water should proceed from the same fountain. It is true, all the inhabitants of Western Tartary (for those of the Eastern are out of the case), speak the same language, or at least dialects of it; but might not this happen through constant intercourse, or one power prevailing over the rest, as that of the Turks did in the sixth century, and that of the Mogols in the twelfth? The conquered people generally speak the language of the conquerors, as well as their own, which, by degrees, becomes extinct, as that of the Kopts almost already

*Inhabitants
of Tartary,
not all
Turks*

though all
speak the
same lan-
guage.

ready is in Egypt, where the Arabic prevails; the Celtic in Gaul, where the French takes place; and in England the British, which has been superseded by the English.

However, it must be allowed, that the identity or affinity of languages would go nearly to a certain proof of the identity of nations, as to origin, did they agree in other circumstances; and might also be admitted as a tolerably sure rule in tracing the migrations of people: because the migrating nation cannot receive their language from people of a different language among whom they live; and therefore must be a-kin to the unmigrating nation, whose language happens to be the same with theirs. Thus the language which the Othmân Turks speak, though mixed with Persian, Arabic, and even Greek words, demonstrates that they came from Tartary, or are descended from some of the inhabitants of that region, known by the name of Turks; although it may not be easy to ascertain the particular tribe or tribes from which they draw their original.

S E C T. VI.

Of the original Country inhabited by the Turks, with a Description of the Present Turkestan.

Names of
Turkestan

IT appears from the relation already given, both by the Roman and Chinese historians, that the country possessed by the Turks, at their first becoming known in the world, was about the middle of all Tartary, towards mount Altay, which divides that great region, as it were, into two parts: and that, in a few years, they, from a very inconsiderable beginning, extended their dominion from the river Lyau in the east, as far westward as the Caspian sea. Thus almost the whole of Great Tartary becoming subject to the Turks, might have taken the name of Turkestan, or *Country of the Turks*; at least the Oriental writers give that name to all the countries lying north of the river Sihûn or Sîr, the Jaxartes of the ancients.

and Turân.

The name of Turân they extend still farther, making it include all the countries to the north of the Jihûn or Amû, that is Tartary and Mawârâ'nahr, now called Great Bukhâria^d.

Extend
over Tar-
tary.

It may be presumed, if the name of Turkestan ever prevailed over all Tartary, that it continued in use as long only

^d D'Herbel. p. 899. Art. Turk.

as the dominion of the Turks was entire : but that when their power became divided under many sovereigns, Turkeftân also was divided into so many different parts, and lost the name, which seemed to have settled in the western part of Tartary, to the north of Persia and Great Bukhâria, where probably the descendants of their first khân, Difabules, fixed their seat. From these provinces they made continual war with the Persians and Arabs, for several ages together ; and here they maintained their dominion longest, and with greatest lustre.

This, at least, we know from history, that, soon after the time of Toxander, in the seventh century, the Turks quarrelled among themselves, which probably ended in a partition of their dominions : and, in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, we find the country of the Turks actually divided among several kakhâns, or kings, some of whom had very large territories, called by different names, or those of the tribes under their subjection. However, it must be observed, that all those districts extending over almost the whole of Western Tartary, are represented as parts of the Belâd Al Atrâk, which is the Arabic word answering to the Persian Turkeftân, that is, *the Country of the Turks*. *Crases in the East.*

It may be presumed, that the nations who were not immediately subject to the successors of Difabules, were, in time, conquered by some other nation or nations, situated more to the east or south : and thus the name of Turkeftân came to be disused, in all but the western parts of that empire, where the Turks still preserved their power : on which account it always retained the name of Turkeftân with the Persians. *Settles in the West.*

However, the Turks in this western region, at different times, seems to have recovered or extended their dominion eastward, as they found opportunity, from their own increase of strength, or the weakness of their neighbours, whom they had to encounter. Thus, in the time of Ebn Saïd al Magrebi, the geographer Kâshgar, in Little Bukhâria, was the capital of Turkeftân ; as it seems to have been also in 996, under Ilekkhân. At least, Turkeftân must, at that time, have been divided into two distinct dominions, the western and the eastern ; of which last, according to some authors, Ilekkhân was the sovereign lord, while Arslân Khân reigned over the former. *Revives in the East.*

Eastern Turkeftân, that is, the countries east of Kâshgar, soon after fell into the hands of the Karakitayans ; and from thence derived the name of Karakitay, according *Extends over Tartary.*

to the Persian historians. But at length, about the middle of the twelfth century, both the eastern and western Turkestan were united again under one prince, in consequence of the surrender made by Ilck Khân of Balâsâgûn to Karakitay Kûrkhân, or Kavar Khân: nor did the western Turkestan, upon that revolution, take the name of Karakitay, but still retained its own, at least with the Persians.

*Again con-
tracted.*

But things did not long continue in this state; for, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, Kuchluk the Naymân, rebelling against his father-in-law Kûrkhân, seized the eastern Turkestan; and thus once more caused a division of the empire. Some say both parts were united again in the person of Kuchluk himself, who succeeded Kûrkhân: be that as it may, in a very few years after, Jenghîz Khân the great, having over-run the whole Western Tartary with his Mogols, all Turkestan became a province of his immense empire. Since which time we have heard no more of Eastern Turkestan, or Oriental Turks.

*Remains in
the West.*

However, the part of Tartary to the north of Persia and Great Bukhâria, still retained the name of Turkestan; and, in the partition which Jenghîz Khân made of his empire among his four sons, came to the share of Jagatay, who was the second. But, in process of time, these new monarchies being split into lesser states by intestine factions, and the descendents of one brother invading those of another, Turkestan fell into the hands of the Uzbeks, and, at last, into those of the Kassâts and Mankâts; who were formerly the subjects of Juli, eldest son of Jenghîz Khân, and at present is possessed by them: the Kassâts having the eastern part, and the Mankâts (better known in Europe by the nickname of Kara Kâlpaks), the western part, under their respective khâns; who, with their subjects, are Mohammedans.

*Why so sub-
ject to
change
place.*

From what has been said on this subject, it appears that Turkestan had not always the same situation and extent; but constantly varying, is found sometimes in one part of Tartary, sometimes in another; just as the Turks, who, like the other tribes, lived for the most part in the fields, were able to stand their ground, or obliged to give way to superior force. Thus countries, which have neither cities, nor any fixed habitations, may be said to be of an itinerant nature, and follow their inhabitants wherever they remove. However, the Turks, who inhabited to the north of either Great Bukhâria or Persia, had generally towns along the Sîr in their possession, as the Mankâts and Kassâts have at present: and as it was from the same
quarter

quarter that those countries were, from time to time, invaded by these people, it always retained, among the Persians, the name of Turkeştân: with the description of which, we shall close this introduction to the history of the Turks.

The present Turkeştân is situated between 42 and 50 or 51 degrees of latitude, and between 73 and 90 degrees of longitude, reckoning from Ferro, one of the Canary isles. It is bounded on the north by the Arâl Tâg, or *Mountains of Eagles*, which are accounted mere hills in those parts; on the east by the dominions of the grand khân of the Elûths or Kalmûks; on the south by the river Sîr, which separates it from Karazm and Great Bukhâria; and on the west by the Caspian Sea and river Yem. It is about six hundred and sixty miles in length from west to east, and five hundred and forty in breadth from south to north.

The country consists generally of vast extended plains, which are very fruitful, and has but few mountains, excepting those just mentioned. It is watered by some rivers; such as the Tarâz, or Talâsh, which falls into the Sîr; the Turugay, which falls into the Talâsh; the Karasû, and others of less consequence. They all descend from the north, and fall, for the most part, into the Sîr; but authors differ as to the particular places where they enter that river. Here likewise one meets with several lakes. Among the rest one called Kamish Nor, that is, *the Lake of Reeds*, is forty or fifty miles long, and thirty broad. That of Issikol, where Turk, the son of Japhet, is said to have settled, is very near the eastern border of Turkeştân, if not within it.

When Turkeştân was in its flourishing state, under its own sovereigns, and even till the irruption of Jenghîz Khân, it abounded with strong and populous cities. However, these, or most of them, probably, were not built by the Turks, who lived mostly in the fields, but by the old inhabitants of the country, or the Arabs, from whom they took them. These were situate chiefly on the rivers in the southern parts, especially on the great river Sîr, which was its natural common boundary on the side of Mawârâ'nahr, or Great Bukhâria. The chief of these were Jenghikant, Jund, Yassî, Sabrân, Saganâk, Uzkend, Otrar, Tarâz, Esfijab, Osbanikat, Tonkat, Balâsfâgûn, Benkat, Tâshkant, and Shakrokîya.

Four of these cities were, at different periods, the capitals of Turkeştân; namely, Yenghikant, or Kariyat al-

B b 2

Jidâdah,

Jiddah, in the time of Al Berjendi the geographer, Balâfâgûn, or Kambâlik, enjoyed that honour from 1017 to 1177, and Otrâr was the metropolis in 1200, when soltân Mohammed Karazm Shâh took it from Karakitay Kûrkhan, king of Turkestan.

Many of them still exist, notwithstanding the destruction made by the Moguls under Jenghîz Khân; but we are better acquainted with the state of them at that time than at present, being furnished with very few modern accounts relating to this part of Asia.

*Yengi
Kant.*

Yengi Kant, or Al Kariyat Al Jadîdah, as the Arabs called it, both names signifying *the New City* or *Fortress*, was situated, according to the Arab geographers, near the river Al Shâsh, which falls into the lake of Karasm. This we take to be the Aral Nor, or *Lake of Eagles*, in that country. It was ten days journey (of the Karawâns) from Karasm, twenty from Farah or Otrâr, and twenty-five from Bokhâra^e. Jund, or Jand, was an inconsiderable city not far from thence: it is near the mouth of the Sihûn, and has produced several famous men. Mirkhond relates, that it was from this and some other adjacent cities, that the Scythian ambassadors went to meet Alexander, and reproached him for his ambition and rapine. On the approach of the Mogols under Tushi, son of Jenghîz Khân, in 1219, soltân Mohammed Karazm Shâh, to whom it was then subject, sent five thousand men to garrison it. However, Kutluk Khân, the governor, fled; but the inhabitants depending on the strength of its walls and towers, they stood on their defence, and might have held out a long siege, if it had not been surprised by stratagem, without bloodshed. On this account their lives were spared; but they lost all their effects^f.

*Jund, or
Jand.*

*Yassî, Sa-
bran, Sa-
ganâk.*

Yassî, Sabrân, and Saganâk or Signâk, are often mentioned in Shams Addîn's Life of Timûr Bek. The last was a large and strong city at the time of Jenghîz Khân's invasion. Soltân Mohammed sent twenty thousand men to defend it. It was the first place the Mogols besieged; who, on their approach, sent an envoy to summon the inhabitants to surrender, with a promise of good treatment; but they, instead of listening to his proposal, tore him in pieces; an instance of barbarity which so exasperated Tushi Khân, who commanded at the siege, that he never ceased assaulting the place till he had taken it; and then, to re-

^e Abu'lfeida Deser. Chowar. p. 56, 57.
Jenghiz Khan, p. 172. 177, & seq.

^f De la Croix Hist.

venge the murder, caused ten thousand of the inhabitants to be put to the sword. The terror of this execution induced the garrison of Uzkend, or Urkend, to surrender ^g.

Otrar, called by the Arabs Farab, was, according to Abu'lfe^a, situated on the river (G) Al Shâh, in the neighbourhood of Balâfâgûn ^b; but Sharîf Addîn removes it two parasangs, or Persian leagues, from the north bank of the Sîhûn or Sîr. We understand from the same author, that a league to the east runs the river Arj, with a bridge over it; that it is six Karawân stages from Tashkunt, and seventy-six parasangs from Samarkand. De la Croix places Otrar in the most western extremity of Turkestan; and bounds its territories on the east with that of Al Shâh, or Tashkunt. It was a city of extensive trade between the Turks and Mohammedans when the Mogols invaded the dominions of sultan Mohammed ^l.

*Otrar, or,
Farâb.*

As this was a place of great importance the sultan left sixty thousand men with Gayer Khân, the governor, to defend it; who, on the march of Oktay and Jagatay, two of Jenghîz Khân's sons, with two hundred thousand men, to attack it, retired into the town, and vigorously defended it for five months; but as the place could not hold out much longer, one of his generals advised him to capitulate in time. The governor, being conscious that he had been the sole occasion of the war, rejected the proposal. Hereupon the general retired in the night with his ten thousand men, into the camp of the Mogols, who, detesting his treachery, slew them all, and entered the city by the gate out of which they had marched.

*Its famous
siege.*

Gayer Khân finding the town taken, retired with twenty thousand men into the castle, which being too confined for so great a number, he endeavoured to free himself by continual sallies. These attacks extremely incommoded the enemy for some time; but the princes redoubling their efforts, took it at last sword in hand, and cut all the garrison to pieces. The governor, perceiving all was lost, retired into his apartment with two men, who being at length killed, and arrows failing, Gayer defended himself for some time with great stones, which his wife supplied him with. At last he was taken, loaded with chains, and soon after put to death by Jenghîz Khân's orders ^k.

*Governor
bravery.*

(G) The same with the Sîhûn or Sîr.

^a Abu'lghazi Khan, p. 113. De la Croix, p. 174.
ubi supra. p. 64. ^l Hist. Jengh. p. 145. 158.
ghazi Khan, p. 111, & seq.

^b Abu'lfe^d.
^k Abu'l-

Tarâz. Taraz was a city where the 'Turks and Mohammedans met to trade. It produced many learned men. It was near Esfijâb and Jekel, and four parasangs from Shalj. These two latter were cities of the 'Turks'. Taraz stands on the river Arj, about seventy miles to the north-east of Otrâr.

Esfijâb. Esfijâb was reckoned a large city, though not so big by two parts in three as Benkât. It had a castle formerly; but it was not standing in the time of Abu'lfeda. Both the city and suburbs were inclosed, the former with a double wall, the latter with a single one, three parasangs in compass. The inhabitants were accommodated with delightful gardens in the adjacent plain, which is well watered; and from them to the nearest mountains is a space of three parasangs^m. Esfijab stands upon the north bank of the Sîr, or near that river.

Balâfâgûn. Balâfâgûn, according to Abu'lfeda, was a city beyond the river Sîhûn, in the borders of the 'Turks' dominions. In one place he makes it near Kâshgar, and Farâb or Otrâr in another, which is a sort of contradiction; those two places lying at a great distance asunder. By the position given it in his tables, it was about seventy-five leagues north-eastward of the latter. Abû'lghâzi Khân observes, that it was called by the Mogols, Khambâlig, or *Good Town*. It was the capital of Turkestan for a long time; but at present seems not to be in existence.

Benkât. Benkât is a great place of trade, belonging to Al Shâsh, or Tashkunt, being a league in length. The fortrefs is without the city; but the same wall defends both. Its district or liberties are inclosed with a wall, as are its gardens and out-buildings. It is well supplied with running waters.

Al Shâsh, or Tashkunt. Al Shâsh was formerly a magnificent city, subject to Samarkand, near the Sîhûn, from whence the water flowed to every house. It is four stages from Khojend, and five from Fargâna or Andukand; it is at present called Tashkuntⁿ, but much reduced from it's former splendor, having been often destroyed and rebuilt, yet is the winter residence of the khân of the Kassâts, who possesses the east part of Turkestan.

Fenakunt, now Shah-rukhiya. Fenakunt was a strong city on the eastern bank of the Sîr, in the time of Jenghîz Khân. That prince sent fifty thousand men against it, under two generals; and though soltân Mohammed had detached thither ten thousand men,

^l Abu'lfed. ubi sup. p. 69. 71.

44. 473.

^m Abu'lgh. Hist. Turks, p. 406.

ⁿ Hist. Timur Bek, p. 406.

yet it was taken after a siege of three days. All the garrison were put to the sword, and the inhabitants carried into slavery°. It was so completely ruined on this occasion, that there remained no vestiges of it till 1392, when Timûr Beg ordered it to be rebuilt and peopled; and, as that conqueror gave it to his son Mirza Shâhrokh, it was from him called Shâhrokhîya. At present it is a miserable place, containing about two hundred cabins, dependent on Tâshkunt, from whence it lies about sixteen leagues to the east, or rather perhaps to the south.

Tunkât, or Tonkât, is a city and mart of the province of Ilâk. Before the time of Jenghîz Khân it was inclosed with a wall, in which were many gates. It stood on a river, from whence water flowed into the town, and through its territories. It had a castle for its defence, and was adorned with the palace of a prince. While it was in the hands of the Arabs and Persians it had a wall, extending from the mountain Shâbâleg to the end of the valley of Al Shâsh, built to hinder the irruptions of the Turks. This city was the nursery of many learned men^p, and called Dar Al Ilm, that is, *the Palace of the Sciences*, on account of its academy of arts and sciences. It was a place so adapted to pleasure, that it became a saying, “That God never made a more delicious dwelling than at Tonkât.” Jenghîz Khân held a general diet here in the year 1224, which was so numerous, that its plain, though seven leagues in length, was scarce able to contain the number of people who were assembled on that occasion^q.

*Tunkât, or
Tonkât.*

To the cities before described it is necessary to add that of Turkestân, which we omitted to mention among the towns of this country, because we find no ancient place of that name in the Oriental authors; though possibly it then existed under some other denomination, being mentioned often by Abu'lghâzi Khân, in the earliest times of his history. It stands on a river that comes from the north-east, and falls into the Sîr a little below the town; though built of brick is yet a very pitiful place, and remarkable for nothing but an agreeable situation: however, in this condition it enjoys the honour of being the capital of Turkestân, and is the residence of the khân of the Mankâts, who possesses the western part of this country^r.

*City of
Turkestân.*

° Abu'lg. Hist. Turks, p. 114. p Abu'lf. ubi sup. p. 67. 72.
q De la Croix, Hist. Jengh. p. 182, & seq. r Abu'lg. p. 568.

C H A P. VI.

*The History of the Seljûkians of Irân, or Persia,
at large, and of Kermân.*

S E C T. I.

*The Authority on which the Seljûk History is grounded.**Seljukian
dynasties.*

BESIDES the empires which the Turks established in Tartary, their native country, they founded four great monarchies in the south of Asia. The three first were possessed by the princes of the same family, called Seljûk, and Turks, of the same tribe or tribes. The fourth, by princes of the family of Othmân, or Ozmân, with their respective followers. Of these we propose to give the history in order, and are sufficiently furnished with materials for setting the Othmân affairs in a very proper light. We could wish, for the reader's sake, that we were but half as well provided to treat of the Seljûk dynasties. The misfortune is, that although many Persian and Arab authors have compiled their history at large, but few copies in the original language have as yet appeared in this part of Europe, and none of them been translated into any European tongue.

*Oriental
historians.*

It is true that two or three Oriental historians have been rendered into Latin, which speak of the Seljûk affairs, as Abu'l-Faraj, Ebn Amîd called Al Makîn, and the Leb-târîkh of Amîr Yahia; but although these furnish us with the origin of those monarchies, and a succession of their kings, with many facts and their dates, not to be found in the western writers, yet they are all too general to give such a light into their history, as might be sufficient to satisfy the curious. The two first authors likewise having digested their writings in the form of annals, the Seljûk history is given mixed with that of other states, and not in one continued series, as it is in the Leb-târîkh; but then this latter, besides its great conciseness, treats only of the first Seljûk monarchy, and Al Makîn of no more than the six first princes of that line.

*The western
writers very
defective;*

As for the Greek or Byzantine historians (both those who wrote by way of annals, or such as published the lives of particular emperors), they give such imperfect, confused, and erroneous accounts of all transactions
which

which happened without the bounds of the Roman empire, that scarce any thing true, or of consequence, is to be expected from them.

However, it is not to be supposed, that the Byzantine and other western historians are of no use in writing the history of the Turks; on the contrary, as the latter Greek emperors maintained wars against the Seljûks as well as the Othmâns, so those wars, related sometimes in detail, sometimes very superficially, make a part of their history; and hence it is that we sometimes meet with transactions not to be found in the Oriental authors.

Although in relating the affairs of the Turks, we ought to give the preference to Turkish authors, as every nation must necessarily be best acquainted with their own transactions, yet we are not to expect absolute perfection and exactness from them: for they sometimes differ in the account they give of the origin of their monarchies, as well as in the actions and reigns of their princes, with respect to their beginning and length.

S E C T. II.

The Origin of the Seljûkians, and their Entrance into Persia.

SELJUK, or Saljûk, the founder of the Seljûk dynasty of Irân, or Persia at large, according to the Leb-târikh, derived his origin from Afrasiab, and was the thirty-fourth descendent from that prince in a direct male line.

But Mirkhond, in his account of the genealogy of Jenghîz Khân, says, that Seljûk was of Mogol race, and descended from Boskin Salji, son of Alânkâwa.

Mr. Guigues, in his essay concerning the origin of the Huns and Turks, extracted from the Chinese historians, seems to think, that the Seljûks were derived from a stock different from both the former. He relates, that the children of Tûmwen Ilkhân, or Tumena Khân, who, descended from Buzenjir, the son of Alankâwa, imitating the example of their father, formed an empire, which extended from the Caspian sea to Korea: that this empire, being too large to continue long entire, at length became divided into two, the eastern and the western; each of which had its own khân: that the empire of the western Turks, which extended as far as the river Sihûn, or Sîr, was often formidable

yet of use.

Turkish historians.

Seljûk his descent,

formidable to the kings of Persia; particularly Hormozd, son of Kofrû Anûshîrwân, with whom they had considerable wars: that, in process of time, other Turks, of the hord of Whey-ke, destroyed the empire of the western Turks, and founded a new kingdom; and it is from these Whey-ke, that, in the opinion of Mr. Guigues, the four Seljûk dynasties, which reigned in the southern Asia, were descended.

According to this hypothesis, the Seljûk tribe could not be descended from either Afrasiab Khân, or Alankâwa. But as this is only a conjecture of Mr. Guigues, and he has produced no arguments to support it, we shall leave it, and return to the account given by Mirkond. This author informs us more particularly as to the family of Seljûk, that he was the son of Dekâk, chief officer of Bigû, prince of those Turkish tribes which inhabited the plain of Khozar, or Kipchâk, to the north of the Caspian sea. Dekâk was so renowned for his extraordinary wisdom and valour, that his subjects gave him the surname of Tazialig, which signifies *a Strong Bow and hard to manage*. After his death, the king took care to educate Seljûk, who was very young; and, not doubting but the son of such a father would make a very brave man, surnamed him Bassâshi; that is, *Chief*, or *Captain*. As he advanced in years, the sultân heaped favours on him: but, forgetting his duty to so good a prince, he one day presumed to enter the secret apartment of the palace, in which were his women and children.

and fortune.

Bigu, being informed of this insolence, was resolved to punish him severely. But Seljûk, getting some intimation of his design, thought it best to avoid his anger by escaping in time. Accordingly, having assembled all his friends and people, who were attached to his family, he retired, with his effects; and (crossing the Sihûn, or Sir), approached Samarkand (B). Belil Khân, governor of that city, disliking such neighbours, resolved to oblige them to remove at a distance: but Seljûk, having augmented his forces, worsted him in several engagements. In one especially he obtained a considerable advantage, by means of an ambuscade; which was so well conducted that he acquired great reputation throughout the country. This success laid the first foundation of his greatness, and em-

(B) This was in the Hejra 375, and of Christ 985, according to the Lebârîkh; which says, the motive of their expedition was to seek pasture.

boldened

boldened him to present himself before Bokhâra ; where he was very well received *.

Mirkhond mentions nothing of the death of Seljûk ; which we learn from two other authors, Ebn Amîd and Ebn Shohnah ; who differ in their account of him, both from that historian and from one another. Ebn Amîd relates, that Dakâk, Seljûk's father, being a wife as well as a strong man, was also consulted by the king of the Turks, and carried with him in his wars : that he was the first of his family who embraced Mohammedism : that his son Seljûk, being of age, when he died, the king made him general of all his forces : but that, afterwards, apprehending danger from his crafty disposition, he resolved to kill him ; which design coming to the knowledge of Seljûk, he fled to Harûn Sahab Oddawlaw, king of Ghabia, and requested assistance from him, to enable him to conquer the country of the infidel Turks : that Harûn furnished him with a numerous army, to execute his design ; but that, in a battle with those infidels, Seljûk was slain, when he was one hundred and seven years old †.

According to Ebn Shohnah, Seljûk's father was named Dokâk, or Dokmâk, which, in Turkish, signifies a *Hammer* ; but at present is pronounced Tokmâk. Seljûk was chief of one of the principal families of Turkestan ; and, as he was always followed by a great number of relations, and others, who were in his interest, the king grew jealous of the great authority which he had acquired, and obliged him to depart his dominions.

Seljûk retired into the countries of the Mohammedans, where he embraced their religion. His first settlement was at a place called Joud, which depended on the city of Bokhâra, in Mawârâ'nahr. From whence he continually made incursions upon the infidel part of the Turks ; whom he harrassed during the whole course of his life : in the duration of which Ebn Shohnah agrees with Ebn Amîd ; but mentions nothing about his death.

The Persian historians unanimously agree, that Seljûk had four sons ; but differ as to their names ; which, according to the Lebtarîkh, were Michaël, Israel, Mussa, and Yunos : but Mirkhond calls the last Bigû, and not Yunos. Ebn Shohnah gives him only three sons, Alp Arslân, Mikâël, and Mussa. While Ebn Amîd seems to allow him only one ; that is, Michaël, from whom the founders of

* D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 800, art. Selgiuki.
Amid Hist. Saracen. p. 331.

† Ebn

the

the Seljûk monarchy are unanimously acknowledged to have been descended *. The sons of Seljûk became very powerful, possessing rich lands as well as numerous flocks †, especially Mikaël; than whom, great numbers of Turks acknowledged no other superior: and, when soltân Mahmûd Ebn Sabektekîn passed the Jihûn, with forces, to the assistance of Warar Khân, king of Mawârâ'lnahr, Mikaël went to salute that prince; who, admiring his courage, and the great submission which his family paid him, intreated him to remain about his person, and, at his return, to accept of the government of Khorasân, in order to defend it against the invasion of foreign enemies. On Mikaël's declining the soltân's offer, Mahmûd enraged, sent him in chains to prison, and, returning to Khorasân, still kept him in confinement. However, the soldiers and family of Mikaël followed the soltân, and settled in the plain of Khorasân. This is Altabâri's account of the manner in which the Seljûkians first entered Persia ‡: but other authors represent this event very differently.

*Heirs of
Seljûk.*

Mirkhond relates, that Mikaël died very young; and Ebn Shohnah says expressly, that he departed this life in Mawârâ'lnahr, in the war which he waged with the Infidels; and that, for this reason, he is dignified in the genealogy of the Seljûkians with the title of Shedîd, or Shadîd; that is, *Martyr*. According to the Lebtârikh, and Mirkhond, Mikaël left two sons, Mohammed and Dawd, who were afterwards called Togrol Beg and Jaffar Beg: but Ebn Shohnah adds to these a third, whom he places before the other two, as the eldest, called Yebegû: but possibly this is Begû, whom he has omitted among the sons of Seljûk, and reckoned to Mikaël. However, that be, we are told by Mirkhond, that Seljûk took great care to educate his two grandsons; and, by his will, left them sole heirs to all his effects and growing power. The young princes, having arrived at the age fit to bear arms, were masters of so much address, as well as valour, that in a short space they greatly enlarged their small territories, by the defeat of several princes of Mawârâ'lnahr; who became their vassals. The news of these victories reaching the ears of Mahmûd (first soltân of the Gaznah family, who reigned in Khorasân), he desired them to send some faithful person to him, in order to treat about an affair of importance.

* D'Herbelot, ubi supra, p. 801.
Amid, p. 332.

† Lebtarikh.

‡ Ebn

Israël, the uncle of the young princes, offered to repair to the soltân; who received him with great civility and honour: but one day, being desirous to know what number of troops he was able to furnish him, in case of necessity; Israël replied, that if the soltân would shoot one of the two arrows, which he held in his hand, into their camp, forty thousand horse would immediately set out, for his service: that if he shot the other into the Ordû of Bilkhân (L), he might command fifty thousand: and the soltân asking, how many could be had, if there was very pressing occasion; Israël told him, that if he would send his bow into Turkestan, two hundred thousand Turks would come to his assistance. This discourse so alarmed Mahmûd, that, to prevent danger, he seized Israël, and secured him in a castle, where he died.

and death.

Historians differ about the time when the Seljûkians first passed the Jihûn, to enter into Persia. Some say, it was in the reign of Mahmûd, the first soltân of the Gazni race, and by his permission; others, in that of his son Massûd. Of the first opinion are Abû'l-Faraj, the Lebâtârikh, and Al Makîn.

The Seljûkians.

The Lebâtârikh relates, that, on their having demanded leave to cross the river, Arslân Jazeb, governor of the city Tûs, in Khorasân, was of opinion, that their request should not be granted, lest these four families of the children of Seljûk, which were already pretty numerous, should draw others to their party; but that Mahmûd, who confided too much in his own power, rejected the governor's counsel; and not only granted their demand, but also permitted them to settle in the neighbourhood of Nessâ and Bawerd. This colony increased so much in a short time, by the continual accession of Turks, who joined them (as the governor Jazeb had foreseen), that the inhabitants of Khorasân began to be in fear, and resolved to get rid of those new guests, whom they dreaded as dangerous neighbours (M).

(L) The author of the Nighi-
aristân calls this place Beljân.

(M) In the course of the following sections, we are obliged to repeat many particulars which have been already re-

corded in the history of the khalifs, in order to support that connexion which the different parts of this work necessarily have with one another.

SECT,

S E C T III.

Their Transactions in Persia, and founding of their first Monarchy in that Country.

*State of
Persia,
at this
juncture.*

ABOUT the time that the Seljûk Turks entered Persia, the provinces of Khorasân, Sablestân, Gaznah, Persian Irâk, Tabrestân, Jorjân, and part of India, were under Mas'ûd, third sultân of the Gazni race. The rest of Persia was in the hands of Abû'lganjar, by others called Kalijar, one of the princes of the family of Buyah, or Bowyah; who had reigned in Pârs (or Proper Persia), and Kermân, both the Persian and Arabian Irâks, Mazanderân, and Jorjân, Diyarbekr (or part of Mesopotamia), and in Baghdâd: to the jurisdiction of which city, the dominions of the khalif, once so very extensive, were now almost wholly confined.

As to the provinces of Mawârâ'nahr and Khorasân, it is doubtful what power they belonged to. From some circumstances in the history of the Gazni sultâns, they should be in the possession of Mas'ûd, third sultân of that race: by other circumstances, Mawârâ'nahr, or at least a good portion of it, seems to have been in subjection partly to the khân of Turkestân, and partly to several princes of its own. Ebn Amîd makes it subject to its own monarch. Possibly all those different princes might have had a share in it; and the confusion which the country must have been in, from so many contending powers, doubtless greatly favoured the quiet entrance of the Seljûks into that province; but it is not probable they had conquered the whole before they entered Persia, as Mirkhond, in his genealogy of Jenghîz Khân, asserts; not only because he elsewhere brings proof to the contrary, but because such a supposition is quite inconsistent with the submission which the same author tells us they offered to Mas'ûd, on their arrival in Khorasân.

Hejra 421.
A.D. 1030.

*Raise some
commo-
tions;*

According to this historian, as soon as they had invested Nefes and Abiwerd, they sent an express to that sultân (who ascended the throne in 421,) to demand a place of settlement; offering to swear obedience and fidelity to him: but Mas'ûd received the ambassador very ill; and, among other severe things, said, that he never heard

of the Seljûk family, although he was himself a Turk by descent, and therefore ought to be well acquainted with all the illustrious houses of that nation. When the Seljûkians were told with what contempt the sultân had treated both their ambassador and family, they prepared for war ²; and, according to Mirkhond, as related by Teixeira, whilst Mas'ûd was subduing the provinces of Jorjân and Tabrestân, in the year 426, raised some commotions in Khorasân; but remained quiet upon his return.

Although their affairs were not settled, yet the sultân would march into India, against the advice of his generals. In his absence they made incursions throughout the country, from Khorasân to Pârs (or Proper Persia), with so much success, that they obliged Allao'ddawla Ebn Câcawiyay and Abusâlem to quit their governments of Ray and Isfahân, which the Seljûks seized, with other parts of Persia. By this time Mas'ûd returned from his Indian expedition to Gaznah; and, two years after, set out again for Jorjân. In his way, being informed, that Nûr Takkîn, governor of Balkh, oppressed them, he moved towards him, though in a hard frost; but, when advanced about half way, turned back against Dawd Seljûk, who was marching with considerable forces to assist Nûr Takkîn; and, though this latter fell on his rear, and took most of his baggage, yet he proceeded till he met Dawd; by whom being defeated, he fled to Gaznah; where he put to death many of the Turks who served under him; because they had misbehaved in the battle ³.

Defeat sultân Mas'ûd:

Hejra 428.
A.D. 1036.

Teixeira appears to have omitted the most remarkable circumstance, relating to the establishment of the Seljûk monarchy. Ebn Amîd is more particular. This author writes, that Mas'ûd, surnamed Abûsayd (soon after Mahmûd's death), sent an army against the Seljûk Turks; who were defeated, and some of them taken prisoners. Not long after this event Mikaël Ebn Seljûk dying, his soldiers put themselves under the command of his son Mohammed Abutâlib, surnamed Togrol Beg; who attacking Mas'ûd's army, routed it, and pursued them to Tûs; which he besieged and took. This is the first city which fell into the hands of the Seljûkians; who assembled there, and fortified it. They afterwards subdued Nishâbûr.

Take Tûsh and Nishâbûr:

Meanwhile Mas'ûd fled into India, where he remained a long time; so that Khorasân being deserted by him, the Seljûks made use of the opportunity, and conquered it.

Conquer Khorasân,

² D'Herb. p. 801, art. Seljûk.
D'Herb. p. 562, art. Molloud.

³ Teixir. p. 292, & seq.

Mas'ûd,

Hejra 429. Mas'ûd, upon advice of this encroachment, returned from
A.D. 1038. India; but the Seljûkians, advancing, put him to flight;
upon which the khalif Kayem Beamri'llah recommended to
their attention the defence of the country of the Moslems.
Mas'ûd, incensed at this occurrence, marched against them;
but they repulsed him a second time. And thus their em-
pire was established in the year of the Hejra 430, of Christ
1039^b.

A.D. 1037. As soon as Togrol Beg was acknowledged king in the
city of Nishâbûr, in the year 429, he sent his brother Jaf-
far Bek to subdue the city and country of Herât, or Heri,
in the province of Khorâsân: which conquest being soon
performed, he appointed one of his uncles to govern it.
In the mean time he marched in person to Merû, and hav-
ing taken it, he made it his royal seat. He afterwards put
Their royal Khorâsân under new regulations; and suppressed the dis-
seat. orders which had reigned in that country for a long time.

The same year, sultân Mas'ûd Gazni assembled all his
forces to drive the Seljûkians out of his dominions; but
the two brothers, having also collected their troops, after
an exceeding bloody battle, gained so complete a victory,
that Mas'ûd found he had no farther business in Khorâsân.

The Oriental authors divide the Seljûkians into three
dynasties or races of princes, reigning in the south of Asia,
and which were contemporary, not successive, namely,
those of Irân or Persia at Large; those of Kermân, a pro-
vince of Persia; and those of Rûm or Asia Minor, of
which we propose to treat in order. And first, of the
Seljûkians of Irân (M).

^b Abu'l-Faraj. Hist. Dynast. p. 225. Lebtariikh, p. 42.

(M) The author of the
Nighiaristân gives to the dy-
nasty of Irân fourteen princes;
fixes its commencement at the
year of the Hejra 429, of
Christ 1037; and terminates
its duration in the year 593, of
Christ 1196. This is con-
formable to Mirkond and the
Lebtariikh; only the latter
puts the end of this dynasty in
590: but Katib or Kayatib
Zadeh, surnamed Haji Khâl-
fah, in his work, intituled,
Takwim Al Tavarik, says, that
this succession consisted of fif-

teen sultâns, who began to
reign in 532, and ended in
590, giving them an existence
of no more than one hundred
and fifty-eight years. Ebn
Amîd again places the com-
mencement of the Seljûk mo-
narchy in 430 of the Hejra;
and in a matter of some uncer-
tainty, it is hard to say which
computation is most exact:
however, as we are obliged to
make use of one, we choose to
be regulated by that of Mirk-
ond and the Nighiaristân.

Togrol

Togrol Bek or Beg, first sultân of this dynasty, is the person whom Cedrenus, and the other Byzantine writers, call Tagrolipix or Tangrolipix. His Mohammedan name was Abu Taleb Mohammed; and his surname or title, given him by the khalif Rocn'oddîn, *the Pillar of the Faith and Religion* ^c.

Although the Seljûks had gained possession of almost all Khorasân, yet Mas'ûd, a brave prince, resolved to exert his utmost endeavours to recover it out of their hands. Accordingly, in the year 431, having raised a considerable army, he marched against Togrol Bek, and put him to flight, killing a great number of his men, and taking many prisoners. Next year Togrol Bek returned to Nîthâbûr, from whence Mas'ûd fled to Gazna; and then the Seljûkians became masters of all Khorasân; on which occasion an incredible multitude of people were slain.

These successes were followed by the patent of investiture sent to the two brothers, Togrol Bek and Jaffar Bek, by the khalif Kayem ^d; and by the reduction of the provinces of Jorjân and Tabrestân, in the year 433 ^e, which Togrol Bek undertook, and then subdued all the Persian Irâk ^f: for, in 434, Ebrahim Neâl Al Seljûki took Hamadân. He was followed by Togrol Bek, who reduced Rey. Then, dividing the provinces between them, Jaffar Beg had for his share Khorasân, and Togrol Bek the Persian Irâk, with the other provinces which he had conquered; fixing his seat at Hamadân.

Mas'ûd, after his retreat to Gazna, raised fresh forces; the command of which he gave to his son Maëdûd, whom he sent towards Balkh, to defend that frontier. Then carrying his blind brother Mohammed with him, he marched again into the Indies, where he continued till the winter following, and made great progress; but being obliged to advance towards the city of Balkh, to defend himself against the Seljûkians, who every day increased in power, as he was about to pass the river Sind, which is the Indus, Yusef Ebn Pustekkin, one of his generals, deposed, and afterwards murdered him in the same year 433; when he had reigned thirteen years with great magnificence.

Maëdûd his son, who was then at Balkh, succeeded him in the kingdoms of Mawârâ'nahr, Khorasân, and India, as far as they had been conquered; but the Seljûk Turks in those provinces refusing to acknowledge him, he sent an

*Soltân,
Togrol Bek,*

Hejra 431.
A.D. 1039.

*defeats
Mas'ûd,*

Hejra 433.
A.D. 1041.

*conquers
Persian
Irâk.*

*Mas'ûd
murdered.*

Hejra 435.
A.D. 1043.

^c D'Herbel. p. 1027. art. Thogrul Beg.
^e Abulf. p. 226. ^f D'Herbel. p. 1027.

^d Lebtarikh, p. 42.

*Karazm
subdued.*

army against them in 435, which being opposed by Olb Arslân, son of Jassâr Bek, with a considerable force, was defeated. On the other side, great numbers of 'Turks breaking out of Turkestân into the territories of Gaumâfer and Kandahâr, to plunder, were routed by Maëdûd's garrisons^g. By this time the power of the Seljûkians was so well established in that large province, that, after the sultân's death, they found it no difficult matter to annex to their other conquests the province of Bâlkh, with all the country of Karazm^h.

*Turkmân
invasion.*

The same year a detachment of sixteen hundred and fifty Gâz horse, under four commanders, made an irruption into the county of Amîd and Miyafarkîn, then possessed by prince Abunafr Ebn Marwân. From thence they went to Nafibîn, where they cut down the trees: he then proceeded to Musol, whose lord, Karwâs Ebn Moktadir, was forced to purchase a peace; but after destroying the other cities of Diyarbekr and Aljazîrah, they returned to Musol, and took it, killing, enslaving, and plundering the inhabitants. When they had been here for some time, the Arabs assembled on all sides, and at length drove them out of the city: they afterwards defeated them in several battles, with considerable slaughter; the rest fled to Mayafarkîn; and seizing what plunder they could find, retired into Aderbijânⁱ.

*Affairs of
Persia.*

In the same year 435, Jalâl Addawlat, king of Baghdâd, dying without children, his nephew Abu Kalanjar (N), son of sultân O'ddawla, succeeded him in the post of emir al omra, that is, generalissimo of the troops of the khalifat; and finding Togrol Bek grow powerful in Persia, formed an alliance with him in 439, by marrying his son to the sultân's niece, the daughter of Dawd al Saljûki; but the following year he died, and was succeeded by the second of his four sons, Khostrû Firûz, who happened to be at Shirâz, where he assumed the name of Malek Rahîm.

A.D. 1047.

*Hejra 441.
A.D. 1049.*

Maëdûd Gazni, resolving to recover Khorasân, if possible, out of the hands of the Seljûks, advanced against them with a powerful army; but dying on his march, his great preparations came to nothing^k.

^g Texeira, p. 294, & seq. ^h D'Herbel. ubi sup. ⁱ Ebn Amid. p. 333. ^k D'Herb. p. 240. art. Caim Beamrillah. Texeir. p. 296. 298.

(N) In Texeira, Abu'Iganjar; in Abu'l-Faraj, Kalijar.

In the year 442 Togrol Bek took Ispahân by force ; and four years after (446), entering Adherbijân with his troops, reduced it under his obedience¹.

Hejra 442.
A.D. 1050.

Malek Al Rahîm, king of Baghdâd, succeeded his father Abu'l Ganjar or Kalanjar in 440, 1048, as has been already said ; but being attacked by Abu Mansûr Fulâd So-tûn, his eldest brother, and deserted by his Turkish troops, he retired to Ahwâz (in Khuzestân), and thence to Wâset (on the Dijlat or Tigris), where the war was continued, with various success, till 447 ; when being informed that Togrol Bek, at the instigation of Abu Mansûr, had possessed himself of Shirâz and most part of Pârs, he raised all the forces he could, and recovered those countries ; then returned to Wâset.

Ispahân taken.

Hejra 447.
A.D. 1055.

Abu Mansûr having, by the defeat and death of his brother Abufayd, secured himself in the throne of Pârs (O), died in a castle, where he was imprisoned by wazîr Fazel Hassan or Huya, who assumed the title of king. Mâlek Maverd, a Seljûk commander, who was then in the province of Kermân, being informed of this event, marched against Fazel Huya, and he fled to another called Olb Arslân (P), whose lands he farmed ; and growing very rich by that means, revolted from him ; but soon after was taken, with his son Nezâm Al Molk, and imprisoned in the fortrefs of Strahar, where they died. This happened in the year 448.

Other places submit.

Abu Ali Kay Khosraw, who had succeeded his father Abu'l Ganjar, voluntarily submitted to Alp Arslân, who gave him Nûbanjân and Aktak, and treated him with much honour.

About this time Dawd the Seljûk, called also Jaffar Bek, brother of Togrol Bek, who commanded in Khorasân made war upon Ferokzâd Ebn Mas'ûd, eighth sultân of the Gazni race, but the sultân defeated him ; and then marching into Khorasân, overthrew the king of Turkestân's general, who came to meet him. At last Alp Arslân advancing against him, routed his forces. Ferokzâd, having reigned six years, died, and left the crown of Khorasân and Mawârâ'nahr to his brother Ibrahim Ebn Mas'ûd, who concluded a peace with the Turks, and then marched into India, to make farther conquests^m.

¹ Abulf. p. 226.

^m Tex. p. 298, & seq.

(O) Or Proper Persia, called Fârs by the Arabs, of which Shirâz is the capital.

(P) This doubtless was Olb or Alp Arslân, Togrol Bek's nephew and successor.

*Bafasiri
rebels.*

*against the
khalif.*

*Hejra 447.
A.D. 1055.*

*Togrol Bek
invited.*

The distractions which had long subsisted at Baghdâd, occasioned by the Turkish militia, still continued to afflict that city; when great dissensions arose between Raïs al Ruffa, wazîr or vizier to the khalif Kayem Beamr'illah, and a Turk called Ruffân Abu'l Harith Mutaſſir, surnamed Bafasiri. This Bafasiri was originally a slave to Bahao'd-dawlat, king of Irâk and Baghdâd; but by degrees rose to be one of the principal commanders of Mâlec Al Kakim, then king of Baghdâd. Being obliged, on account of this quarrel, to quit Baghdâd, he put himself under the protection of Al Mostanser, khalif of Egypt; who supplying him with troops, he became very powerful in Irâk Arabi, and at length obtained possession of the country; which he ravaged as far as the imperial city; so that he grew a terror both to the Arabs and Persians. He was already prayed for in the pulpits of that province: and as the khalif had been deprived of all authority by the Buyah or Dilem princes, in whose hands he was kept, so, by this rebellion of Bafasiri, nothing remained to Malek, who succeeded Abu Kalanjar, but the naked title of king of Baghdâd^a.

Authors place these events in the year 447; but they seem to have had a beginning some years earlier. However that be, it is certain that the khalif, being informed that Bafasiri designed the same year to seize on the imperial castle, wrote to Togrol Bek, who was then in the district of Rey, entreating him to come to his assistance.

Bafasiri was at Wâſet, whence some of his soldiers deserting, came to Baghdâd; and having plundered his palace, set it on fire.

Togrol Bek arrived in that capital in the month of Ramadân, bringing with him eighteen elephants; at which time Bafasiri, who was at Rahaba, on the Euphrates, wrote to Mostansir Bi'llah, lord of Egypt, had prayers put up in his name, and furnished him with money.

As soon as Togrol Bek arrived at Baghdâd, he seized Malek al Rahîm, for whom prayers were no longer offered. Thus ended the dominion of the Buyians, which had continued one hundred and twenty-seven years; and that of the Seljûks began in the same city, where Togrol Bek resided, in the imperial castle. Next year, the khalif married Kadija, the sister of Togrol Bek, who gave her a portion of a hundred thousand crowns in gold: and Togrol Bek, having remained between three and four months at Baghdâd, marched towards Musol, carrying with him battering rams,

*Hejra 448.
A.D. 1056.*

^a Tex. p. 299. D'Herb. p. 240. art. Caim Bemr. Ebn Amid. p. 336. Abulf. p. 226.

and other engines of war. He went also and besieged Takrit, when the cities of Kufa, Wâset, and Aynottamri, renouncing their allegiance, caused prayers to be made in the name of Mostansir Bi'llah, khalif of Egypt.

In 449 the khalif Kayem Beamr'illah honoured Togrol Bek with the imperial vest, and crowned him king of Baghdad. He likewise adorned him with the collar and bracelets, appointed him ruler over his court, and money to be coined in his name^a. *Buyan
dynasty
suppressed.*

Thus the sultânât of Baghdâd, or post of emir al omrah of the khalifs, passed from the house of the Buyahs to that of the Seljûks: and thus his power was thoroughly established; nor was there any person left, in both the Irâks and Khorasân, who gave him the least opposition.

The year following Togrol Bek marched to Musol, and from thence to Nalibin, with a design to subdue those places. There went with him his brother Ibrahim, whom Bafasiri, by his emissaries, excited to revolt; giving him hopes of obtaining the kingdom, and promising assistance. Ibrahim, upon this, exacting an oath of fidelity from the soldiers, departed with a great army to Rey, and rebelled^b. Hejra 450.
A.D. 1058.

*Revolt of
Ibrahim.*

Bafasiri entered Baghdâd on the 8th of Dhu'lhajjah, with the name of the Egyptian khalif inscribed on his standards; and on the 13th prayers were put up in the principal mosque in his name. Then ordering a bridge to be laid across the Tigris, he passed over to the eastern side of the city, called Rufâfah, where the same ceremony was performed. Afterwards, seizing Ebn al Moslem, the khalif's wazîr, he ordered him to be dressed in a woollen gown, with a high red bonnet, and a leathern collar about his neck; and, in this manner, to be led through the streets of Baghdâd, tied upon a camel, with a man lashing him all the way behind; then being sowed up in a fresh bull's hide, with the horns placed over his head, he was hung up on hooks, and beaten till he died. *Bafasiri's
crusly.*

As for the khalif, he went to the camp, where a tent was set up for him on the east side of the city. Mean time the mob pillaged the imperial palace of effects to an immense value. On Friday, the 4th of Dhu'lhajjah, there was neither sermon nor prayers in the temple of the khalif; while, in all other mosques, the harangue was made in the name *The khalif
imprisoned.*

^a Ebn Amid. p. 336. & seq. ^b D'Herb. p. 1027. art. Thogrol.

of Mostanfir Bi'llah, lord of Egypt. Thus the sovereignty of the khalif was suppressed for that day.

Kayem Beamri'llah was conveyed to Hadîtha; and being put in fetters, was left in custody with the governor of the town.

Hejra 451.
A.D. 1059.

*Ibrahim
defeated;*

In the year following, Bafasiri sending for the great chancellor Abu Abdallah Ebn Damîyân, with the preachers and princes of the family of Hafsem, required security, and an oath of fidelity to Mostanfir Bi'llah, lord of Egypt.

At this period, Togrol Bek marched against his brother Ibrahim, defeated, and having taken him prisoner, strangled him with a bow-string. He likewise put to death a great number of Turkmâns, who had joined him.

Having thus re-established his power, he marched to Baghdâd against Bafasiri, and sent the khalif his compliments, with five thousand crowns in gold, and six thousand suits of cloaths for his wife. As he drew near the city, on the 11th of Dhu'lkâada, Mahrâs, lord of Hadîtha, came to meet him, bringing with him Kayem Beamri'llah.

*and Bagh-
dâd pillag-
ed.*

As soon as he arrived at Baghdâd, his foldiers pillaged that part called Karkha; and having collected a great quantity of tents, chariots, and other moveables, sent them all to the khalif, with his wazîr Abdalmâlec Al Kanderi, and Aftad Abubekr. Then a tent being erected, the khalif entered it; and, after two days rest, on the 25th of the same month, went into Baghdâd, from whence he had been absent a whole year, accompanied by Togrol Bek, who held the bridle of his mule till he had passed through the stone gate¹.

*The khalif
restored.*

Mirkhond relates, that he conducted the khalif to the imperial palace on foot, sometimes holding the stirrup, sometimes the bridle, of his mule; and that, to reward Togrol's respect, he gave him the title of Rocnoddîn, in these words; "*Erkeb ya Rocnoddîn: Mount on horse-back, you who are the most firm pillar, or support, of the religion*."

*Bafasiri
slain.*

Some time before this, Bafasiri was gone to Wâset; and having collected a large quantity of corn, sent it on board some barks: but when he heard what had happened at Baghdâd, he advanced to Nomanîya. The sultân sent against him part of his army, under the command of He-

¹ Ebn Amid, p. 338. & seq.
Caim Bemr,

¹ D'Herb. p. 240. & seq. art.

marmakîn, and other generals; following himself, with the rest of his forces, in the end of Dhu'lkâada. Basafiri being killed in the battle, his head was brought to Togrol Bek, who ordered it to be carried on a pike through the streets of Baghdâd. Then proceeding to Wâset, he settled the affairs of that city, and returned to Baghdâd in the year 452; where the khalif made him rich presents, and received him with great honour. He went afterwards to Jabâl, leaving his wazîr Abdalmâlec Al Kanderi as his lieutenant; and having restored peace to that country, returned to Baghdâd.

Hejra 452.
A.D. 1060.

Having related matters thus far from the historians of the East, it is time to turn westward, and see what is to be met with farther, concerning the Seljûkian Turks, in the Greek authors; whose want of that exactness found in the Orientals, in marking the dates of actions, makes it difficult to range them in chronological order, or deliver them from the confusion in which they seem placed. We are told by Cedrenus, and Nicephorus Bryennius, that, after Tagrolipix found himself secure in the throne of Persia, he made war on the neighbouring princes; and marching against Pissasirius before mentioned, after defeating him in several battles, slew him, and brought the country of the Babylonians in subjection.

The Greek account.

He then sent his nephew Kutlu Muses against Karmeses, king of the Arabians; but being defeated, he took shelter in Media, and halted at Baas, or Baasprakan. From thence he sent to Stephen, the Roman governor, to demand a passage; and being denied, routed his troops, and took him prisoner. Then marching to Briscium, on the borders of Persia, sold him for a slave. When he returned to Tagrolipix, after excusing his ill success against the Arabs, he advised him to invade Media, which he said was inhabited by women: but that prince, extremely offended at his defeat, would not listen to him; but raising fresh forces, went against the Arabs in person, and was likewise worsted.

Kutlu Muses defeated.

At his return he marched against Kutlu Muses, who, fearing the sultan's displeasure, had fled with his followers; and taking refuge in Pafar, a city of the Khorasmiens, revolted; while he, with part of his army, besieged Pafar, which, being strongly fortified, made an obstinate defence. He sent another detachment, consisting of twenty thousand men, under the command of Aslan, surnamed the Deaf, his brother's son, to subdue Media; where he

Flee from Tagrolipix;

committed dreadful ravages : but being, in the end, drawn into an ambush by the Roman generals, he was cut off, with his whole army.

*who burns
Artze.*

Tagrolipix, not discouraged at this misfortune, sent another army into Media, near a hundred thousand strong, commanded by Abraham Alim, his half-brother ; who ravaged the country without opposition, the Romans retiring into their fortresses ; and then laid siege to Artze, a place, on account of its great trade, esteemed the most wealthy in those parts ; but not being able to master it, they reduced it to ashes. More than a hundred and fifty thousand of the inhabitants are said to have perished, either by the sword, or in the flames.

*Roman ge-
neral taken,*

Abraham afterwards hearing that the Romans, under the command of Leparites, governor of Iberia, had taken the field, marched against them. The two armies engaging with great fury, the victory continued long doubtful, but at length inclined to the Romans, although their general was taken prisoner ; a circumstance which prevented them from pursuing the flying enemy.

Hereupon the emperor dispatched ambassadors, with rich presents, and a large sum, to redeem Liparites, and conclude an alliance with Tagrolipix, who generously returned them, with the money, to Liparites, and set him at liberty without ransom ; only requiring him, at his departure, no longer to bear arms against the Turks.

*The empire
invaded.*

Not long after this event, the sultân sent a sharîf, a person of great authority, with the character of ambassador, to Constantinople ; who, having arrogantly exhorted the emperor to submit to his master, and acknowledge himself his tributary, was, by Monomachus, dismissed with contempt, and driven out of the city.

Tagrolipix, offended at the reception of his ambassador, while the emperor was engaged in a war with the Patzinacæ, a Scythian nation, entered Iberia ; and having desolated the country as far as Koyma, returned from thence into Media, and laid siege to Mantzikhiert, a place defended by a numerous garrison, and fortified with a triple wall, and deep ditches. However, as it was situated in an open country, he hoped to reduce it in a short time : but, after he had continued before it thirty days, was obliged to retire, pretending some urgent affairs had called him home.

Discord arising, in the sequel, between the sultân and Abraham Alim or Halim, whom he sought to destroy,
Abraham

Abraham fled to his nephew Kutlu Muses, and joined in the rebellion. The sultân, meeting them not far from Pafar, defeated them in battle; and Abraham being taken, was put to death. Kutlu Muses, with his cousin Malek, son of Abraham, followed by six thousand men, fled to the borders of the Roman empire; from whence he sent for protection to the emperor Monomachus, a little before his death, which happened in 1054: but while he waited for an answer, he marched into Perfarmenia, as far as the city Karfe, which he took, though the castle held out: but hearing that Tagrolipix was advancing, he fled to the Arabs, who were the sultân's enemies.

*Abraham
slain.*

The sultân turning into Iberia, laid it waste, sparing neither sex nor age; but upon the approach of Michael Acoluthus, who was sent against him at the head of a considerable army, he retired to Taurus, leaving thirty thousand men under Samûkh, to infest the frontiers of the empire, which they performed with great success, the borders being left unguarded through the avarice of Monomachus, who died about this time. The Turks prepared to invade the empire on his death, but were prevented by the care of Theodora, his successor; but being encouraged by the remissness of Constantine Ducas, who ascended the throne in 1059, they extended their conquests on all sides.

Iberia ravaged.

Thus far the Byzantine historians. Let us now return to the Oriental writers. According to them, in 453, Jaffar Beg, Togrol's brother, died in Khorasân, and left for his successor his son Alp Arslân, afterwards heir also to his uncle, who died without children.

*Hejra 453.
A.D. 1061.*

*Jaffar Bek
dies.*

The same year Togrol Bek demanded the daughter of Kayem Beamri'llah in marriage; but the khalif giving him a denial, it occasioned many messages and threatenings on the part of the sultân, who next year forbade the khalif's officers to meddle with the public money. In consequence of this prohibition his counsellors advised him to let the sultân have the princess; a measure which he at length consented to, though much against his inclination. On this compliance Togrol Bek, being greatly rejoiced, revoked the order he had given for seizing the khalif's treasures, and sent him very rich presents.

*Togrol's
marriage.*

In 455 the khalif's daughter was conducted to the sultân, who received her with great demonstrations of joy, and

*Hejra 455.
A.D. 1153.*

and death.

* Cedrenus, Niceph. Bryenn. Curopalat. Leunclav. Hist. Musulm. p. 75.

† D'Herbel. p. 1027. Lebtar. p. 42.

bestowed

bestowed gifts on all those who accompanied her; but six months after, in the same year, Togrol Bek died at Ray, or Rey, the capital of Irâk^u.

S E C T. IV.

The Reign of Alp Arslân.

Hejra 455.
A. D. 1062.

*Second sol-
tân. Alp
Arslân.*

THIS prince was the son of Dawd, or Jaffar Beg, son of Michael, son of Seljûk, and, by succeeding his uncle Togrol Bek, thus united in his person the two kingdoms of Khorasân and Irâk, with their dependencies; so that, when he began his reign, he was sole monarch of all the countries lying between the rivers Jihûn or Amû, and the Dijlât or Tigris; that is, of all Irân or Persia, in its greatest extent, in the conquest of which he bore a considerable share.

Togrol Bek left him in full power at Baghdâd, where the khalif Kayem lived in dependence on the Seljûkians, till the second year of Mâlec Shâh, when he died^w.

His names,

The name which this soltân took after he had embraced Mohammedism, was Mohammed, or Abu Shejah Mohammed, for he was before called Israel; and that of Alp Arslân, which signifies in Turkish, *the Courageous Lion*, is a surname. The khalif Kayem Beamrillah, on account of his own power and merit, as well as that of his predecessor, gave him the title of Azzaddîn, or Adhadoddîn, which signifies *the Protector of the Religion*.

*and wa-
zîrs.*

At the beginning of his reign he condemned to death Kandari, surnamed Amîd Al Molk, wazîr to Togrol Bek, for abuses committed by him in his office during his uncle's life; and raised to that employment Nadhâm Al Molk, who was the greatest man of his time, and administered the affairs of the kingdom, in the reign of this prince and his successor, with the greatest integrity^x.

*Kotolmîsh
rebels.*

According to the Vassaiya, at the beginning of his reign Alp Arslân made war upon Kotolmîsh, son of Israel, his cousin-german, who rebelled against him in the province of Damedgân; but this revolt was soon suppressed by an unexpected accident: for Kotolmîsh advancing at the head

*Killed by a
fall.*

of his troops to give the soltân battle, his horse suddenly

^u Ebn Amîd, p. 340, & seq.
p. 241.

^w Khondemir, apud D'Herbel.
^x Khondemir, ubi sup. p. 102. art. Alp Arslân. Leb-
tar. p. 42.

fell

fell under him, and, throwing his rider, broke his neck ; upon which his army submitted, and were pardoned.

The war with Kotolmîsh was no sooner terminated, *Rebellion of Arslân,* than Kara Arslân raised new disturbances in Pârs and Kermân. The sultân, to suppress this rebel, employed Fadlhovich, one of his most valiant commanders, who defeated him, and was rewarded for his service with the government of Pârs.

But this ambitious governor, as soon as he saw the sultân on his march to Khorasân, resolved to seize his province. In order to effect this purpose, he fortified a castle, situated in a very advantageous place, where he retired with a fine body of troops, and a great deal of money, which he had amassed by a thousand extortions in his government. Nezâm Al Molk received orders from his prince to attack this castle, and bring him the traitor alive or dead. All who had a knowledge of the place advised him against this siege, because they deemed it impregnable ; but the wazîr, resolving to gratify his master, invested the castle with his forces, and went himself round it to reconnoitre. *and of Fadlhovich.*

During this tour he did not observe one man of the besieged upon the ramparts ; a circumstance which indicating the greatest confidence of their security, he was so mortified, that, but for the disgrace, he would instantly have raised the siege. However, he resolved to do his utmost, and had already collected provisions and stores for a whole year's blockade, when one morning, at break of day, he was surprised to hear that the governor desired to capitulate. *Fortress reduced by an odd event.*

The joy occasioned by this incident induced him to grant them honourable conditions ; the chief of which was, that the governor should remain in the place, doing homage to the sultân, and paying him a certain tribute annually, besides the usual presents. When matters were settled, the wazîr, who was in pain to know what could have obliged Fadlhovich to make such a sudden surrender, was informed by one of the besieged, that it was owing to a sudden failure of the springs, which were very numerous in the place.

An attempt having been made to dispossess the sultân of the province of Kermân, he marched thither with his army : being obliged to pass through the great Desert of Nûbandijân, which separates that province from Khora- *Desert of Nûbandijân.*

fân, his troops, who had entered it with great reluctance, perceiving their provisions to fail daily, began to murmur, and were upon the point of revolting, when they came to an old ruined castle, which seemed to be the retreat of owls and wild beasts; but on examining it, they found corn enough to supply the whole army. Yet this plenty being of no use without drink, God, to complete the miracle (as our author asserts), sent so heavy a rain, that every body had water enough to serve his occasions².

Hejra 457.
A.D. 1064.

*Kazan
rebels.*

In 457 the sultân marched against Khazan, who had revolted in the country of Khowârazm, and having routed his army, consisting of thirty thousand men, very few of whom escaped the slaughter, he bestowed the government of that province on Mâlec Shâh, his eldest son. In his return from this expedition through Khorasân, he paid a visit to the sepulchre of Ali Riza, the eighth imâm, who was buried at Thûs (thence called Mashad), where there is continually a great resort of people, who go thither out of devotion.

*Assembly of
the states.*

After he had performed this pilgrimage, he took the road of Radekân, where he encamped with his army in a most agreeable place. From hence he dispatched couriers through all the provinces of his empire, to summon the governors and great lords to a general assembly of the estates. These being all assembled, he declared his son Mâlec Shâh for his successor, and only heir to his dominions. Then he ordered his son to sit on a throne of gold, prepared for that purpose, and made all the officers of the empire take an oath of fidelity to him.

Immediately after this ceremony, he acquainted all the chiefs and generals of his armies, that he designed to attempt the conquest of Turkestân, the country whence he drew his original, and where, as he pretended, his ancestors formerly reigned; but this expedition was not undertaken till several years after².

Let us now turn ourselves westward, and see what the Turks were doing on that side.

*The Turks
invade the
Roman
empire.*

Upon the death of Constantine Ducas, which happened in the year 1065, the Turks, understanding that the Roman empire was governed by a woman, invaded Mesopotamia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, destroying all with fire and sword. The empress was not in a condition to oppose them, the greater part of her army having been dis-

² Vassaiya, ap. D'Herb. p. 103. art. Alp Arslan.
ap. D'Herb. art. Alp Arslan,

² Khond.

banded in her husband's life-time, and the troops which were still on foot being undisciplined, and altogether unfit for service. Eudocia, therefore, to secure at once the empire from foreign, and herself from domestic enemies, married Romanus Diogenes, who was thereupon proclaimed emperor. As he was a man of great activity and experience in war, he no sooner saw himself vested with the sovereign power, than taking upon him the command of the army, he passed over into Asia, where, on his arrival, he was informed, that the Turks, having surprised and plundered the city of Neocæsarea, were retiring with a rich booty. The emperor following them at the head of a chosen body of light-armed troops, came up with them on the third day, killed a great number of the enemy, and recovered the spoil. He then pursued his march to Aleppo, which he retook, together with Hierapolis, where he built a strong castle ^b.

On his return he defeated a numerous body of Turks, who attempted to cut off his retreat; after which defeat the Turks abandoned several cities on his approach.

In 463. Alp-Arslân marched to Akhlât with forty thousand horse to meet the Romans, who had a great army; but they were defeated, and their general, who was a nobleman, being taken, the sultan ordered his nose to be cut off ^c.

Hejra 463.
A.D. 1070.

*Are themselves dis-
fracted.*

This, by the circumstances of the history, must have been Philaretus, who had been left to guard the banks of the Euphrates. The Byzantine historians farther relate, that the Turks, after this victory, advanced into Cilicia, and surprised Iconium, the principal city of that province; but that, hearing of the emperor's approach, they, after having plundered it, retired in haste. However, the Armenians attacking them in the plains of Tarsus, put them to flight, and stripped them of their booty.

In the spring following, the emperor marched again into Asia, at the head of a considerable army, which he had raised and disciplined during the winter. But, contrary to the advice of Nicephorus Bryennius, who exhorted him to wait for the Turks in Cappadocia, he marched to Mazerka; and, dividing his army into two parts, sent one of them to Kleat, a small town belonging to the Turks, between whom and the Romans several skirmishes happened, in one of which, Basilacius, one of the emperor's chief officers, was killed. At length Romanus, resolving to

The emperor Diogenes attacks the Turks.

^b Cedrenus.

^c Ebn Amid, p. 343, & seq.

come to a general engagement, advanced with his army, in three bodies, of which he commanded the center^d.

Ebn Amîd informs us in general, that the *soltân* having met the Roman emperor on the 26th of the month Dhûl-kâada, 463, in a place called Zahra, gave him battle on a Friday, and defeated his forces; of which an incredible number were killed, and the emperor himself was taken^e. But the best account we have from the Oriental authors, of this remarkable battle, is that given by Abu'l-Faraj. In the year above mentioned (says this author), Romanus Diogenes, the Roman emperor, marched with an army of one hundred thousand men to Malâzkerd, in the territory of Khalât. The *soltân*, who was then at Khûnaj, in the province of Adherbijân, hearing of this motion, made haste to meet him, though able to assemble no more than fifteen thousand horse. When the armies were in fight, he sent to the emperor to desire peace; but his answer was, that he would come to no accommodation, unless he surrendered the city Ray or Rey. The *soltân*, provoked at this arrogance, on Friday afternoon put up prayers to God, with tears in his eyes, before his army, who wept to see their monarch's distress.

*The soltân's
bravery.*

Before he engaged, he gave those leave to return who were afraid to stay. Then casting away his bow and arrows, he took his sword, with an iron sceptre, grasping his horse's tail in his hand; and all his soldiers followed his example. He dressed in white, and sprinkling himself with perfumes, "If I am slain, said he, this will serve me for a winding sheet."

*The emperor
taken.*

After a bloody battle the Greeks were put to flight, and a multitude of them killed: their emperor was taken prisoner, by a slave named Shâdi; and being discovered by the ambassador, Shâdi, lighting off his horse, paid him reverence, and then brought him to Alp Arslân. The *soltân*, patting him three times with his hand, said, "Did not I send to you with proposals of peace, and you would not hearken to me?" The emperor replied, "Do not reproach me, and do what you think proper:" then asked the *soltân*, "What would you have done to me, if I had fallen into your hands?" "I should have inflicted some infamous kind of punishment on you," answered the emperor. "And what, said the *soltân*, do you think I shall do to you?" "Either put me to death, replied Romanus, carry me through your dominions for a spectacle to your

^d Niceph. Bryen. in Const. cap. v. § 5.

^e Ebn Amîd. p. 343.

subjects, or else (what is beyond my hopes), spare me, on payment of a ransom, and appoint me your deputy." "This last is the way, said the sultân, that I intend to deal by you." Accordingly he set him at liberty, on condition of paying a million of crowns in gold, and dismissing all the Mohammedan prisoners in his empire.

The sultân's generosity.

When matters were thus concluded, the sultân made the emperor sit on the throne with him: then caused a tent to be erected for his use, sending him ten thousand pieces of gold, for his subsistence. He likewise released many Roman lords, presenting them, as well as the emperor, with vests, by way of honour. At parting, he sent an army to escort him to a place of safety, and accompanied him on his way the space of a league.

When Romanus arrived at the castle of Dawkiya, and was told that Michael had ascended the throne, he assumed a religious habit, and dispatched a courier to inform the new emperor what kind of peace he had made with the sultân. Then collecting two hundred thousand crowns in gold, he sent them to the sultân (F), solemnly protesting, that it was not in his power to do more.

The emperor's hard fate.

After this signal victory, Alp Arslân, according to the Lebârîkh, marched into Gurjestân, or Georgia; which having conquered, he deprived the great lords of their liberty, and obliged them to wear iron rings in their ears, as a mark of slavery: to avoid which ignominy, many of them turned Mohammedans. However, the country was not so thoroughly subdued, but that there remained a great number of strong forts in the mountains, which required much time to reduce; and as the sultân was called away by other affairs, he left his son Mâlec Shâh to continue the war.

Conquest of Georgia.

The most famous siege undertaken by this prince was that of a place called, in the Persian, Miriâm Nishin, that is, *the Place or Dwelling of Mary*; on account of a monastery and church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, situated in the middle of a lake. Mâlec Shâh chose for the attack the best of his troops, whom he put into boats, with ladders and grappling irons for scaling the walls: but just when they were going to make the assault, there arose so furious a storm on the lake, and the sky was darkened to

Famous siege.

Dreadful storm and earthquake.

(F) Also a precious stone other than the rich pearl called worth ninety thousand gold the Orphan, which was found crowns, according to Ebn in the emperor's tent after he Amid. This is possibly no was taken.

fuch

such a degree, that nothing could be done. This storm was followed by so violent an earthquake, that both the besiegers and the besieged, Turks and Christians, expected to be swallowed up together. However, the latter suffered most by it; for part of their walls falling into the lake, when the elements were settled again, the Turks, without any difficulty, forced the place, and ruined the monastery^f.

Hejra 465. The affairs which called the sultân away from Georgia, **A D. 1072.** were his preparations for the conquest of Turkestân: he set out, at length, with that view, in the year 465, at the head of two hundred thousand men, towards Mawârâ'n-nahr. When he reached the Jihûn, or Amû, he laid a bridge over that river, for the passage of his army, which being very numerous, was twenty days in passing. Here staying to reduce certain castles, he first attacked that of

Berzen
castle

of Berzem, or Barzam, in which Yusef Kothual, an intrepid Karazmian, commanded. This governor defended the place vigorously for several days; but being at last taken, the sultân ordered him to be brought into his presence, and gave him very injurious language, for daring to hold out so long against such an army as his. Yusef, who rather expected that the sultân would have praised his valour, being provoked at such outrageous treatment, answered with a great deal of warmth, and at last lost all respect. Whereupon Alp Arslân ordered his hands and feet to be bound to four posts, that he might be put to a cruel death.

Is slain by
the gover-
nor.

Yusef, upon hearing his sentence pronounced, took out a knife which he had concealed in one of his boots, exclaiming, "O wicked man, is this the treatment which a person of my merit deserves?" Then advancing to strike at the king, the guards would have fallen upon him: but that prince, who had not his equal either for strength, or shooting with the bow, prevented them from stopping him; and let fly an arrow at Yusef, which, however, missed him. Yusef, hereupon, full of fury, ran at the sultân with all his force, and wounded him mortally. He afterwards defended himself a long time against that prince's guards, till one of the pages of the sultân's chamber killed him with a club^g.

^f Vessaiya, ap. D'Herb p. 103. art. Alp Arslan. ^g Ebn Amid. p. 344. Abu'lfar. p. 228. Khond. ap. D'Herb. p. 103. art. Alp Arslan.

Alp Arslân lived for some hours after this misfortune : when, finding himself near his end, he said to those about him, " I now call to mind two pieces of advice, which formerly were given to me by a wise old man, my master: the first was, Never to despise any person; the second, never to have too great an opinion of one's self: nevertheless I have offended against these two important rules these two last days of my life; for yesterday, beholding from an eminence the great number of my troops, I imagined that there was not any power on earth able to resist me; nor any man who dared to attack me: and to-day, forbidding my guards to stop the assassin, who was making at me with the knife in his hand, I believed I had both strength and skill enough to defend myself. But I now perceive that no force nor address can withstand destiny^b." *His reflection thereupon.*

This prince reigned nine years six months and twelve days, and lived forty-four years and three months; for he was born in 421, and died in 465. He was buried at Marû, one of the four cities of Khorasân, with this epitaph: " All you who have beheld the grandeur of Alp Arslân raised to the very heavens, come to Marû, and you will see him buried under the dust." *His age,*

He was very brave and liberal; just, patient, witty, and sincere; constant in prayer, and giving alms: he greatly feared God, and was a strenuous advocate for Mohammedism¹. His shape and mien so very engaging, that he gained the respect and affection of all who approached him. He had very long whiskers, and wore commonly a very high turban, made in form of a crown. His power was so great in Asia, that there have been seen at the foot of his throne, thousands of princes, or sons of princes, paying their court to him. *and character.*

S E C T. V.

The Reign of Mâlek Shâh.

MALEK SHAH succeeded his father Alp Arslân, although he was not his eldest son. He was induced to declare him his successor by the advice of his wazîr Nezâm Al Molk. The name and surnames of this sultân at length are Moez-addîn Abu'lfetah Mâlek Shâh. Instead of Moez- *Third sultân Mâlek Shâh.*

^b Khond. ap. D'Herb, ubi supra.

¹ Ebn Amid, p. 345.

addin, some write Jalâl-oddîn, or Jalâl-oddawla^k; others, Jalâlo'ddîn.

*Titles and
Names.*

Alp Arslân was no sooner dead than he was acknowledged lawful heir and successor of his father, at the head of the armies which he had commanded. The khalif also sent him his confirmation of the title and power of sultân; adding to this honour even the quality of emîr al mûmenîn, *Commander of the Faithful*, which, till then, the khalifs had reserved to themselves, without conferring it on any Mohammedan prince whatever.

He was likewise proclaimed throughout his dominions by the name of Jalâl-oddawla Waoddîn, that is, *the Glory of the State and Religion*. It was on account of this title Jalâl, that the reformation of the Persian kalendar, which was made in his reign, was called Tarîkh Jalâli, that is, *the Jalâlean Kalendar*^l.

*His uncles
rebel.*

As soon as Marubil, son of Dawd, or Jaffar Bek, heard of Al Arslân's death, he left Rey, in order to obtain the crown: but Mâlek Shâh meeting him on the fourth day of Shaabân, near Hamadân, his forces were defeated, and himself taken prisoner. Kaderd, a son of Jafar Bek also, another of his uncles, raised a still more dangerous rebellion against him. He was governor of the province of Kermân, and advanced with a considerable force even as far as Kurj, or Gurj. The sultân sent the troops of Khorasân, which had always been victorious in his father's reign, to oppose him. The two armies, after harassing each other for three days and nights, came to a general engagement; which proved one of the most bloody that ever happened in Persia. At length the victory declared in favour of Mâlek Shâh; and Kaderd being taken prisoner, was sent under a strong guard to a castle in Khorasân. On this signal success, which established the new sultân's authority, the troops grew so insolent, that their principal commanders insisted on having their pay doubled, threatening otherwise to set Kaderd on the throne.

*Kaderd
taken pri-
soner.*

*He is poi-
soned.*

Mâlek Shâh, perceiving that the name of a competitor was sufficient to give occasion to his troops to revolt, caused Kaderd to be poisoned the same night in prison. Next morning, when the officers of the army came to know the sultân's answer, the wazîr, who probably had a hand in what was done, told them, that he had not been able as yet to present their petition to the sultân, because he

^k Ebn Amid. Hist. Saracen. p. 345.
^l Khond. Mirk. Nig-
hiarist. 2p. D'Herb. p. 542, art. Malek Schah.

found him overwhelmed with grief the night before, on the unexpected death of his uncle, who, driven to despair, had taken poison, which he carried in one of his rings. This answer at once stopped the mouths of the officers and the whole army; for they talked no more of the augmentation of pay, when they found the person was dead who only could have favoured their mutiny^m.

In 468, Akfîs, the Karazmian, one of Mâlek Shâh's generals, marched to Damascus; and, besieging it, constrained the inhabitants, by famine, to capitulate. He likewise reduced most part of Syria, and caused the oration to be made, in the name of Al Moktâdi, khalif of Baghdâd (F), although that dignity had been enjoyed by the khalifs of Egypt. Next year he marched into Egypt; a visit which so intimidated Al Mostansir Bi'llah, the khalif, that he resolved to fly. But the citizens of Al Kahera (or Kayro) and Sawdân advancing against him, defeated his troops, though much superior in number. On his return to Damascus, he put great numbers to the sword at Ramla and Jerusalem.

Hejra 468.

A.D. 1075.

A.D. 1076.

Akfîs subdued Syria.

Mâlek Shâh, suspecting that Akfîs had been slain in his Egyptian expedition, wrote to his brother Taj-oddawlah Tatabh, in 470, to attempt the conquest of Syria. When Taj arrived at Diyârbekr, he found Akfîs, lord of Damascus, was alive; who, hearing that the other was advancing against him, offered to pay an annual tribute. Mâlek Shâh, accepting the proposal, wrote to his brother to retire to Manbej. He went from thence to Halep, then possessed by Sabak Al Amin Ebn Mahmûd Ebn Nafr Ebn Mardas: but, not being able to take the place, returned by Harrân to Diyarbekr; a motion which put Moslem Ebn Korais, lord of Nasibîn and Senjâr, upon his guardⁿ.

A.D. 1077.

Tatabh sent thither.

In 471 Mâlek Shâh undertook the conquest of the country beyond the river Jihûn or Amû, whose khân, called Solymân, he took prisoner, after having defeated his army: and sent him guarded to Ispâhân, then the capital of his dominions. In this war, Nezâm Al Molk gave the waterman, who had ferried the sultan's forces over the Jihûn, an assignment, instead of money, on the revenues of the city of Antioch. The men having made their complaint to Mâlek Shâh, he asked the wazîr, why

Hejra 471.

A.D. 1078.

Marvâ-râ' inahr conquered.^m Khond. &c. ubi supr.ⁿ Ebn Amid, p. 349.

(F) He succeeded Al Kayêm before; after a reign of forty-Beamri'llah, who died the year four years and a half.

he had appointed a fund at such a distance for paying off those poor people? "It is not," replied that minister, to delay the payment, but to make posterity wonder at the largeness and extent of the dominions which you possess, when they shall hear of money received at Antioch for payment of sailors belonging to the Caspian sea, and of watermen who plied on the Jihûn." This conceit pleased Mâlek Shâh exceedingly; especially, when he saw that the wazîr paid off the bills immediately.

*Mâlek
Shâh's
marriages.*

That same year the sultân married Turkân or Tarkân Khatûn, daughter of Tamgaj Khân, son of Bagra Khân; who, in 479, brought him a son, called Sanjâr, from a little city of that name in Khorasân, where he was born °.

On the return of Ibrahim Ebn Mas'ûd, ninth sultân of the Gaznah race, from India, where he had atchieved considerable conquests, Mâlek Shâh made great preparations to invade him; but was prevailed on by his ambassadors to desist, and make an alliance, by marrying his daughter to Mas'ûd, Ibrahim's son; who succeeded him in 481 °.

*Hejra 472.
A.D. 1079.*

Afsîs slain.

In 472, the army of Mefr, or Egypt, coming to besiege Damascus, Afsîs sent for assistance to Taj-oddawla; on whose approach the Egyptians retired. Hereupon Afsîs, coming to visit him, was seized, and slain, by his order. Then, taking the city, he became master of all his riches and effects. After this reduction, the inhabitants, who had fled into Persia, to avoid the tyranny of Afsîs, returned to enjoy the protection of the Seljûkians (Q).

*Affairs of
Halep,*

The same year Sharf-oddawla Ebn Moslem Ebn Korais, lord of Musol, having obtained leave of Malek Shâh, to subdue Halep, on condition of paying him three hundred thousand gold crowns annually, marched against that city; and, after having sustained a siege for some time, it was, with the castle, delivered up to him; paying to Sabak Al Amîn twenty thousand crowns every year.

*Hejra 473.
A.D. 1080.*

*and Shay-
kâr.*

Next year Sedîd-oddawla Abû'l-hassan Ali Ebn Moklad took the castle of Shayzâr from the Romans, with a powerful army; and it continued in the possession of his fa-

° Kond. &c. ap. D'Herb. p. 512. P Texeira, Hist. Pers. p. 302. D Herb p. 480, art. Ibrahim Ben Massoud.

(Q) Mostâfa Haji Khalîf above mentioned. It lasted about makes a fourth dynasty of Sel- forty years, ending in the year jûkians, which began this year 511, on the death of sultân in Halep, and other places of. Mohammed (1). Syria, founded by Tataïa a-

(1) D'Herbel. p. 801, art. Seljûkian.

mily till it was taken by Mahmûd Al Adel Nur-oddîn Ebn Zenki, after an earthquake, which had destroyed the place. Sedîd-oddawla, who was an excellent prince, and eminent poet, dying in 475, his son Abû'l-merhaf Al Nafr, surnamed Malek-oddawla, succeeded him, at Shayzâr.

In 477, Malek Shâh sent his general Al Kastakar to Baghdad, as his lieutenant; at which time his wazîr's son was in that city. The same year, his brother Takash rebelled against him; and, having taken Marwa, gave it up to his army to plunder for three days, while he and his associates enjoyed the women, and drank wine in the great temple, in the month of Ramadân. Mâlek Shâh marching against him, he retired into the castle of Berjes; which being taken, he was closely imprisoned.

Hejra 477.
A.D. 1084.
*Rebellion of
Takash.*

The same year, Sharf-oddawla Ebn Korais, lord of Halep and Musol, marched against Antioch, then in possession of Soleymân Ebn Kotolmîsh; who put his forces to flight, and he died of his wounds. Soltân Taj-oddawla, hearing of his death, marched towards Halep the next year, accompanied by Ortok, the Turkmân, who had subdued Holwân and Habela. Both these agreeing to invade Soleymân, prince of Antioch, they fought several battles, under the walls of Halep; in the last of which Solymân was slain, and his forces were routed. Thus Halep fell into the hands of Taj-oddawla, who became master of all Syria¹.

Hejra 478.
A.D. 1085.
*Solymân
Shâh slain.*

The Greek historians say, that the great sultan, being informed of the success of Tutus (as they call Taj-oddawla), and fearing he should grow too powerful, to strengthen himself, sent to propose an alliance of marriage between a son of his and a daughter of the emperor Alexis.

In 483, the Bathaniyah, that is, Bathanians, or Batanists, began to subdue castles in Persian Irâk and Dilem. The first they seized was in this last province, and called Rudbâr. It belonged to Kamak, a subject to Malek Shâh; and was delivered to Hassan Ebn Masbak, for twelve hundred crowns, by the governor, who turned Batanist. This Hassan was a native of Marwa, and had been secretary to Abdolrezak, at Haram. Afterwards going to Egypt, he met with a Batanist, who brought him over to their persuasion; and, by consent of the people made him grand master, and head of the sect. He had many followers; and, growing considerable, Mâlek Shâh sent him a threatening message, requiring his obedience. The consequence

Hejra 483.
A.D. 1090.
*Rise of the
Assassins.*

¹ Ebn Amid, p. 350, & seq.

of this message, we have already related in the history of the Arabs¹, to which we likewise refer for an account of the disgrace and death of the famous wazîr Nizâm Al Molk.

*Mâlek
Shâh's
death.*

After the assassination of this minister by a boy of the sect of Batanists, Mâlek Shâh proceeded to Baghdâd; where being arrived, he went a-hunting on the third of Shawal; and, eating some of the flesh of the game, returned sick. A vein being opened, but little blood issued; so that his illness increased to a burning fever; and he died about the middle of the same month, having survived his wazîr but eighteen days. He lived thirty-seven years and five months; of which he reigned twenty, and some months over.

*Mâlek
Shâh's cha-
racter.*

Soltân Mâlek Shâh was very handsome, both in shape and features, besides being exceeding polite in his behaviour. To give his due character; he was an excellent prince, wise, liberal, courageous, had fine parts, and was remarkable for his sincerity and piety. He reduced the taxes, and reformed many abuses; repaired bridges, high-roads, and canals; erected the temple of Baghdâd, called the Masjed of the Soltân; also the Hanîfean college, near the chapel of the prelate Abû Hanîfah, in the quarter of the city called Refâfa, and endowed it nobly. He likewise built markets and towns. He made great conquests, reducing under his power all the country from the borders of Turkestan to the Holy Land, and Yamman. He made the roads secure, and every thing plenty in all places. He was a terror to bad men, and a support to the innocent, the widow, and the poor, who had always justice done them in his courts².

Hejra 481.
A.D. 1088.

*Travels
and pil-
grimage.*

This soltân took great delight in travelling; and it is reported, that he made the tour of his dominions, though so very extensive, at least ten times³. Hamdo'llah Mestûfi, before cited, relates, that Mâlek Shâh made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 481, with an incredible expence: for, besides abolishing the usual tribute which the pilgrims paid, he laid out very great sums in building towns in the Desert; where he ordered a great number of wells and cisterns to be made, and water to be conveyed to them from all parts. He likewise commanded plenty of provisions to be carried, for subsistence of the pilgrims; and distributed immense sums among the poor, with unparalleled liberality.

*Fond of
hunting.*

But Mâlek Shâh's greatest passion was hunting. He kept forty-seven thousand horses for his ordinary guard,

¹ Vid. Hist. Arab. ad an. Hejra 483.

² Kond. ap. D'Herbel. p. 542.

³ Ebn Amid, p.

and the chase; in which he spent a great deal of time. It is said, that for every beast which he killed himself, he gave a piece of gold to the poor: and it happened sometimes that he slew a great many. In short, Mâlek Shâh is acknowledged to have been the greatest prince among the Seljûkians; whether we consider his conquests, the extent of his dominions, or his magnificence, liberality, and other virtues.

His ambition seems to have been very moderate; for he disposed of great part of his dominions, in his life-time, among his relations and domestics. He gave to his cousin Solymân, son of Kotolmîsh, the country of Rûm, or what he had taken from the Greek emperor, extending from the Euphrates a great way into Asia Minor; of which part Azzerûm was then the capital. He established, or restored, soltân Shâh, son of his uncle Kaderd, in Kermân, or the Persian Caramania; of which he was the second Seljûk soltân. He gave part of Syria to his brother Tebs (R); Karazm to Tûshtekkîn; the country of Halep, or Aleppo, to Akfankor; that of Musol to Chaghirmîsh, or Jagarmîsh; and Mardîn to Katmûr.

*Provinces
given
away by
Mâlek
Shâh.*

Some of these states became reunited in time to the dominions of the family of Mâlek Shâh, and others remained in the families of those to whom he gave them^a.

S E C T. VI.

The Reign of Barkiarok.

MALEK SHAH left four sons, Barkiarok, Mohammed, Sanjâr, and Mahmûd; which last he appointed for his successor, though but five years and ten months old. This measure was effected by the management of his wife Turkân Khatûn, and the wazîr Tajo'l Molk; who, concealing the soltân's death, carried his corpse out of Baghdâd; and, by distributing money, prevailed on the army to take the oath to her son. The khalif also ordered his name to be published in the pulpits; and, sending him the ensigns of investiture, he was clothed with the soltân's kaftân, or vest, the crown put on his head, and the sword

*Fourth sol-
tân Barki-
arok pro-
claimed at
Ispâhân.*

^a D'Herbel. p. 544.

(R) This is, doubtless, a mistake in the copy for Tatash, as the Greeks write, is the same by misplacing the diacritical

girt on his side. On this occasion it is observed, that never prince so young behaved with a better grace; and that, after the khalif's wazîr, who performed the ceremony, had made him his master's compliments, he returned thanks for the favours received in a very polite manner. As soon as the ceremony was over, the sultâna went to Nahrawân and encamped *.

While Mahmûd was crowned at Baghdâd, Abu'l Modhaffer Kâsem, called Barkiarok, was acknowledged for legal successor at Isphâhân, where he then resided; with whom many joined, as being the eldest son of Mâlek Shâh, and because he was thought more capable of governing the state than a child and a woman.

Taken; but escapes.

Turkân Khatûn, who was a woman of great spirit as well as understanding, marched thither from Nahrawân, with such diligence that she surprised him in that city, which she took; but some domestics of the late Nezâm Al Molk found means to effect his escape out of his mother-in-law's hands, and he retired to Shirâz; where Takâsh Tekkîn, who had been made atabek, that is, lieutenant-general of Pârs, or Proper Persia, by Mâlek Shâh, resided.

Proclaimed at Rey.

That prince not only gave him protection, but conducted him to Rey, one of the capitals of Irâk; where he caused him to be acknowledged the rightful successor. At the same time the sultâna caused her son Mahmûd to be crowned at Isphâhân, the other capital, and sent troops to pursue Barkiarok; but many of them deserting to his standard, he defeated the rest. Among the prisoners taken on this occasion was Tajo'l Molk Kiami; who being brought to the sultân, the friends of his predecessor slew him. He was a Persian, endowed with many virtues, and excellencies of every kind; but all his good qualities were obscured by the murder of Nadhâm *.

Mahmûd resigns.

After this success Barkiarok marched to Isphâhân, and besieged his brother, with an army of twenty thousand men. Turkân Katûn, finding the people ready to revolt, came to an accommodation; by which Mahmûd and the were left in possession of Isphâhân, and its dependencies, condition he divided with Barkiarok the treasure of his father, which was in that city.

His brothers rebel.

The sultân, having received for his share five hundred thousand dinârs in gold, raised the siege, and turned his arms towards Hamadân, where one of his uncles, named

* Abu'lfed. p. 239. Ebn Amid, p. 355, & seq. ubi supra, p. 188. Abu'lf. p. 239, & seq.

* Kond.

Ismael,

Ismael, commanded; who, allured by the sultâna, with hopes of marriage, had made war upon his nephew. The two armies, which were pretty equal, met, in 486, near that city; where, after an obstinate battle, Ismael was defeated and slain. The same year Takâsh Shâh, son of Arslân Shâh, another of Barkiarok's uncles, declared war against him; and, having a much greater force, obliged him to retire towards Ispâhân, where he was very kindly received by his brother sultân Mahmûd, whose mother then was dead.

Hejr. 486.
A.D. 1093.

But those of Mahmûd's party, judging the opportunity of advancing his affairs ought not to be neglected, seized his brother; and, it is said, orders were actually given to deprive him of sight, when Mahmûd, being taken with the small-pox, died in a few days. Barkiarok was immediately set at liberty, and saluted emperor, by the very people who just before would have assassinated him. Being by this unexpected accident seated a second time on the throne, he chose for his wazîr, or prime minister Mowlâd Al Molk (son of Nezâm Al Molk), mentioned in the former reign: but, in a little time, through some distrust, the sultân dismissed him, and put his brother Takr Al Molk in his place.

Seized; but escapes.

Mowlâd made wazîr.

In 487, Barkiarok marching to Baghdâd, had his name mentioned in the pulpits, and title of Rockn'oddîn given him by the khalif: he also assumed that of amir al mumenîn, which no prince before Mâlek Shâh had been honoured with. Having settled his affairs, he applied himself entirely to war. His first expedition was against Takâsh his cousin-german, who some time before had driven him to great extremity; and, after several battles fought between them, Takâsh was at length slain. He then marched into Khorasân, where Arslân Shâh, the father of Takâsh, who commanded in that province, had a considerable body of troops; but he was delivered from his enemy by another of his sons, who committed that parricide, in order to seize his father's government: yet was disappointed; for Barkiarok, being thus become master of his dominions, gave it to his brother Sanjâr, and returned to Irâk.

Hejr. 487.
A.D. 1094.

Crowned at Bagh. dâd.

Rebel uncles slain.

Hejr. 490.
A.D. 1096.

Barkiarok had still another uncle to vanquish before he could be at rest; and that was Taj-oddawla Tatash, sovereign or king of Damascus, and most parts of Syria.

Tatash rebels,

† Ebn Amid, p. 357. Abu'l. p. 240. ‡ Kond. apud D'Herb. p. 185 & 544, art. Barkiarok & Malec Schah.

This aspiring prince, as soon as he heard of his brother Mâlek Shâh's death, ordered the kotbah to be made in his name; and sent to Moktadi, to desire that the same might be done at Baghdâd; but the khalif refusing, he marched to Rahaba (or Rabba), on the Euphrates, and took it. Hereupon Kafmar-oddawla (or Ak Sankar), (whom Malek Shâh had made governor of Halep, after he had taken it from his brother Taj-oddawla), submitted to this latter ^a. But, in 486, joining Barkiarok, Taj-oddawla fought several battles with him, who at length was slain.

A.D. 1093.

Hejr. 488.

A.D. 1095.

vanquish-
ed, and
slain.

By these means Tatafsh becoming lord of Halep, he prepared to march into Irâk. Accordingly, in 488, Barkiarok met him near Rey; where a bloody battle was fought, in which his rebellious uncle was slain. Tay-oddawla, before the engagement, had sent Yusef, son of Ortok, the Turkmân, before mentioned, to get him proclaimed sultân at Baghdâd; but Yusef, hearing of his master's death, fled to Halep ^b.

Another
rebellion.

Barkiarok, whose reign was a series of rebellions, was no sooner freed from one sedition, but another arose. Mowîad, from the time of his being turned out of the wazîrship, did his utmost to revenge his disgrace, by fomenting new troubles. He began by exciting Anzar to revolt, who was formerly slave to Mâlek Shâh, and had great influence in the province of Irâk. He enabled him to set a considerable army on foot; and Anzâr might have given the sultân much trouble, if he had not been taken off by an assassin, in the city of Sawa, where he was already advanced to give his sovereign battle. Mowîad afterwards applied himself to Mohammed, brother of Barkiarok, who had given him but a small share of his father's dominions, in the province of Adherbijân, and never ceased urging him till he had taken up arms against his brother. Mohammed (surnamed Gayâtho'ddîn) and Sanjer were Mâlek Shâh's children by the same mother. Mohammed, after his death, followed the interest of his brother Mahmûd; and, after the battle, which the latter lost, obtained, from Barkiarok, Hamkha, and its dependencies, for his support: to which place he retired ^c.

Mohammed
rebels.

Hejr. 491.

A.D. 1098.

Barkiarok
dies.

This prince in 492, disputed the sovereignty with his brother; and, although he had only a small army at first, yet it soon became formidable, by the great credit and in-

^a Ebn Amid. p. 356—364. ^b Abu'lfed. p. 241. ^c Kond. 2p. D'Herb. p. 186, art. Barkiarok

fluence which Mowîad acquired. At this time the lords of the court, being incensed against Mojared al Molk Kiami, superintendant of the finances, by whose frugal management they found their salaries curtailed, attacked his house, and obliged him to fly for refuge to the sultân. The sultân refusing to deliver him up, they took the palace by assault; and, cutting Kiami in pieces, would have treated Barkiarok in the same manner, if he had not escaped by a back-door, abandoning Irâk to his brother.

Mohammed, thus possessed of a great dominion without striking a stroke, made Mowîad al Molk his wazîr^d; and sent an ambassador to Baghdâd, to get his name mentioned in the kotbah, or oration, made in the pulpits on Fridays: but, in 493, Barkiarok, had it suppressed. Then, assembling a great army, he marched to meet Mohammed: who, defeated him at Mahdan; Barkiarok escaping with only fifty horse^e. Quitting Rey, he fled to Khûzestân; where Ayyâz, formerly slave to Mâlek Shâh, ruled with almost absolute power; by whose assistance the sultân found himself soon at the head of a formidable army; with which, in 494, he defeated Mohammed's forces in several engagements.

*Assisted by
Ayyâz,*

Hejr. 493.
A.D. 1099.

In 495 they fought another battle; but, as Barkiarok had fifty thousand troops, and Mohammed only fifteen thousand, the latter was put to flight. Hereupon, taking his way to Khorasân, to seek support from king Senjar, he halted at Jarjân. Here Senjar coming to him with his forces, they went to Damegân; where the army laid waste the country to such a degree, that the inhabitants, for want of food, eat one another^f. Afterwards, marching against Barkiarok, they were put to flight; and their mother being made captive, was exchanged for the prisoners taken before by Senjar.

Hejr. 495.
A.D. 1101.

*defeats his
brothers.*

Next year sultân Barkiarok besieged Mohammed in Ispâhân; but was obliged to depart, for want of forage and provisions. Mohammed hereupon raised troops, and met his brother; but, being defeated, was obliged to fly into Armenia^g.

Hejr. 496.
A.D. 1102.

It is observable, that the kotbah was interchangeably made at Baghdâd, in the names of those two sultâns, as often as they had the advantage over each other. Of such great importance was that ceremony thought to be by the Mohammedan princes, as long as the race of the khalifs

^d Kond, ubi sup. p. 186, & seq.

^e Ebn Amid, p. 364.

^f Abul'f. p. 243.

^g Ebn Amid, p. 364, & seq.

substituted;

subsisted ; though, at this time, they were no more than shadows of what they had been formerly.

The traitor Mowîad made prime wazîr. Our readers, doubtless, will be curious to know what became of Mowîad, the author of these troubles ; we shall therefore inform them. In one of the battles, in which Barkiarok had the advantage, he happened to be taken prisoner ; but, instead of being punished, as he deserved, he, by his address, so gained the principal lords of the court, that the humane sultân, at their intercession, pardoned him, and afterwards made him his prime wazîr. However, he did not long enjoy that post ; for one day Barkiarok, retiring to rest, overheard one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, who thought him asleep, saying, to another, “ These Seljûkian princes are of a nature very different from that of most other princes. They neither know how to make themselves feared, nor to revenge the injuries done to them ; for instance, (added he,) this Mowîad, who has been the cause of so many evils, is promoted by the sultân to the employment of wazîr, as a reward for all his treasons.

Put to death. Barkiarok, stung by these reflections on his conduct, not long after sent for the wazîr, and ordered him to sit down : then, without saying any thing farther, with one stroke of his scymitar he cut off his head, with so much dexterity, that it remained on his shoulders till the body fell. This feat being performed, he said to his courtiers, “ See now if the princes of my house do not know how to make themselves feared, and take vengeance on their enemies.”

Hejra 498. A.D. 1104. While this tragedy was acting at court, the armies of the sultân and his brother often skirmished, without coming to a general engagement. At length, in 498, a treaty was concluded, whereby Mohammed remained master of the provinces of Shâm or Syria, Diyârbekr Al Jazireh or Mesopotamia, Musol, Adherbijân, Armenia, and Georgia. The rest of the empire, viz. Pârs, Irâk, Kermân, Khorasân, Mawârâ’nahr, and part of Hindostân, were to be possessed by Barkiarok. It was also agreed that Barkiarok should not go to meet Mohammed with drums, nor be named in the pulpits in the countries which were ceded to him^b.

The civil wars, which for so many years together had afflicted the Seljûkian dominions, being thus at length terminated, by a partition of the empire between the brothers,

^b Abulf. p. 243.

let us now turn our eyes towards Syria, and see what was doing there, and in the neighbouring countries, during that interval.

As soon as the news of the death of Taj-oddawla, king of Syria, came to the ears of his son Redwân, at Damascus, he repaired immediately to Halep, and took possession of it, with the title of Tahro'l Molk. His brother Dekâk Shams Al Molk following him from Diyârbekr with part of his own and his father's army, there remained with him. Soon after, receiving letters from Sûbtekkîn Al Hadîm, Tai-oddawla's lieutenant of the castle of Damascus, he went away without Redwân's knowledge; and, though closely pursued, got thither, and took possession of the city. Dekâk appointed Sûbtekkîn his lieutenant, to govern his state, but soon after substituted atâbek Tegtekkîn, who had been governor before both of it and Mîyâferkîn, under Taj-oddawla, and preceptor to Dekâk himself. He was taken prisoner at the battle wherein that prince lost his life; and escaping, was received with great honour, and promoted by his pupil, as hath been related: a circumstance which Sûbtekkîn resented so highly, that Dekâk put him to death.

Affairs of Syria.

Hejra 488.
A.D. 1094.

Subject to the sons of Tatâsh.

In 489, Dekâk marching with his troops towards the sea-coast, his brother Redwân, who wished to recover Damascus, hastened with a great army to surprise it in his absence. The citizens shutting the gates against him, he besieged the place; but Dekâk returning, he was obliged to retire. Upon this he wrote to Mosta Ali, khalif of Egypt, promising to have his name published in the pulpits of Halep, provided he would assist him to reduce Damascus; which proposal Mosta Ali agreeing to, the kotbah was accordingly made in his name: but failing to send him troops, he soon lost that honour again¹.

Hejra 489.
A.D. 1095.

Syria was thus scarce reduced under the power of the Seljûkian Turks, who took it from the Arabs, when she found herself invaded by an army of Franks or Europeans. This was the famous Crusade or War of the Cross, more commonly called the Holy War, wherein almost all the Christian princes, influenced by a mad zeal for devotion, excited by the artifices of the pope (more with a view to carry on his own ambitious designs than to serve the interests of religion, which was the pretence), entered into a league of confederacy to rescue the sepulchre of Christ at

The Crusade.

¹ Ebn Amid. p. 360, & seq.

Jerusalem from the Mohammedans, and drive them out of the Holy Land.

But their progress in the prosecution of this extravagant undertaking, we have specified in the history of the Arabian khalifs, to which we must refer the reader^k.

Hejra 498.
A.D. 1104.

*Barkiarok
dies.*

*Appoints a
successor.*

But to return to the affairs of Persia: Barkiarok, after the agreement made with his brother Mohammed, advanced towards Baghdâd, to visit his great benefactor Ayyâz, who exercised sovereign authority in that city: but being afflicted both with a consumption and the piles, he died at Ispâhân, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign; appointing for his successor his son Mâlek Shâh, then but four years and eight months old. He caused him to be clothed with a kaftân or vest, and appointed Amyr Ayyâz his atâbek or governor, in the presence of his great officers, who all promised to obey his commands^l.

The first step taken in favour of the infant prince was to get the kotbah made at Baghdâd in his name; to which was added the surname of Jalal-oddawla, that is, *the Ornament of the State*.

Hejra 499.
A.D. 1105.

About the time that Barkiarok was on his way towards Baghdâd, sultân Mohammed marched from Adherbijân to take Mûsol from Jagarmîsh. The people of the country, on his approach, rose in their prince's defence, and killed the sultân a great many men; but when the siege had lasted three months, Jagarmîsh, hearing of Barkiarok's death, sent to offer obedience to Mohammed, who received him with open arms.

S E C T. VII.

The Reigns of Mohammed and Sanjar.

*Fifth sultân,
Mohammed.*

AFTER this accommodation, the sultân, who already possessed one part of the Seljûkian empire, prepared to wrest the other part from his nephew Mâlek Shâh, and unite it to his own. According to Ebn Amîd, he, on intelligence of his brother's death, repaired without delay to Baghdâd, where Ayyâdh or Ayyaz had assembled twenty-five thousand horse to oppose him; but an accommodation taking place, Mohammed entered that city, and took

^k Vide Hist. of the Arabs, sub. an. Hej. 496. & seq. ubi sup. p. 187. Abulf. p. 244. Ebn Amîd. p. 366.

^l Kond.

possession

possession of the sultânat: the khalif Al-Mostâdher Bi'llah presenting him with the kastân, and delivering into his hands the command of the palace. Yet when his affairs were settled, he seized Ayyâdh, and put him to death^m.

Meanwhile Mohammed obtained the title of Gayâth or Mogayâtho-ddîn (A); and in his patents was dignified with that of Emîr Al Mumenîn, or *Commander of the Faithful*; by which, in effect, the temporal power of the khalif over the Moslems was conferred on him.

In the course of the same year he marched against Sayfo'ddîn Sâdeka, prince of Hella, who was defeated and slain, after he had enjoyed his power twenty-two years and lived fifty-six.

Mohammed, having finished this expedition, returned to Baghdâd. While he remained in that capital, he was informed that Ahmed, surnamed Atthâsh, a pretended prophet, had not only gained over a great number of followers by his impostures, but also seized the fortress of Dîzghodeh, after corrupting the minds of the garrison with his impious tenets. This important place had been built by Mâlek Shâh, near Ipâhân, to awe the inhabitants, who were very subject to revolt. On this advice the sultân hastened thither, and formed the blockade of the castle, which was so strong, both by situation and art, that there was no reducing it except by famine.

The place not having been furnished with provisions, Atthâsh soon found himself obliged to send a man to inform Saad Al Molk, surnamed Awji, the sultân's wazîr, whom he had also infected with his opinions, that he could not hold out above two or three days longer. The wazîr answered, that he only desired him to stand his ground eight or ten days more, for that, within such time, he would find means to rid him of that dog, meaning the sultân.

This prince, who was of a very sanguine complexion, and usually fell into great disorders occasioned by excess of blood, was accustomed to lose some every month. Awji hereupon went to the surgeon, who, for the reward of a thousand zecchins, and a purple vest, promised to use a poisoned lancet the first time he bled the sultân.

One of the grooms of the prince's chamber having got intimation of the plot, he discovered it to his wife, and she to her gallant, who communicated it to the sultân himself.

^m Ebn Amid. p. 367.

(A) That is, *the Propagator of the Religion*; he is called also

Gayâtho'ddîn Abûshejah Mohammed.

Mohammed,

Obtains the empire.

A false prophet rebels.

Corrupts the wazir.

His treason detected.

Mohammed, as soon as he was apprized of it, pretended he wanted to be blooded; and accordingly the surgeon was sent for, who having bound up the sultân's arm, took out the fatal instrument; but while he was going to perform the operation, Mohammed cast so terrible a look at him, that the wretched phlebotomist being seized with a tremor, which made the lancet drop out of his hand, fell at his sovereign's feet; and confessing his wicked design, declared who was the author of it. The wazîr was immediately seized, and punished as he deserved; the surgeon was only sentenced to be bled with the same instrument which he had prepared to bleed the sultân.

*The rebels
punished.*

The rebels, finding that their treason was discovered, and being no longer able to resist, surrendered at discretion. Atthasî their chief was conducted to Ispâhân, tied upon a camel; there, after the prophet had been exposed for some days to the derision of the people, he was put to a cruel death, and his body was burned, with a great number of his disciples, who had joined in the revolt. It is reported, that this impostor, who was well versed in astrology and geomancy, finding himself hard pressed by the besiegers, wrote to the sultân, that he had found by his horoscope, that in a few days he should be surrounded with a great number of stars in the midst of Ispâhân, even in the presence of the sultân; and when he was led through the city, accompanied with great crouds of spectators, to the place of execution, being asked concerning the accomplishment of his prediction, he answered, "that nothing could be a clearer verification than the condition he then was in; but that he found the great number of stars which he hoped to see, were not to serve, as he had believed, to do him honour, but to cover him with shame and confusion."

*Conquests
in India.*

Sultân Mohammed having settled his dominions in peace, marched into Hindostân, where he made considerable progress. The author of the *Tarîkh Ghuzideh* relates, that this prince, who was very zealous for religion, having found in one of the temples which he had demolished, an image of stone weighing four hundred quintals, he ordered it to be removed, as an object of idolatry. The Indians offered its weight in precious stones, and other things, for its ransom, but Mohammed rejecting their proposals, said to his officers, "I would not have it reported hereafter that Azâr (A) was a maker of images,

(A) So they call Terah, the Pût-Tirash, that is, *the Cutter*
father of Abraham. The Per- or *Carver of Images*.
sians give him the surname of

and

and Mohammed was a merchant of them." At the same time he ordered that huge mass of stone to be transported to Ispâhân, where, after having been shewn as a trophy of his victory, it was condemned to serve for one of the steps of the great gate belonging to the stately college which he erected, and which contained his sepulchreⁿ.

Authors having furnished us with no farther transactions of this sultân's reign in the eastern part of his empire, let us look westward, and see what is doing on that side.

In 500, the year after Jagarmîsh, prince of Musol, had submitted to Mohammed, as hath been before related, Al Jâweli Sakawwa, lord of Roha, or Orfa, marched against him with a thousand men; and rushing into the middle of his troops, though double the number, put them to flight, none remaining but Jagarmîsh himself, who, being disabled from riding by a paralytic disorder, was carried in a litter. Intelligence of his being taken coming to the citizens, they gave the command to his son Zenghi. Afterwards Al Jâweli, besieging Musol, had Jagarmîsh exposed to the people daily on a mule, offering to set him at liberty in case they would surrender the city. On their noncompliance he imprisoned him in a place under-ground, where one morning they found him dead.

Hejra 500.
A.D. 1106.

*Jâweli's
success.*

After his death his subjects wrote to Kilej Arslân, son of Solymân, son of Kotolmîsh, prince of Koniya (B) and Akfâra, offering to deliver the city to him, on whose approach Al Jâweli raised the siege. Kilej Arslân, after having honoured Zenghi and his attendants with kâstâns, ordered the name of sultân Mohammed to be suppressed in the pulpits, and his own mentioned instead of it. Then he marched against Al Jâweli, who was at Roha, but was defeated at the river Khâbûr, into which the sultân entering, defended himself with his bow against the enemy; but his horse carrying him out of his depth he was drowned. His body appearing some days after, he was buried at Shemsâfiâ. Al Jâweli, on this success, returned and took Musol; but in 502, Maüdüd, son of Altûn Takâsh, with the army of sultân Mohammed, recovered it, and took possession^o.

*Sol'mân
Arslân
drowned.*

Hejra 502.
A.D. 1108.

The same year the Franks took Tripoli by capitulation, after a siege of seven years; the inhabitants having been

*Franks
take Tri-
poli,*

ⁿ D'Herbel. p. 605, & seq. art. Mohammed Ben Malec Shah.
^o Abu'lf. p. 244, & seq.

(B) Iconium, in Asia Minor.

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E c

destroyed

destroyed by famine and the sword. It was a great city, full of Mohammedans and learned men ^p.

Next year Tangri Al Franji (Tancred) lord of Antioch, took Tarsûs and Adena, in the borders of Syria, and Hefno'l Akrad surrendered to him. Others say, the forts of Akad and Minatter were reduced; but that Mesiafa and Akkad bought their peace, by agreeing to pay tribute, yet soon revolted. The Franks likewise subdued Beyrût, or Berytus, after a long siege; the ambassadors of the Egyptian khalif making a vigorous defence. The same year died Koraja, prince of Hems, and was succeeded by his son Sam Sam Herohân.

Hejra 504. In 504 the Franks took Sayda, or Sidon, and Rardia, A.D. 1110. with all the coast of Syria. At the beginning of the year Sidon taken. 506, Amîr Maüdüd, lord of Musol, encamped near Roha, whose corn-fields were devoured by his army. From thence he removed to Sarûj, where they did the same; not thinking of the Franks till Jûsûn, lord of Tel Bâsher, came on him suddenly, while the horses were dispersed over the pastures, of which he took many, and killed a good number of his men.

Next year, the Moslems uniting their forces, invaded the acquisitions of the Franks, who were defeated near Tiberias.

Hejra 507. After the battle, Maüdüd, who was one of the allied A.D. 1113. princes, allowed his troops to return and refresh themselves till the spring following, and went himself to Damascus to spend the season with Tegtakkîn, lord of that city; but one day, as he was going into the masjid, a Bâtanist approaching him, under pretence of begging alms, stabbed him four times with a knife, of which wounds he died the same day, and the assassin was put to death ^q.

The same year died Fahro'ddawla Redwân, son of Tajo'ddawla Tataah, prince of Halep, and was succeeded by his son Tajo'ddawla, surnamed Ahras; who being slain the year following, the city and castle of Halep fell into the hands of Lûlû, page to Tajo'rrûs, son of Jalâla, who afterwards resigned them to soltân Shâh, son of Redwân.

Hejra 509. In 509 Dhahero'ddîn Atâbek Tegtakkîn, prince of A.D. 1115. Damascus, went to Baghdâd, and offered his service to Mostadir Bi'llah, and Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed, who received him with great honour. Next year he returned; and Lûlû, prince of Halep, was killed near Balis, in go-

^p Ebn Amîd, p. 367.

^q Abu'lf. p. 246.

ing to the castle of Jaffar. After this event Abu Meali Ebn Malki, secretary of war, succeeded in the command of the fortrefs of Halep, which, the year following, fell into the hands of Amîr Bulgari Ebn Arik, who held it five years^p.

The year 511 was fatal to Soltân Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed, who died in the last month of it, after he had lived thirty-six years, and reigned thirteen. When he perceived death approaching, he sent for his son Mahmûd Abu'l Kassef, but fourteen years old, whom he had declared his fucceffor, kissed him, and wept; then ordered him to ascend the throne; but the young prince declined it, saying, it was an unlucky day. The soltân answered, "You say true; but it is so to your father, not to you, who gain an empire." Then mounting the throne, he was adorned with the crown and bracelets^q.

Soltân Mohammed was eminent for gravity, justice, clemency, and eloquence^r. He left in the treasury eleven millions of gold, besides as much in furniture and other effects. Hiftorians do not inform us what methods he made use of to fill his coffers; but by the following story, related in the Nighiaristân, it may be judged, that they were not more equitable than those which other princes have employed for the same purpose.

Dhia Al Molk, son of the famous Nezâm Al Molk, assassinated in the reign of Mâlec Shâh, apprehending himself injured by some ill offices of Alao'ddawla Saïd, or prince of Hamadân, to be revenged on him, told the soltân, that if he would permit him to call Alao'ddawla to an account, he would engage to bring five hundred thousand crowns of gold into the treasury. The soltân granted his request; but as the Saïd, who had many friends at court, was quickly informed of what was doing against him, he made such haste, that he was at Isfâhân before the wazîr knew any thing of the matter; and finding means to throw himself at the soltân's feet, represented the injustice he would commit in giving up a prince of the house of his prophet, into the hands of an infidel and heretic, such as the wazîr. He added, that if the desire of so much money was what had induced him to consent to his minister's injurious proposal, he would pay down eight hundred thousand crowns, which were three hundred thousand more than the malicious wazîr had offered,

Hejra 511.
A.D. 1117.

Death of
Mohammed.

His character.

The wazîr is caught in his own snare.

^p Ebn Amid, p. 368. ^q D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 607. A-bu'l-f. p. 246. Lebtarikh. p. 43. Ebn Amid, p. 368.

provided his majesty would deliver Dhia Al Molk into his hands, with leave to oblige him to render as exact and rigorous an account as he should require of him.

*Instance of
firmness
and noble
spirit.*

This proposal being accepted, the Saïd returned, along with a person who was commissioned to receive the money. Being arrived at Hamadin, the officer, who expected that the prince would lodge him in his palace, and do him many other honours, was given to understand, that he must repair to the public karawanferay, or inn, and live at his own expence till the sum could be raised, and that then notice should be given him to come and take it away. The officer, offended at this treatment, began with complaints, and finding them disregarded, proceeded to menaces; but the Saïd, assuming an air of authority, told him, "If you do not be easy, I will order you to be hanged up instantly, before the house where you lodge; after which I have only to add a hundred thousand crowns more to the sum which I have promised the soltân; for with that money he might buy a thousand slaves, the worst of whom would be better than you." The officer, who was one of the soltân's slaves, hearing the Saïd talk in that manner, thought it best to bear all patiently, and waited at the inn forty days, in which time time Alao'ddawla raised the sum in question, without either borrowing money on interest, or selling any of his effects.

*Unparalleled
generosity.*

On the cash being paid into the royal treasury, the wazîr was delivered into the hands of the Saïd, to do with him just as he should think proper: but that prince set, on this occasion, an example of virtue, the most eminent and rare to be found among men; for instead of taking vengeance on his enemy, or even of making him pay the sum which he had been obliged to give the soltân, he treated him with so much honour and generosity, that Dhia Al Molk afterwards became his best friend^{*}.

*Sixth sol-
tân, San-
jar.*

After the death of Mohammed was known, Sanjar, son of Mâlec Shâh, who had governed the great province of Khorasân for twenty years, under the two preceding reigns, raised a powerful army; and marched into the province of Persian Irâk, where his nephew Mahmûd Abu'l-kâsem, surnamed Mogayatho'ddîn, had taken the title of soltân: but the latter being defeated, in a bloody battle, he retired to the castle of Saveh, a place of great strength and importance.

^{*} Nighiarist. ap. D'Herbel. p. 606, & seq.

Mahmûd,

Mahmud, finding his affairs entirely ruined, was obliged to sue for peace to his uncle, and sent to him his wazîr Kemalo'ddin Ali, a very eloquent person, who, by his address, effected an accommodation. Mahmûd then went to visit Sanjar; and was so well received, that he obtained of him the investiture of the province of Irâk, on the following conditions: that the name of Sanjar should always be mentioned in the public prayers before that of Mahmûd; that this latter should not have the fourth veil, or curtain (C), in his apartments; that the trumpet should not be sounded when he went in or out of his palace; and lastly, that he should retain the officers whom his uncle had established in his province.

Mahmûd, according to Kondemîr, was obliged to receive these conditions with thanks, and resolved to spend his time in hunting, without meddling with affairs of state. However that may be, this seems from the course of the history, to have been an actual partition of empire, which took place soon after, if not from the time when the agreement was made; by virtue whereof Mahmûd and his descendants were to enjoy the share allotted him, with the title of sultân, in as absolute a manner as Sanjar enjoyed his. Accordingly we find that Mahmûd was succeeded in his dominions by four or five princes, who claimed under him, during the reign of Sanjar[†] in Khorasân: nor does it appear that he gave any opposition to their succession; or that they applied to him for their consent. At the same time it must be confessed, that the histories and extracts which have come to us relating to these sultâns, are very defective; and, to add to the misfortune, that of Ebn Amid, which was one of our chief resources, descends no lower than the reign of sultân Mohammed, Sanjar's predecessor[‡].

This sultân is called^{*} Moazo'ddin Abu'lhareth, and Moazo'ddin Borhan. The first remarkable event that we find in his reign is the death of Kothbo'ddin, founder of a new monarchy, in the year 521. His father Bustekkin was slave to Balkatekkîn or Malkatekkîn, who was one of Mâlek Shâh's principal slaves, and possessed the employment of teshtdâr, that is, great butler, or cup-bearer; on whose death the sultân gave it to Bustekkin: and, because

Divides the empire, with his nephew.

Death of Kothbo'ddin.

[†] Khond. ap. D'Herb. p. 755. & seq. art. Sangiar. ^{*} D'Herb. art. Seljukian. [‡] Lebtar. p. 43.

(C) Hung before the door of a room, for state.

Hejra 527.
A.D. 1127.

First Karazm Shâh.

the revenues of Karazm, a country on the east side of the Caspian sea, were annexed to that office, he easily obtained the government of that province. His son Kothbo'ddin succeeded him in all his places. As he was a man of spirit and valour, his credit increased so much during the reigns of Barkiarok and Sanjar, that he obtained the title of Karazm Shâh, that is, king of Kharazm, which descended to all his posterity, in that great monarchy of which he was the founder, and which proved at length the ruin of the Seljûkian dynasty of Irân, to which they owed their rise. However, Kothbo'ddin, though very powerful, never departed from his obedience to the sultâns; and, for thirty years, did his duty of cup-bearer at court every second year, being relieved every other year by his son Atîz *.

Hejra 524.
A.D. 1129.

Revolters subdued.

In the year 524, Sanjar passed the Jihûn, into Mawârâ'nahr, to reduce Ahmed Ebn Solymân, governor of Samarkand, who refused to pay the usual tribute. Being obliged to surrender after a vigorous siege, the sultân spared his life, only depriving him of the government, which he bestowed on one of his slaves: but Ahmed, finding means to get into Sanjâr's favour, was in a little time restored. After this event, Bahrâm Shâh, sultân of the Gazni family, whose kingdom extended from the province of Gazna, to the east of Khorasân, a great way into Indostân, resolved also to shake off the yoke of the Seljûkians.

Hejra 530.
A.D. 1135.

Atîz Karazm Shâh.

In 530, the sultân entered his dominions with a large army: but Bahram, not being able to resist so great a force, sent ambassadors to pay the tribute, and do homage for his crown, by which means he diverted the storm †.

Upon the death of Kothbo'ddin, his son Atîz, called also Takash, succeeded both in his employments and the title of Karazm Shâh, though no more, in reality, than governor of that province, like his father. He obtained great credit with Sanjar by his services, especially in coming up seasonably to rescue him out of an ambuscade contrived by Ahmed, governor of Samarkand: but afterwards growing out of favour at court, he retired to his government, where the people were inclined to revolt. The sultân, at his departure, saying to those about him, "I see the back of a man, whose face it is likely I never shall see again," they advised to have him arrested: but Sanjâr would not consent; alleging, that he should violate the

* D'Herb. p. 176. art. Cothbeddin.
p. 756. art. Sangiar.

† Khond. ap. D'Herb.

acknowledgments due both to him and his father for their services, if he should do any thing to offend him on a bare suspicion.

Atfîz verified the sultân's prognostic; for he no sooner arrived in Karazm, than he put himself at the head of the rebels: so that Sanjar was obliged to reduce by force an enemy whom he had suffered to escape, by having more regard to the maxims of gratitude than those of policy. However, the expedition did not give him much trouble; for advancing in 533, with superior forces, he defeated the rebels; and Il Kiliç, son of Atfîz, being taken, was put to death. The troubles in Karazm being thus effectually suppressed, Sanjar gave the government of it to his nephew Solymân Shâh: but as he left him only a few forces, he was soon obliged to resign it to Atzîz; who advancing with a considerable army, re-entered Karazm. This year is reckoned as the commencement of the dynasty of the Karazm Shâhs, or sovereigns in a proper sense.²

*rebels with
success.*

Hejra 533.
A.D. 1138.

Two years after this transaction, Samarkand rebelled again, in opposition to the governor; who, being afflicted with the palsy, was not able to act. The sultân marched against them; and, after a siege of six months, the city surrendered: but Sanjar spared the inhabitants, according to his usual clemency; and displacing the feeble father, gave the government of the place to his son.

Hejra 535.
A.D. 1140.

*Another
rebellion
quashed.*

During the sultân's residence at Samarkand, he was solicited by some lords of his court to bend his arms against Gurjaib, king of Karakatay; alleging the glory that would arise from the conquest of a country deemed in a manner inaccessible. Sanjar, prevailed on by their instances, marched on that side; but Gurjaib advancing with his forces, cut in pieces thirty thousand of the sultân's troops, and seized his camp, where was all his equipage, with his harem, or women; among whom was Tarkhân Khatûn, his principal queen. Sanjar, in this distress, selected three hundred of his bravest men, and made his way through the middle of his enemies, in order to reach Termed, where he arrived with only twelve or fifteen followers. The rest of his scattered troops repairing thither by degrees, he passed into Khorasân, quite ashamed of his expedition; which convinced his people that he was not invincible, as before they thought him to be.³

*Tartarian
war.*

² Kond. Lebtar. & Nighiar. ap. D'Herb. p. 146. art. Atfîz.

³ Kond. ubi sup. p. 756. art. Sangiar.

Hejra 538.
A.D. 1143.

*Atfiz's at-
tempt a-
gainst
the sultân's
life.*

Atfiz continuing to encroach on the sultân's authority, this last found himself obliged, a second time, to take the field against him; and, in 538, having reduced several passes and strong places, besieged him in his capital city. Atfiz finding himself reduced to the last extremity, sent very rich presents to Sanjâr, entreating pardon, which was granted by the generous sultân; who, on his taking a new oath of fidelity, left him in possession of his government: but this clemency had no effect on the ambitious mind of Atfiz; Sanjar receiving advice, from several parts, that he was raising forces, and paid no regard to his orders, sent Adîbsâber, one of his great lords, to inform himself of the conduct of Atfiz; who, on his arrival in Karazm, set guards over him, and sent assassins to Marû to kill the sultân: but Adîb receiving intimation of the design, gave notice to Sanjar; so that the assassins were discovered, and put to death. Atfiz concluding that the intelligence came from that lord, caused him to be thrown headlong from the top of his castle into the Jihûn or Amû.

Hejra 542.
A.D. 1147.

*Submits at
last.*

In 542, the sultân undertook once more to punish the treason of Atfiz; and invested Hazar Atb, the strongest place in Karazm, where Atfiz took shelter: but after having made a vigorous defence, he had the good fortune to escape, and the city was taken by storm. Sanjar followed him to the city of Karazm, which he might soon have reduced; but whether weary of the fatigues attending the camp, or through his aversion to shed blood, he listened to proposals of peace, negotiated by a darwîsh, or monk; by whose management Atfiz was obliged only to repair to the bank of the Jihûn, opposite to the sultân's camp, and there prostrating himself, kiss the earth. Atfiz came to the place appointed; but, without alighting off his horse, only stooped forward, and bowed his head to salute the sultân; who, notwithstanding this arrogance, sent him the pardon he had promised: after which all hostilities ceased, till the time of the death of Atfiz, which happened in 551, the year before that of the sultân^b.

Hejra 544.
A.D. 1149.

*Gaur made
tributary.*

One of the most remarkable events in this sultân's reign, is the signal victory which, in 554, he obtained over Huseyn Jehânsûz, sultân of the dynasty of Gaur, a country lying between that of Gazna and Khorasân. Huseyn having entered this last province with a great army, in order to conquer it, Sanjar marched against him, and, defeating

^b Kond. ubi sup. p. 146. & seq. art. Atfiz.

them,

them, took both him and Ali Cheteri, his general, prisoners. As Ali was born in the dominions of Sanjar, and had formerly been loaded with favours by him, that prince put him to death for his ingratitude; but soon after sent Husseyn to govern Gaur under his authority.

In 548, the sultan was led, against his inclination, to chastise the Turkinâns, who refused to pay the usual tribute of sheep; when his army was defeated, and himself taken prisoner by that rabble, to the great dishonour of the house of Seljûk; which was so much revered by all the Turkish nation. These Turkmâns, not knowing what to do with the person of so great a prince, placed him in the day-time on a throne, and shut him up at night in an iron cage. He spent four years in this confinement; till the sultâna Tarkhan Khatûn, who governed in his absence, happening to die in 551, he resolved to deliver himself out of the hands of the Turkmâns.

To effect this intention, he employed Amîr Elias, one of his confidants, who carrying on a correspondence with Amîr Ahmed Komaj, governor of Termed, engaged him to provide boats ready in the river, against the sultân passed by in hunting. This stratagem succeeded to Senjar's wishes: the governor, after having entertained him magnificently at his castle, assembled a body of troops, who conducted him to Marû, then the capital of Khorasân, where he usually resided. But the sultân found that city, and all the country through which he passed, in so bad a condition, on account of the incursions which the Turkmâns had made during his absence, that he fell into a deep melancholy, and afterwards into a distemper, of which he died in the year 552.

According to the Lebtârîkh, this sultân lived seventy-two years, and reigned sixty-two, in which must be included the twenty years, which, the same author says, he reigned in Khorasân, before the death of Mohammed his predecessor.

He extended his empire from Katay to Kotan, to the extremity of Syria and Egypt, and from the sea of Khorâzâr, or the Caspian, to Yamman, or Arabia Fœlix.

He fought nineteen battles, of which he gained seventeen: was much feared by his enemies, and famous for liberality and clemency to his subjects. He was diligent in matters of government, but hated kingly pride, wear-

Hejra 548.
A.D. 1153.

*The sultan
taken by
the Turk-
mâns.*

*Escapes by
stratagem.*

Hejra 552.

A.D. 1157.
His death.

*Extensive
dominions.*

*His cha-
racter.*

* Khond. ubi. supr. p. 736, & seq. art. Sangiar.

ing a coat made of skins ^d. Yet the Carazm Shâh's exercising the office of his cup-bearer, is produced as an argument of the magnificence with which he lived.

Greatly beloved.

All the Oriental historians praise this prince for his valour and justice, magnanimity and goodness. He was so well beloved by his subjects, that they continued to publish his name in the temples for a whole year after his death, as if he had been still alive, and on the throne. They gave him also the surname of *Eskander Thani*, that is, *Alexander the Second*: and his name of Sanjar has passed for that of Alexander among his posterity.

Atabek dynasties.

It is remarked that this sultân established Saïd Ebn Zenghi, who had been his governor, lieutenant-general of all his dominions, under the title of Atâbek; which epithet signifying, *Father of the Prince*, and given to the tutors or governors of the Seljûkian princes, became afterwards a title of dignity.

Reign of the Seljûks, extinct in Khorasân.

After Senjâr's death, Mahmûd, his sister's son, by Mohammed Khân, descended from Bagra Khân, succeeded in Khorasân. But at the end of five years, one of his lords revolted, and, after several battles, seized his dominions, and deprived him of sight. The sultân of Kharazm, whose dynasty rose during the reign of Sanjar, taking advantage of these divisions in Khorasân, subdued one part of that great province, while the other remained in possession of the rebels. So that the Seljûkian sultâns, who still reigned in both the Irâks, no longer had any footing in Khorasân ^e.

We must now return to these sultans; the first of whom, Mogayatho'ddîn Mahmûd Ebn Mohammed, though beginning his reign at the same time with his uncle Sanjar, and dying twenty-seven years before him, is yet reckoned his successor: Mahmûd, Sanjar's sister's son, before mentioned, not being inserted in the list of sultâns.

^d Lebtarikh. p. 43.
Mahmud Khan.

^e Mirkhond. ap. D'Herb. p. 537, art.

S E C T. VIII.

The Reigns of Mahmûd, Togrol, and Massûd.

IT hath been observed before, in the reign of Sanjâr, *Seventh* that Mahmûd, son of his brother Mohammed, surnamed Mogayâtho'ddîn Abu'l-kassîm, by the agreement made between them in 513, was left in possession of the Persian and Arabian Irâks, with the countries westward, where, though according to Kondamîr he was only Sanjar's governor and lieutenant-general, yet he seems to have acted independently of him: nor does it appear that his uncle exercised any power within his dominions. It is true, none of the authors before us give any account of this sultân's transactions, after his agreement with Sanjar. D'Herbelot's extracts from Khondemîr, and other Oriental authors, end there^t. *sultân* *Mâhmûd.* *Defect of* *authors.* Teixeira was in such haste to finish his abstract of Mirkhond, that he would scarce allow himself time to consult the history of the Seljûkian sultâns, or even to know their names. The Lebtârikh only says, that Mahmûd married two of Sanjar's daughters, and fought two battles with his brother Massûd, whom he defeated both times. In short, the particulars collected by Abu'l-Faraj relate almost solely to the affairs of Mesopotamia and Syria; which, in effect, are all the materials we have towards composing the history of this sultân's reign.

That author informs us, agreeable to the account given by the western historians, that, in the year 512, as Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, was swimming in the Nile at Balbays, in Egypt, a wound, which he formerly had received, opened; whereupon returning to Jerusalem, he died, after having recommended the care of his kingdom to Al Comes (D), lord of Roha. *Death of Baldwin.* *Hejra 512.* *A.D. 1118.*

In 514 the Gorj, or Korj, who are the same with the Khozars, and Kasjaks, invading the Mohammedan countries, Al Amîr Ilgâzi, lord of Mardîn; Dobays Ebn Sadeka, lord of Hellah; and king Togrol (E), to whom belonged Arrân and Nakhjawân, advanced to meet them as *A.D. 1120.* *The Gorj, or Khozars invade the Seljûks.*

^t Bibl. Orient. art. Sangiar & Mahmoud, fils de Mohammed.

(D) For Comes; so they free by Jâweli, before mentioned. (E) A brother of Mahmûd. Edeffa, who had been taken prisoner by Jagarmîsh, and set

far

far as Teflis, with thirty thousand men. The armies being drawn up for battle, two hundred Kafjâks advanced, who, as the Moslems thought, intended to surrender themselves: instead of joining them, they attacked their front so vigorously with arrows, as put them into disorder; which those in the rear taking for a flight, fled with such precipitation, that they tumbled over one another. The Gorj pursuing for twelve Persian leagues, slew most of them, and took four thousand prisoners: but king Togrol, Ilgazi, and Dobays, escaped. The Gorj returning, besieged Teflis; and, after harassing the inhabitants, took that city next year by storm.

*Affairs of
Syria and
Mesopotamia.*

In 515, Solymân, son of Ilgâzi, being just turned of twenty, rebelled against his father; but the latter coming upon him unexpectedly, seized those who had excited him to revolt, and severely punished them. Among the rest he ordered Nafr, a commander brought up by his father Ortok, to have his eyes plucked out, and tongue cut off: he condemned another, whom he had made governor of Halep, first to be deprived of sight, and then to have his hands and feet chopped off, an operation which occasioned his death.

Solymân was brought before him drunk; but he was restrained from killing him by natural affection. The son afterwards fled to Damascus; and Ilgâzi made Solymân, son of his brother Abdo'ljabbar, governor of Halep, and named him Badro'ddawla; after which appointment he returned to Mardin.

In the same year the sultân gave Mayaferkîn to the Amîr Ilgâzi Ebn Ortok; and the cities of Musol, Mesopotamia, and Senjâr, to the Amîr Kofaymo'ddawla Oksenkar Al Borfâki.

Hejra 516.
A.D. 1122.
A.D. 1123.
A.D. 1124.

Next year Ilgâzi died at Mayaferkîn; on which his son Hafamo'ddîn Tamartash seized the castle of Mardin, and his son Solymân took possession of Mayaferkîn; Badro'ddawla Solymân continuing at Halep. But, in 517, Balak, son of Bahrâm Ebn Ortok, finding his cousin Solymân not able to defend his country, came and closely besieged Halep, which at last surrendered to his arms. He, in the sequel, took Manbej, but was slain by an arrow (F) in attacking the castle. Hereupon his army dispersed; and

(F) Fulcher Carnotens. says, men were slain, and his head Balak was slain in battle against sent to Antioch.
Josceline; that three thousand

Okfankâr

Okfankâr Al Borfâki took Halep, as the Franks did Sûr, or Tyre.

Towards the end of the year 520, Okfankar, lord of Musol, was assassinated in the royal temple of that city by the Batânists, and his son Ezzo'ddîn Maffûd took possession without opposition. The historian wonders how Ezzo'ddîn should be informed of his father's death by the lord of Antioch (G), before a courier brought him the news: but Abu'l-Faraj observes, that it was sooner known to the Franks, by the care they took to learn the state affairs of the Moslems.^a

A D. 1126.

*Okfankar
assassinated.*

The year 521 is remarkable for being the first of the dynasty of the Atabeks of Irâk, founded by Omado'ddîn Zenghî (H), son of Okfankar, or Akfankar, who was established in the government of the city of Baghdâd, by soltân Mahmûd. His brother Ezzo'ddîn Maffûd dying the same year, Omado'ddîn became possessed of Musol, and its dependencies. Next year he took Halep, with its castle; and the year following the city of Hamah.^b

Hejra 521.

A D. 1127.

*Atabeks of
Irâk.*

In 524 Al Amir Beahkâmillah Abuali, lord of Egypt, was assassinated by the Batânists, as he returned from taking a walk. The same year there were seen at Baghdâd scorpions with wings, and a double sting.

*Egyptian
khalf
assassinated.*

Next year proved fatal to soltân Mahmûd, who died at Hamadân, in Shawal, or the tenth month, having lived about twenty-seven years, and reigned thirteen.

*The soltân
dies.*

He possessed a handsome person, and was very generous; but the love of women, and hunting, by degrees, impaired his character. It is reported, that his hunting equipage was so magnificent, that he kept four hundred greyhounds and blood-hounds, each of which wore a collar set with jewels, and a covering edged with gold and pearls. He laid out so much in this expence, that he often wanted money to pay his troops, and for other occasions: yet he did not fleece his subjects to recruit his coffers: he likewise restrained his favourites from doing them any injury. He was merciful, good-natured, and prudent. He for-

Hejra 525.
A D. 1130.*His cha-
racter.*

^a Abu'lfed. p. 248, & seq.
241, art. Atabek.

^b Ibid. p. 250. D'Herbel. p.

1 Khond. ap. D'Herb. p. 537, & 756,
art. Mahmûd & Sanjâr. Lebtar. p. 43.

(G) Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, was at this time in possession of Antioch, though he restored it to Boamond the younger, the same year.

(H) He is, by the historians of the crusade, called Sanguin, which is a corruption of Zenghi.

bore

bore to punish those who spoke ill of him. No prince ever studied the art of reigning more. He was skilled in grammar, poetry, and chronology; was very eloquent, and wrote a fine hand.

*Eighth sol-
tân Togrol.*

Mahmûd left for his successor his brother Togrol, surnamed Rocno'ddîn: but his brother Maṣṣûd disputed the crown with him; and several battles were fought between them, in the space of three or four years, which he reigned. According to Kondemîr, he was the second soltân of a branch of the Seljûkians who reigned in Persian and Arabian Irâk: a circumstance which confirms our remark, that the agreement made between Sanjar and Mahmûd contained a division of the Seljûkian empire of Irâk, or Persia at large. However, it does not appear that the Oriental historians consider them as two separate monarchies, but as one and the same; making Mahmûd, the predecessor of Togrol, the successor of Sanjar; though both died some years before him, as hath been already observed ^k.

*His reign
short.*

This soltân, according to Abu'l-Faraj, before he came to the throne, possessed the province of Arrân and Natchiawân in Armenia: but the authors before us give no account of the transactions of his reign, excepting Abu'l-Faraj, whose memoirs, as in the preceding reign, are confined to Mesopotamia and Syria.

*Hejra 526.
A.D. 1131.*

*The atâbek
Zenghi at-
tacks the
khalif;*

This annalist informs us, that, in the year 526, soltân Senjar wrote to Omâdo'ddîn Zenghi (atâbek of Irâk Arabi) and Dobays Ebn Sadekah (lord of Hellah), commanding them to march into Irâk, against the khalif Al Mostarshed. Accordingly they went, and encamped in a place called Manâciyah, which belongs to Dojayl, on the banks of the Tigris. The khalif Al Mostarshed, passing over to the west side of that river, pitched his tents in Al Abbayṣiyya. The armies met in Hadra Al Barâmakey; when Zenghi attacking the right wing of the khalif, where Jamâl Od-dawla Akbal, was posted, put them to flight: at the same time the khalif, supported by Naṣr Al Khadem (the eunuch), who commanded his left-wing, fell on the right-wing of Omâdo'ddîn and Dobays; and, after a sharp conflict, obtained a complete victory. About the same time the atâbek Al Shahîd recovered Moarrah Al Nomân, in Syria, from the Franks ^m.

Next year the khalif sent an acrimonious message to Zenghi, by Sheykh Bahao'ddîn Abu'l Forûh; who relying on the

^k Khond. p. 1030, art. Thogrul. fil. de Mohammed.
^m Ebn Amid. p. 363.

^l Abu't-

khalif's power, and his own character as legate, added several reproaches of his own. Hereupon Zenghi, arresting him, treated him very severely. Al Mostarshed, incensed at this insult, departed from Baghdâd with thirty thousand men; and approaching Musol, Zenghi marched out of the city with part of his forces, leaving the rest under the command of his deputy Nasîro'ddîn, whom the khalif besieged; and, while he pressed the place closely without, a gang of bricklayers within agreed to betray it to him: but they being discovered, and executed, he retired, after having besieged it three months to little purpose, and, next year, a peace was concluded between him and the atâbek.

who besieges Musol.

Soltân Togrol died at Hamadân, in the first month of the year 529; having lived twenty-five years, and reigned three. He was just and valiant, good-tempered and liberal. He understood the art of governing, and did nothing unbecoming a prince ⁿ.

Maffûd, surnamed Gayâtho'ddîn Abû'lfetah, was at Baghdâd when his brother Togrol died: and while his friends sent a courier to invite him to Hamadân, then the capital of the Seljûkians of Irâk, the court party dispatched another to Dawd, son of Togrol, with the same view: but the uncle happening to get the start of the nephew, Maffûd was unanimously saluted soltân by the grandees.

Hejra 529.
A.D. 1134.

Togrol dies.

He was scarce seated on the throne, before he found himself obliged to make war on Al Mostarshed, the twenty-ninth khalif of Baghdâd, of the family of Al Abbâs. It seems, that, in the reign of Togrol, Dobays Ebn Sadekah, who was governor general of Irâk Arabi for the khalif, plotted with that soltân to surprise him in Baghdâd; but Togrol falling ill of a fever, hindered the execution: Al Mostarshed's army also was victorious. This war lasted till Maffûd came to the crown; when the khalif, at the persuasion of some court lords, had his name suppressed in the public prayers, and even deprived him of the title of soltân.

Ninth soltân Maffûd, attacks the khalif,

Maffûd, being informed of this injury, set out instantly from Ray, where he resided, at the head of a powerful army, for the Arabian Irâk; from whence the khalif advanced, accompanied by a great number of his grandees. The two armies came to a battle in the seventh month of the year 529; when the khalif's left-wing deserting to the soltân, he was surrounded and taken, while his right-wing, after a slight opposition, fled. After this defeat, Baghdâd

who is desecrated,

ⁿ Khond. ubi supra, p. 1030. Lebtar. p. 44.

opened its gates to Massûd, without opposition. The soltân having had another war on his hands, carried Mostarshed with him into the province of Adherbijân. Being arrived at Marâgha, the khalif was confined in a tent, at a distance from the army, near the gate of that city : where messengers passed between him and the soltân, relating to peace. At length it was agreed, that Al Mostarshed, besides paying yearly four hundred thousand crowns in gold, should remain in Baghdâd, and not raise any other troops besides his ordinary guards.

and assassinated.

After this agreement that prelate was suffered to ride on horseback with the covering of a saddle carried before him, in token of honour. In short, he was ready to return to Baghdâd, when news being brought that an ambassador was arrived from soltân Sanjar, the people followed Massûd to meet him, and among the rest some of those who had the care of the khalif. Twenty-four Batânists took this opportunity to get into his tent, and murder him, by giving him about twenty wounds ; then cutting off his nose and ears, they left him naked, where he remained till the citizens of Marâgha buried him. Many believe, with great reason, says Khondemîr, that Massûd contrived this murder ; and entered into a negociation with him, only to cover his design.

Dobays slain.

Not long after this catastrophe, as Dobays Ebn Sadekah was stooping, with his fingers on the ground, before his tent, near the city of Khunej, a young Armenian, employed by the soltân, cut off his head : for Massûd was jealous of his power, and had only made use of him as an instrument to oppose Al Mostarshed °.

Hejra 530.
A D. 1135.

The provinces revolt.

In the year following, the kings and lords of the provinces assembling at Baghdâd, threw off their obedience to soltân Massûd. In consequence of this revolt, Dawd (or David), son of soltân Mahmûd marched from Adherbijân, followed by Omâdo'ddîn Zenghi, from Musol to Baghdâd, where he was prayed for in the pulpits. The soltân no sooner received intimation of this step, than he advanced and besieged that city ; but finding that he could do nothing against it, resolved to return to Hamadân. He was actually on the road, when Tarentây, lord of Wâset, arriving with a great number of barks, he returned to the siege. At the same time, the princes who had assembled at Baghdâd quarrelling among themselves, king Dawd returned home, and the rest dispersed. The khalif Al Râ-

° Khond. & Ebn Shohnah, ap. D'Herbel. p. 634. art. Mostarshed. Abu'lfed. p. 252.

shed,

shed, with a few followers, passed over to Zenghi, who was on the west side of the river, and retired with him to Musul.

Upon their retreat soltân Maffûd, entering Baghdâd, fixed his residence there; then assembling the judges, witnesses and those learned in the laws, he laid before them the oath which Al Râshid had taken, in his own hand-writing: "I, in case I shall assemble forces, march out, or put to the sword, any of soltân Maffûd's adherents, depose myself from the empire." Accordingly he was, by their sentence, deposed, and his name suppressed in the pulpits, before he had reigned twelve months. Then the soltân called another council, who, declaring Al Râshid unworthy of the khalifat, elected Al Moktâfi Beamri'llah, son of Al Mostadher (or Al Mostadhaher), who was his friend. The deposed Khalif, leaving Musul in 531, went to Hamadân, where king Dawd then was, and from thence to Ispâhân, where he was slain by some of his domestics, at noon, while he was asleep, after his recovery from a fit of sickness, being forty years of age. He was buried at Shâhrestân, without Ispâhân.

Maffûd enters Baghdâd.

Deposes the khalif.

Hejra 531.
A. D. 1136.

Maffûd, understanding that the governor of Pârs made some difficulty to acknowledge Moktâfi the new khalif, he sent his brother Seljûk Shâh, with the atâbek Karafankar to bring him to his duty; but the atâbek had no sooner made one day's march than he sent the soltân word he would proceed no farther, unless he sent him Pîr Mohammed Khâzem, his prime wazîr, whose death he demanded. This wazîr managed state affairs very ably, but disgusted the courtiers by too haughty a carriage. Maffûd could not consent at first to so unreasonable a demand; but as Karafankar had all his forces at his devotion, he was obliged at last to send him the wazîr's head.

A good minister made a sacrifice.

The atâbek being satisfied, returned to his duty, but did not long enjoy the fruit of his revenge; for he died a few days after he had gotten rid of his enemy. The soltân gave his command to Ildighîz, with the absolute government of Adherbijân (of which he was the first atâbek) and that of Kurdestân: he likewise gave him in marriage his sister-in-law, who had been promised formerly to soltân Togrol, his brother and predecessor. Soon after this transaction, Abbâs, governor of the city of Ray, with some other conspirators, rose in favour of Solymân Shâh, brother of Maffûd, and placed him on the throne; but

this plot was soon defeated ; and thenceforth the sultân remained in peaceable possession till his death †.

As this is all we find in our authors relating to the remainder of his reign, we shall supply the defect with the actions of the atabeks of Irâk, who resided at Musol, or Mosul, and are called lords of that city, and of Syria.

Hejra 532. In the year 532, the atâbek Omâdo'ddîn Zenghi made
A.D. 1137. a progress into Syria ; and on his arrival at Hamâh, sent to Shehabo'ddîn, lord of Damascus, desiring that he might marry his mother Zamorrod Khatûn, daughter of Al Jâweli ; the same lady who built the college near the river Barada. His motive for the marriage was, that as the affairs of Damascus seemed to be under her direction, he was in hopes thereby to make an acquisition of the country ; but when he found himself disappointed in his expectations, he went away, and left her behind.

Hejra 539. Next year he took Baalbec in Syria, and the year follow-
A.D. 1144. ing, Shahrazûr, with its territory. In 539 he rescued Roha, or Edeffa, out of the hands of the Franks, and besieged the strong castle of Bîr ; but when he had near taken it, an express arriving with an account that Nasîro'ddîn, his deputy in Musol, was slain, he retreated. However, the Franks fearing his return, sent for Nojmo'ddîn, lord of Mârdîn, and delivered it up to him. Next year, while he was investing the castle of Jabar, some slaves slew him in the night, and fled to the castle. The besieged, elated by this incident, called out to inform the army, that their commander was slain ; accordingly, entering his tent, they found him breathing his last. He was more than sixty years old when he died ; behaved with great gravity both towards his army and his subjects ; and was perfectly skilled in the art of governing. The city of Musol, before he took it, was for the most part destroyed, and the adjacent country, which now abounds with fruits and odoriferous plants, was the most barren in the world.

Takes several places.

Killed by slaves.

Hejra 544. Nuro'ddîn Mahmûd, who was in the camp when his
A.D. 1149. father was slain, drawing the ring off his finger, went directly to Halep, and took possession of it ; while his brother, Sayfo'ddîn Gazi, hastening from Shahrazûr, which had been assigned him, entered Musol, and thus became lord of that city, with Al Jazîreh, or Mesopotamia. He died after he had reigned three years, and was succeeded by his brother Kotbo'ddîn Maûdûd. His elder brother, Nuro'ddîn Mahmûd, who possessed Halep and Hamâh,

Nûro'ddîn Mahmûd settles in Syria.

† Khond. ap. D'Herbel. p. 563, art. Mâssoud.

in Syria, marching into Al Jazîreh, took Senjâr without any opposition from Kotbo'ddin: but peace afterwards being concluded between them, Nûro'ddîn resigned Senjâr for Hems and Rahaba in Syria. The same year he invaded the Franks about Antioch, and defeated them, after a bloody battle, in which the prince of that city was slain (G). His son Baymond (Boamund) succeeding, who being but an infant, his mother governed the kingdom during his minority.

In 546 Nûro'ddîn invaded the territories of Jûslîn, or Jofcelîn (H), which lay to the north of Halep; and being met by that wise and valiant knight, was defeated, after an obstinate battle, and his armour-bearer taken, whom Jûslîn sent with Nûro'ddîn's arms to king Massûd Ebn Kelj Arslân, lord of Koniya and Akfara; saying, "This is your son-in-law's armour-bearer; after him something more will come to you." Nûro'ddîn, greatly incensed at Jûslîn's conduct, resolved to be revenged on him. Accordingly, sending for some of the chiefs of the Turk-mâns, he, by large gifts, engaged them to seize Jûslîn, knowing he was not able to contend with him in battle. The Turk-mâns therefore, keeping a watchful eye upon him, surprised him one day as he was hunting, and brought him bound to Nûro'ddîn, who immediately went and took the castles of Ayn Tâb, Azâz, Kûres, Al Râwandân, Borjo'l Refâs, Dolûk, Marash, Nahro'l Jawr, and others belonging to Jûslîn.[†]

Hejra 546.
A.D. 1151.

Defeated
by Jofcelîn.

Gets him
seized.

The year following, viz. 547, sultân Massûd died at Hâmadân, after he had lived forty-five years, and reigned eighteen and a half.[‡]

Massûd
dies.

This prince was a great lover of pious and learned men; humble and affable; and for religion, clemency, justice, and bravery, superior to all the Seljûkians. He often defeated armies at the first onset, and killed lions with one stroke. He frequently, when a boy, was in battles, and fought himself. He always came off victor in the wars with his brothers. The people lived in great ease during his reign.[†] He disregarded treasures, giving them among

His cha-
racter.

[†] Abu'lf. p. 255, & seq.
Lebtar. p. 44.

[‡] D'Herbel. p. 563, art. Massoud.
[†] Idem ibid.

(G) This was Raymond, who succeeded Boamond, slain in 1130.

(H) He was called earl of Edessa, and resided at Telbassar, named Terbexel, and Turbessel, by the historians of the crusade.

Seljûk dominions.

his courtiers; and this liberality was the reason that he almost always wanted money, and left none in the treasury.

Massûd was the last of these sultans who had any power in the Arabian Irâk; for upon his demise Moktâfi, thirty-first khalif of Baghdâd, of the family of Abbâs, deprived the Seljûkians of all authority in that city. For this reason Ebn Shohnah makes this dynasty to end in the year 547; which was also fatal to the race of the Gazni sultans.

Hejra 543.
A.D. 1148.

Atâbeks of Pârs.

In the time of Massûd also a new dynasty of atâbeks arose, which seized part of his dominions; for the Salgarîans, or family of Salgar, invading Pârs, or Proper Persia, assumed the title of kings. They began to reign in the year 543, fixing their residence at Shîzâz, in that province.

The famous Togray.

We should deprive this reign of one of its greatest ornaments, should we omit to mention the famous Mowiado'd-dîn Abû Ismîl Ebn Ali, surnamed Togray, who was esteemed the most excellent writer of his time, both in verse and prose. A celebrated poem of his called Lamîyâl Al Ajem (because the last consonant of each rhyme is a Lam, or L), has been published by Dr. Pococke, with a Latin translation, under the title of Carmen Togray. According to Ebn Shohnah, he was first employed at court by sultan Mâlec Shâh, and Massûd made him his wazîr: but being taken prisoner in the battle which that prince fought with his brother Maumûd, in 513, he lost his head; the sultan alleging, that he knew him to be an infidel, and a wicked man^u. But Ebn Khalikan says he was put to death by Mahmûd's wazîr, for no other cause, but that they feared him on account of his excellent virtues^v.

S E C T. IX.

The Reigns of Mâlek Shâh II. Mohammed Soleymân Shâh, Arslân, and Togrol, in whom the Dynasty ended.

Tenth sultan Mâ'ec Shâh II.

MALEK SHAH II. surnamed Mogayaho'ddîn was, according to Kondemîr, the son of Mohammed, son of Mâlek Shâh I. But Abu'l-Faraj and the Lebâtârikh say, that he was the son of Mahmud, son of Mohammed, and, consequently, great grandson of the first Mâlek Shâh. He

^u Ebn Shohnah apud D'Herb. p. 1027, art. Thogrol.
^v Pocock. Notæ in Carm. Tograi, p. 3, & seq.

succeeded

succeeded his uncle Maſſûd ; but his reign was of no long continuance ; and indeed he was wholly unworthy of the crown, for he regarded nothing but indulging his appetite, and left his affairs entirely to his miniſters.

Notwithstanding his incapacity, he grew jealous of the authority of Khaſbek, ſurnamed Belingheri, who had been in great eſteem with Maſſûd, and paſſed for one of the moſt valiant men of his time. Mâlek Shâh wanted to have him arreſted ; but as the whole court thought ſuch a proceeding unjuſt, Haſſan Kandar, who was one of Khaſbek's beſt friends, reſolved to prevent the blow ; and, under pretence of giving the ſoltân a grand entertainment, kept him three days in a continual debauch, in the miſt of which he ſeized his perſon, and confined him in the caſtle of Hamadân. After which ſtep, they ſent for his brother Mohammed, who was then in Khuzeſtân, and ſet him in his place. Some time after, Mâlek Shâh, finding means to eſcape out of priſon, fled to the province from whence his brother had been called to the throne ; where he remained till the death of Mohammed, in the end of the year 554 : when, haſtening to Iſpâhân, he re-aſcended the throne ; but enjoyed it only a few days, dying in the beginning of the year 555, at the age of thirty-two *.

*Is depoſed
by Kaſbek.*

It is proper to remark, that as the khalif Moktafi owed his elevation to the credit and authority of Maſſûd, he had no ſhare in the government of his ſtate during the life of that ſoltân ; but, after his death, he reſumed the authority, and quite excluded that of the Seljûkians ; for he would not allow Mâlek Shâh to have any power or command in the ſoltânat of Baghdâd ; but remained ſole maſter in his dominions, which comprehended Babyloniſh Irâk and Arabia : in ſhort, it was under this khalif that the power of the Seljûkians, who had been maſters of all the forces and poſſeſſions of the khalifs, began to decline, and, by degrees, became extinct. On this occaſion Abu'l-Fâraj obſerves, that Al Moktafi was the firſt who reigned in Irâk Arabia without a ſoltân, and governed his armies, as well as his ſubjects, according to his own will, ſince the time that the mamlûks, or ſlaves, firſt uſurped power over the khalifs, under Al Moſtanſir †.

*Khalif
ſhakes off
the Seljûk
yoke.*

As Khaſbek, who was the chief inſtrument of the advancement of Mohammed, ſurnamed Gayâtho'ddin, inſiſted upon having the entire government of the ſtate at his own

*Eleventh
ſoltân
Mohammed
II.*

* Kond. apud. D'Herb. p. 544, art. Malek Shah, fil. de Mohammed.
† Abul'f. 258.

disposal; and as that lord's credit, as well as riches, rendered him powerful, Mohammed soon perceived that he could never reign peaceably while such a person was alive. For this reason he resolved to get rid of him, according to the advice of one of his ministers; who, alluding to the youth of the prince, and age of Khasbek, told him, that no new branches shoot from the root of the vine, till the old ones were cut away.

*Slays
Khasbek.*

Upon his death the sultân became possessed of all the wealth which he had amassed, during the time that he had the management of the treasury. It is remarkable, that he had in his wardrobe an infinite number of very precious moveables, among which were thirteen thousand scarlet and purple vests.

*Flees for
fear.*

However, the death of Khasbek had nearly ruined Mohammed; for that great lord had made powerful friends at court, who were resolved to revenge it. With that intent the atâbek Ildighiz, and Aksankar, lord of Marâgha, having revolted, deposed Mohammed, and proclaimed his uncle Solymân Shâh, son of Mohammed I. The young unexperienced sultân was so terrified at this revolt, that not knowing whether to fight or accommodate matters, he fled to Isfâhân, while Solymân Shâh took peaceable possession of his capital Hamadân.

*Solymân
Shân ad-
vanced.*

The new prince might have preserved the crown with as much ease as he obtained it, if he had not been entirely destitute of advice, and very unhappy in his conduct. Among other weak actions, he took the employment of the great chamberlain from Mohammed Karazm Shâh, and gave it to Alp Argûn; he likewise discharged his wazîr Fakro'ddîn Kashi, and put Abû'nejib in his place. These two great officers, to revenge their disgrace, plotted to restore Mohammed; but as that aim could not be effected without deposing Solymân Shâh, and the militia seemed to be attached to him, they contrived a stratagem which succeeded to admiration.

*Flees in his
turn.*

Mohammed Karazm Shâh told his sister, who was the sultân's wife, as a great secret, that there was a plot contriving to bring back his nephew, and that her husband's person was to be seized that very night. The too credulous and timid sultân, without staying to enquire into the matter, immediately mounted his horse, with a few of his intimates, and took the road to Mazanderân, a province on the Caspian sea.

Next day every person was strangely surprised to hear of the sultân's flight. The soldiers immediately mutinied, and

and running to the palace, plundered it. Mohammed no sooner received advice of his uncle's flight, which was so like his own, than he made haste to Hamadân, and re-ascended the vacant throne. *Mohammed returns.*

Solyman Shâh, perceiving too late that he had been duped, resolved to attempt the recovery of his dominions, by the assistance of his friends. The khalif Moktâfi, and the atâbek Ildighîz, joined their troops to those which he assembled in Mazanderân: but being met by his nephew on the banks of the river Arras, or Araxes, was defeated, and obliged to retire to Musol. Mohammed, after this victory, was inclined to have attacked the khalif, who gave protection to his uncle: but considering that he had another enemy, his brother Mâlek Shâh, to fear, he was obliged to make up matters with Moktâfi, who gave him his own daughter in marriage. *Defeats his uncle.*

This prince, named Kermân Khatûn, departed with a splendid equipage, and the sultân went to meet her; but a hectic fever, which attended him, put an end to his life, on the road to Hamadân, in the year 554, after a reign of seven years, aged no more than thirty-two. *His death.*

This sultân has always been esteemed as a most accomplished prince, who possessed all the virtues military and civil. He was a great patron of men of learning, piety, and merit; in which, say the historians, he was the very reverse of his brother Mâlek Shâh. *His character.*

It is said that this prince quitted life with much reluctance; that, before he expired, he ordered his troops, his court, and all his treasures, to pass before him, as it were in review; and that, after he had considered all these things, he said, "How is it possible that a power as great as mine is not able to lessen the weight of my disorder one single grain, nor to prolong my life but for a moment?"

He left his dominions to his brother Mâlek Shâh, who survived him only a few days. He was succeeded by his uncle Solyman Shâh, the other competitor of Mohammed². *and successors.*

Solyman Shâh, surnamed Moazo'ddîn Kâssim, was the son of sultân Mohammed, son of Mâlek Shâh I. This prince being at Musol when his two predecessors died, the great lords, after some debate, sent for him, and placed him on the throne: but as he gave himself up entirely to voluptuousness, and the company of women, without at-

² Kond. Tarîkh Benakiti, Tarikh Khozedah, apud D'Herb. p. 608, & seq. art. Mohammed, fil. de Mohammed.

Hejra 555.
A.D. 1160.

*Twelfth
soltân, So-
lymân
Shâh,
is soon de-
posed.*

tending to the affairs of the kingdom, they seized and imprisoned him, at the end of six months; advancing in his room, his nephew Arslân, in the year 555. Setting aside his bad conduct, for which he was deposed, he did not want some good qualities: he was very familiar with those about him; and excelled in his behaviour, person, and eloquence. He died in the second month of the year 556, at the age of forty-five. This is all the account we have of Solymân's short reign, which is taken from the Lebtârikh; for D'Herbelot says nothing of it. Abu'l-Faraj does not mention the soltâns of Persian Irâk, after the death of Mohammed II. when the khalif threw off the Seljûk yoke, and resumed the dominion in Irâk Arabia.

*Thirteenth
soltân,
Arslân,*

Arslân was the son of Togrol, son of Mohammed, son of Mâlek Shâh I. and surnamed Abu'l Modhaffer Zeyno'ddin, according to Kondemîr; but the Lebtarikh styles him Rokno'ddawla. He is commonly called by historians Malek Arslân. He was proclaimed soltân in Hamadân, by the influence of the atâbek Ildighîz: but from the beginning of his reign, Kimar, governor of Ispâhân, and Enbanej or Inanj, governor of Ray, revolted against him; setting up for soltân one of his couâns, named Mohammed Seljûk Shâh; with whom, at the head of a great army, they advanced to Hamadân. Arslân advanced to meet them as far as Kazvîn, where he obtained the victory; for the new soltân was killed in the battle, and his two supporters fled to Ray, and from thence to Mazanderân.

*Suppresses a
rebellion.*

Arslân had no sooner terminated this war than he found himself engaged in another; for the prince of the Abkhâz, situated between Georgia and Cherkassia, who was a Christian, entering Adherbijân, ravaged that province as far as Kazvîn. The soltân, turning his victorious arms on that side, defeated him near the strong castle of Kâk, which he had taken and fortified; but, being afterwards forced by the Seljûk troops, it was demolished.

*Defeats the
Abkhâz.*

Towards the end of the year 559, soltân Arslân made a progress to Ispâhân: the atâbek Zenghi Salgari, who commanded in that city, went out to meet him, and took the oath of allegiance. The soltân confirmed him in his government, of which he extended the bounds as far as the province of Fârs or Pârs.

Hejra 561.
A.D. 1165.

*Enbanej
submits.*

Enbanej, who still stood out in Mazanderân, in 561 made alliance with the Karazm Shâh, by whom being assisted with a great body of troops, he entered Persian Irâk, and ravaged the country about Abher and Kazvîn: Irâk,

but Arslân, accompanied with the atâbek Ildighîz, attacking him by surprize, obliged him to fly to his old retreat. Two years after this event, the same rebel, invading the country about Ray, defeated Mohammed, the son of Ildighîz, who was sent against him. In consequence of this defeat, Ildighîz took the field in person; and, advancing to that city, made several propositions to Enbanej, who agreed to go with him, and make his submission to the sultân: but the night before this ceremony was to be performed, Enbanej was killed in his apartment. The sultân, on this occasion, gave the government of Ray to the son of Ildighîz, who soon after married the only daughter of Enbanej; the fruit of which marriage was Kutluk, surnamed Enbanej.

He is slain.

In 568 the mother of the sultân, a princess of great virtue, died in the house of Ildighîz; and this great man did not long survive her. The sultân himself, afflicted at two such great losses, fell sick of a languishing illness, under which he laboured till the year 571, when he died; after he had lived forty-three years, and reigned about fifteen.

The sultân dies.

Hejra 571.
A.D. 1175.

He was a prince not only valiant and generous, but also patient, and good-natured to such a degree, that he would not suffer any body to be spoken ill of in his presence^a; nor ever treated any of his domestics with severity or contempt; being equally eminent for modesty and clemency. He was very nice in his diet and apparel; for he had very rich vests, of every kind and colour, wrought with gold, such as no king before him ever wore. His conversation was familiar, and perfectly sincere^b.

His character.

Togrol, son of sultân Arslân, called also Rocno'ddîn Kassim, was the last sultân of the Seljûk dynasty of Irân, or rather Persian Irâk. He succeeded, and governed his dominions very happily, under the direction of his maternal uncle the valiant Mohammed, son of the atâbek Ildighîz.

Fourteenth sultân Togrol II.

At the beginning of his reign Badanjâr attacked the province of Adherbijân; and Mohammed, son of sultân Togrol Ebn Mohammed, invaded that of Persian Irâk: but Mohammed Ebn Ildighîz, with his brother Kizil Arslân, marching against them at the head of a great army, soon obliged them to sue for peace.

In the tenth year of his reign there was one of those great conjunctions of the seven planets, which very rarely

Hejra 581.
A.D. 1185.

^a Khond. apud D'Herb. p. 129. art. Arslân Ben Thogrul. Lebtar. p. 45.

happen.

Grand conjunction. happen. It appeared in the third degree of Libra ; which, according to the rules of judicial astrology, is a very airy sign. All the astrologers of that time, and among the rest Anvâri, surnamed Hakim, or *the Philosopher*, foretold, from this phenomenon, that such violent winds would blow, and such dreadful hurricanes arise, that most of the houses in the country would be blown down, and the mountains themselves shaken. These predictions had such an effect on many people, that they took shelter in caverns, as a retreat from such horrible calamities.

Vanity of astrology. Notwithstanding all this denunciation, to the utter confusion of the astrologers, there did not blow, during the whole time assigned, any wind to hinder the farmers from threshing and winnowing their corn^c. Yet the Lebtarîkh, to save the credit of these pretenders to foreknowledge, would persuade us, against the testimony of other historians, that they from thence prognosticated the great devastation which attended the irruption of the Moguls under Jenghîz Khân, into the countries of Turân and Irâk, twenty-nine or thirty-years after^d.

The lords conspire ; In the same year 581, the atâbek Mohammed, son of Ildighîz, dying, a breach happened between the sultân and Kizil Arslân Atâbek, brother of the deceased ; for this ambitious lord, taking upon him to dispose of all things without Togrol's orders, gave great umbrage, both to that prince and his whole court. The atâbek, perceiving the sultân to be displeased with him, in order to prevent the consequence, marched of a sudden with a great army towards Hamadân, from whence Togrol, having no forces to oppose him, retired. Kizil Arslân entered the city without resistance ; and, after he had continued there for some time, content with having offered this insult to the sultân, withdrew again to Adherbijân.

Seize the sultân ; After his return Togrol re-entered his capital, but the atâbek did not let him remain long in quiet ; for drawing several discontented lords of Irâk to his party, he persuaded them to send proper persons to inform the sultân that they were ready to come and ask his pardon. Togrol, well pleased with their submission, appointed a day to receive it, when he was to play at mall in the great square of the city. The lords did not fail to appear before him ; but instead of asking forgiveness, seized his person, and imprisoned him in the strong castle named Kalât Al Najû, or the *Castle of Refuge*.

^c D'Herb. p. 1023. art. Thogrol Ben Arslân.

^d Lebtar. p. 45.

As soon as this scheme was executed, Kizil Arslân left Adherbijân, and came to Hamadân, with a design to set Sanjâr, son of the late Solymân Shâh, on the throne; but on receiving advice from Baghdâd that the khalif should say, "the atâbek had a good pretence to become sultân himself," he resolved to assume that title, and ordered money to be coined in his own name. This conduct changed the face of affairs; for Fakro'ddîn Kûtlûk, his nephew, and several other great lords, who thought themselves his equals, entering into a conspiracy, slew him, and divided Togrol's dominions among them.

At this juncture the sultân escaped from his confinement, by the intrigues of Hossâm-oddîn, general of his troops; among whom there were many attached to his interest. As soon as he was at liberty, he raised an army, and defeated the rebels, punished them as they deserved.

Yet did not this severity put an end to their treasons; for, in 588, Firmah, widow of the atâbek Mohammed, son of Ildighîz, who lived in the harâm, among the sultân's women, was prevailed on by her son Kûtlûk Enbanej to poison the sultân: but that prince having notice of her design, prevented the blow, by making her take the dose which she had prepared for him. He afterwards ordered Kûtlûk to be seized; and would have secured his own life, if he had not restored him to his liberty: an instance of lenity which was the cause of all the evils which afterwards befel him.

In short, this ungrateful wretch was no sooner released from prison than he sent to persuade Takash, fifth king of Karazm, to conquer Persian Irâk. Takash came, and joining his forces, went and took the castle of Thabrek: but after remaining for some time about Ray, retired on the sultân's approach, leaving Tafaj to take care of his new conquests. But the next year Togrol recovered all, and punished Tafaj, whom he took prisoner.

In 590 Kûtlûk, acting in concert with Takash, marched with a powerful army into Persian Irân; but being defeated by Togrol, was obliged to fly into Karazm with his ally. The sultân, now thinking he was delivered from all his enemies, abandoned himself to women and wine, with boundless excess; and though he was told that Takash was raising a formidable army to invade his dominions, yet, intoxicated with his success and delights, he continued his debauches, and neglected affairs to such a degree, that the grandees of the court wrote to Takash, to assure him that

divide his dominions.

He recovers them.

A.D. 1192.

Kûtlûk rebels;

joined by Takash;

Heira 590.
A.D. 1193.

both defeated.

that he might easily surprize Togrol in the midst of his revels.

*Togrol.
slain.*

Takash, following their advice, made such expedition, that he arrived at the gates of Ray while the sultân was still intoxicated. However, he put himself at the head of his troops, and marched towards the enemy, repeating some particular verses out of the Shâh Nameh, spoken by a warrior, boasting of what he would do: but raising his mace, as if he was going to strike, in conformity to the words he had pronounced, he discharged such a blow on one of the fore-legs of his horse, that the beast fell under him, and he himself was thrown upon the ground. Kût-lûk seeing him fall, immediately ran up, and with one blow of his scymitar put an end to his life, and the power of the Seljûks in Irâk^e.

*Malice of
Takash.*

Takash, not content with the downfall of this prince, whose dominions he joined to his own, sent his head to the khalif at Baghdâd, and caused his body to be fastened to a gibbet at Ray^f.

*Character
of Togrol.*

This prince had a great many noble qualities: he was not only remarkable for his courage, for which he was compared to Rostam and Isfandiâr, but also for his wit and knowlege. He excelled in poetry, and often disputed with the learned; had a majestic mien, and was very handsome. He surpassed all the Seljûkians in goodness and justice, as well as in managing his arms both on foot and on horseback^g.

*Of the sultâns in ge-
neral.*

The Seljûkians of Irâk were, in general a race of very accomplished princes, eminent for their courage, liberality, justice, and other virtues, both civil and military. They owed their ruin chiefly to their great bounty and indulgence to their favourites; particularly in vesting with too much dignity and power their governors, such as Karazm shâhs and atâbeks, by whom their own was at length extinguished.

*Defects of
the Greek
historians.*

Thus we have completed the history of the first and principal Seljûkian dynasty, compiled almost wholly from the Oriental historians; on which occasion it may be proper to observe that, of the fourteen sultâns whereof this monarchy consists, none but the two first are mentioned (under the corrupt names of Tangrolipix and Axan), by any of the Byzantine historians, excepting Anna Com-

^e D'Herb. ubi supra, p. 1029, & seq.
la Croix Hist. de Genghis, p. 131.

^f Lebtar. p. 45. ^g Lebtar. p. 45.

na, who speaks of the two next, Mâlek Shâh and Bar-kiarok, but names only the latter; after that period they pass to the Seljûkian princes who settled in Asia Minor, seeming to confound the two dynasties together.

S E C T. X.

The Soltâns of the second Branch, or Dynasty, of the Seljûkians, called that of Kermân.

KERMAN, the country from whence this race of *Kermân* foltâns takes its denomination, is a province of Irân, *monarchy.* or Persia at large, the same with ancient Karamania. It has on the west Pârs or Proper Persia; on the north Sejestân or Siftân; on the east Mekrân; and on the south the Straits of Harmûz or Ormûs. The principal city is called Kermân or Sirjân, situated near the borders of Pârs. Besides which we meet with several others, as Tuberân, Gabbîs, Barfîr or Berdasfîr, Mastih or Masrih, Bemnasfîr or Kermasfîn, Bam, Giroft or Sireft, &c. To which may be added the ports of Jaskes, Mina, and Gomrûn or Bander Abbâsi; with the islands of Harmûz and Keshom, which lie off the southern part of it, at present called Mogostân.

This dynasty takes the name of Kermân, because it was founded in that province; but the power of its princes was not confined within the bounds of that single country; for they enlarged their dominions not only by the acquisition of Pârs on the west, but of the countries eastward, as far as the river Send or Indus^b; comprising the province of Mekrân or Makrân, with part of Sajestân and Sablestân, and possibly as much of India as lay between those provinces and the Indus. *Its extent and duration.*

All the Oriental historians agree, that this dynasty commenced in the year 433 of the Hejra, and ended in 583, subsisting one hundred and fifty years, under eleven sultâns, viz. 1. Kaderd. 2. Soltân Shâh. 3. Turân Shâh. 4. Irân Shâh. 5. Arslân Shâh. 6. Mohammed. 7. Togrol Shâh. 8. Arslân Shâh II. 9. Baharâm Shâh. 10. Turân Shâh II. 11. Mohammed Shâh. Of whom, from the scantiness of the extracts given by D'Herbelot, who is our only assistant in the history of this branch of the Sel-

^b Kond. ap. D'Herb. p. 301. art. Selgiukian Kerman.

jûkians,

jûkians, it appears that the Orientals themselves have spoken very superficially.

*First sultân
Kaderd.*

A.D. 1041.

Kaderd or Kadherd the first, and founder of this race of sultâns, who from him are, by way of distinction, called Kaderdians, was the son of Kawd or Jaffer Bek, son of Mikaël, son of Seljûk. In the year 433 his uncle Togrol Bek, founder of the dynasty of Irân, made him governor of the province of Kermân, the Persian Karamania of the Greeks, where he became so powerful, that he assumed the authority of a sovereign prince, and added to his new dominion the province of Fârs or Pârs (A), adjoining to it on the west. So that in the year 455 he had formed a considerable state, with which he might have been satisfied; but ambition having urged him to attack the dominions of his nephew Mâlek Shâh I. third sultân of the Seljûks of Irân, he was defeated at Gurj, in the year 465; and being taken prisoner, was confined in a castle in Khorasân, where, not long after, he was poisoned, by order of Mâlek Shâhⁱ, as hath been already related. This prince reigned thirty-two years, and left for his successor a son named Soltân Shâh.

A.D. 1065.

A.D. 1072.

His ambition fatal.

A.D. 1074.

*Second sultân.
Soltân Shâh.*

Mâlek Shâh, on the death of his uncle Kaderd, restored his dominions to his cousin-german Soltân Shâh, son of Kaderd, who reigned under his authority: but he enjoyed the throne no more than two years, according to Khondemîr, who places his death in 467; although the Tarîkh Khozideh gives him a reign of twelve years, which ends in 477^k.

*Third sultân,
Turân Shâh.*

A.D. 1095.

*Fourth sultân,
Irân Shâh.*

A.D. 1100.

Turan Shâh Ebn Kaderd succeeded his brother sultân Shâh, under the authority likewise of Mâlek Shâh. He reigned with the reputation of a very just and wise prince, applying himself solely to repair the ravages made in his dominions by the former wars. He died in the year 480, after he had reigned thirteen years; and left for his successor his son,

Irân Shâh, who had not the good qualities of his father: besides, his cruelty was so great, that his subjects, no longer able to endure it, conspired against and slew him, in the year 494, and fifth of his reign. He was succeeded by Arslân Shâh, son of Kermân Shâh Ebn Kaderd^l.

(A) The Arabs write Fârs, the Persians Pârs.

ⁱ Khond. ap. D'Herbel. p. 225, & seq.
^l Ibid. p. 498, art. Irân Shâh.

^k D'Herbel. p.

Arslân Shâh, during the life of his uncle Irân Shâh, kept himself concealed in a shoemaker's shop, for fear of falling into his hands : but as soon as he heard of his death, he discovered himself, and was proclaimed soltân the same year, by the unanimous consent of the grantees of the kingdom. So that the Seljûkians of Pârs, his relations, who had given much uneasiness to his predecessors, durst not attack him. By these means he reigned in peace for forty-two years, and left the crown to his son Mohammed ^m.

Fifth soltân, Arslân Shah.

Mohammed furnamed Mogayatho'ddîn, succeeded his father Arslân Shâh, in the year 536 ; and, the better to secure himself on the throne, put out the eyes of all his brothers. All that Khondemîr relates of him is, that he was much addicted to judicial astrology, and was very fond of building. He reigned fourteen years, and died in the 551st year of the Hejra ⁿ. Some call this prince Turân Shâh.

Hejra 536. A.D. 1141.

Sixth soltân, Mohammed.

Togrol Shâh, furnamed Mohio'ddîn, succeeded his father Mohammed, and died after having reigned twelve years. He left three sons, Arslân Shâh, Boharâm Shâh, and Turân Shâh, who made war on each other twenty years together, with alternate advantages ; so that he who gained a victory was acknowledged for soltân, till he in his turn was driven out by one of his two brothers. These succeeded one another, as they are placed in the list of soltâns, at the beginning of this chapter ; but the duration of their reigns is so uncertain, that authors have marked only that of Turân Shâh, to which they give eight years.

Hejra 563. A.D. 1167.

Seventh soltân, Togrol Shâh.

He was succeeded by his nephew Mohammed Shâh, son of his brother Baharâm or Bcheram Shâh, the eleventh and last soltân of this second branch of Seljûkians : for Mâlek Dinar, a descendent of Ali, son-in-law of the prophet Mohammed, having conquered Kermân in the year 583, this dynasty, according to Khondemîr, and the Tarîkh Khozideh, became extinct : but the reigns of the four last soltâns are so confounded one with the other, that the Tarîkh Al Tawârîkh reckons no more than nine princes in this Kermân succession ^o.

Hejra 583. A.D. 1187.

Eleventh soltân, Mohammed Shâh.

^m Khond. ap. D'Herbel. p. 130, art. Arslân Shâh, fil. de Kermân Schâh. ⁿ Ibid. p. 609, art. Mohammed, fils d'Arslân Schâh. ^o Ibid. p. 540, & 800, art. Mâlek Dinar, & selgiûkian Kermân.

C H A P. VII.

*History of the Third Dynasty of the Seljûkians,
called that of Rûm.*

S E C T I.

*Their Dominions, Conquest, Establishment, and Succession.**Denomina-
tion of
Rûm.*

THIS dynasty of Seljûkians derives its name of Rûm from their having reigned in the country of Rûm, that is, of the Romans, or rather of the Greeks; whose emperors, being the successors of the Roman emperors, preserved the title of emperors of the Romans, although they had changed the seat of their empire from Rome to Constantinople; and consequently were more properly sovereigns of the Greeks.

*Extent of
dominion.*

It is not to be presumed, from the denomination which this dynasty or race of sultâns bears, that they were lords of all the then Roman empire. No: that was a glory reserved for the Othmân or Ozmân Turks, who rose out of the ruins of these Seljûkians; and succeeded them first in their dominions, which were confined in general to Asia Minor, or rather a part of it, during the reigns of all the sultâns of the Seljûk race, excepting two or three, who extended their conquests beyond its bounds, to the east and south, which yet continued as part of the Rûmean monarchy, but little longer than their respective lives.

*Arabs,
their de-
cline.*

The Arabs, who constituted the great reigning power before the Turks, had wrested from the Roman emperors all their dominions in Africa and Asia, excepting Asia Minor; the eastern parts of which, towards the Euphrates, had been in their hands for the space of more than one hundred and fifty years: but for some time before the appearance of the Seljûkians, the emperors had recovered from them most of the cities they were possessed of within that province, besides some part of the Greater Armenia; which, however, they soon lost again; being taken from them by those new invaders.

*Asia Mi-
nor.*

Asia Minor, called more commonly by the latter Greeks Anatolè (B), that is the *East*, is a large peninsula in the

(B) And corruptly, by the Turks and others, Natolia.

western

western part of Asia. It is bounded on the north by the *Extent.*
Euxine Sea and Propontis, on the west by the Archipelago,
on the south by the Mediterranean Sea and Syria, on the
east by the country of the Lazi or Kurti and the river
Euphrates. It is situated between the 36th and 42d deg.
of latitude, and between the 44th and 58th deg. of longi-
tude, reckoning from Ferro; being in length, from west
to east, about six hundred and forty miles, and in breadth,
from south to north, three hundred and sixty miles.

At the time when the Seljûk Turks first invaded Asia *Provinces.*
Minor, it was divided much in the same manner as in for-
mer times, into twelve large provinces: all these excepting
four are maritime; and, beginning with the most eastern,
lie round the peninsula in the following order: Pontus,
Paphlagonia, and Bithynia, along the Euxine Sea; Mysia,
in which is Eolis; Ionia and Caria are washed by the Ar-
chipelago; Lycia (containing Mylia), Pisidia (including
Pamphylia, and Cilicia), by the Mediterranean. The four
inland provinces are Lydia, Phrygia (containing Lycaonia
and Isauria); Cappadocia (including Armenia Minor and
Cataoni); and Galatia: the three first run eastward, in
the same parallel, from Ionia to the river Euphrates; and
the fourth lies to the north of Phrygia and part of Cappa-
docia.

There is scarce any piece of history among Europeans *Seljûkian*
in greater confusion than this of the Seljûkian sultâns of *history;*
Rûm; or any which deserves more to be set in a clear
light, on account of the great connection between the af-
fairs of those sultâns, and those of the latter Roman or
Greek emperors, as well as the Othmân Turks, their suc-
cessors, reigning at present. This confusion is owing to
the imperfection of the Greek account of their affairs, full
of chasms and errors; from whence alone Leunclavius,
Knowles, and all other western writers hitherto, have
compiled their histories of this dynasty.

It may be presumed, that the defects of the Greek au- *its bad*
thors might be supplied, and their errors corrected, from *state.*
the Oriental, especially those of Rûm, or the countries
subject to this third branch of the Seljûkians, if any of
them yet remain: but the misfortune is, that very few
particulars of the eastern monarchies have come to our
hands; and fewer still of the general histories have been
translated.

We are informed by the Greek historians, that the *Kotlmish*
Turks penetrated very early into the Roman empire. They *invades the*
tell us, that Tagrolipix, so they call Togrol Bek, having *Roman em-*
MOD. VOL. III. G g *pire.* slain

slain Pisares, or Bafasiri, and subdued the Babylonians, that is, the people of Irâk Arabi, named also Babeli, sent his nephew Kûtlû Muses against the Arabians; but being defeated, he fled into Baas, or Baasprakan, in Persarmenia, and, forcing his passage through the country, returned into Persia; where, for fear of the sultân, who was enraged at his ill success, he retired to the city of Pafar, and rebelled against him, while he was engaged in an expedition against the Arabs.

Tagrolipix having finished that war, marched against Kûtlû Muses; and while he kept him besieged in Pafar, sent part of his army, under the command of Assan, or Hassan, surnamed the Deaf, another of his nephews, to subdue Persarmenia; but he miscarrying in that design, the sultân dispatched his half-brother Abraham Alim, or Halim, with a great force on the same expedition, which succeeded better than the former: for Abraham burned Artze, or Arzerûm, and took the Roman general prisoner. Tagrolipix generously gave the general his liberty; and some time after, sent an ambassador to summon the emperor Monomachus to become his tributary. The emperor, for this insult, treating the ambassador with contempt, the sultân invaded Iberia, at a time when the Romans were at war with the Patzinakæ Scythians, which happened in the year of Christ 1050.

*Rebels
against To-
grol Bek.*

Not long after this period, discord arising between the sultân and Abraham Alim, the latter fled to Kûtlû Muses, and joined in the rebellion: but the sultân defeated them both near Pafar before mentioned; and Abraham, being taken prisoner, was put to death. Kûtlû Muses, with his cousin Mâlek, son of Abraham, followed by six thousand men, fled to the borders of the Roman empire, from whence he sent to implore protection of Monomachus, a little before his death, which happened in 1054; but instead of waiting for an answer, he marched into Persarmenia, and took Karse, now Kars; when hearing that Tagrolipix was advancing towards him, he fled to the Arabs, who were the sultân's enemies.

Here Kûtlû Muses remained during the life of Tagrolipix; but as soon as Axan, so the Greeks call Alp Arslân, had ascended the throne, he returned from Arabia with considerable forces, and advancing to Rey, laid claim to the sovereignty: but while the two armies were on the point of engaging, the khalif of Babylon suddenly appeared, and interposing his authority, which he still retained in spirituals, brought the contending parties to this agreement:

ment: that the sultân should hold Persia, and that Kûtlû Muses, and his children, who were five in number, though not particularly named, should possess all the countries which they were able to take from the Roman emperor; and that Axan should assist them with troops for that purpose.

The sultân having, in pursuance of this agreement, furnished Kûtlû Muses with forces, that prince, and his five sons, invaded the Roman empire; and in the reign of Michael Ducas and his successor, subdued all Persarmenia, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia.

According to Cedrenus and Zonaras, who have been followed by all the western historians, Kûtlû Muses lived at least sixteen years after that battle; for they say, that he actually commanded a body of troops which came to the assistance of Botaniates, when he usurped the empire^p in the year 1078.

This account, given by the Greeks, of the conquests made in Asia Minor by the Seljûkian Turks, under the command of Kûtlû Muses, it must be confessed, contains several errors. It will be sufficient for our purpose to take notice, that those writers were misinformed as to the event of that battle, which, according to the Oriental historians, was fought in the year of the Hejra, 455, and proved fatal to Kûtlû Muses, who was killed by a fall from his horse, as he was going to engage Alp Arslân, against whom he rebelled, in the province of Damagân in Persia.

Conquests and death, according to the Greeks.

Their error proved.

S E C T. II.

Reign of Sultân Solymân.

WHATEVER conquests Kûtlû Muses, or Kotolmîsh made in Lesser Asia, or whatever power and authority he exercised in that country during his life, the Persian history, who make his son Solymân the founder of this Seljûkian dynasty, are so far from deriving any right of possession to him from his father, that they speak as if the Turks possessed no dominions in Asia Minor for him to govern, till they were conquered by his uncle. Hamdallah Al Mestûfi, author of the Tarîk Khozideh, says, that Mâlec Shâh, third sultân of the Seljukians of Irân (or Persia at large), on advice that the Greek empe-

First sultân Solymân founds the monarchy.

^p Cedren. Zonar.

ror (A) was dead, sent Solymân, son of Kotolmîsh, to make war on the Greeks in Asia Minor; and that this prince, having made some conquests, sat down in peace in the year 480. Khondemîr more particularly informs us, that Mâlec Shâh bestowed on his cousin Solymân the country of Rûm, or what he had taken from the Greek emperor, extending from the Euphrates a great way into Asia Minor, of which territory Arzerûm was the capital^q.

A.D. 1072.

Early progress of the Turks.

The Greek writers are not acquainted with this grant, nor with the sultân who made it: but the most authentic of them agree very well with the account of this conquest, and the commencement of the reign of Solymân, as delivered by the Oriental authors whom we follow; for they tell us, that soon after the death of the emperor Romanus Diogenes, the Turks broke into the territories of the empire. Michael Ducas, his successor, being alarmed at this irruption, sent against them Isaac Comnenus; who, after having gained a few advantages, was defeated, and taken prisoner on the frontiers of Cappadocia, near Cæsarea. His brother Alexis, on his return, having passed the river Sangarius, was attacked by a party of Turks, who had already made incursions, through Bithynia, as far as Nice.

Another army was soon dispatched against them under the command of John Ducas, the emperor's uncle, and Cæsar; but while he endeavoured to reduce Urfel, who had revolted, the Turks took the opportunity of pursuing their conquests. He himself was afterwards taken by Urfel; and both of them by Artuk, who then commanded the Turkish forces, at Trikeum, near the above mentioned river. About the same time a new army advanced from Persia under Tutak, who ravaged the country about Amasia. To him Urfel, after having been dismissed by Artuk, applied for assistance; but Tutak betrayed him, for a sum of money, to Alexis Comnenus, who had been appointed general in Asia. In his return Alexis was attacked near Heraclea, in Bithynia, by a party of Turks, but escaped by his extraordinary courage and address. About the same time Isaac Comnenus, newly made governor of Antioch, was slain in an engagement with a party of Turks, who had made an irruption into Syria^r.

^q Khond. ap. D'Herbel. p. 542, art. Malec Shah.

^r Niceph.

Brien. in Mich. Ducam, cap. 1—3.

(A) This must be the emperor Diogenes, who died in 1071.

After

After this event, several persons aspiring to the empire, A.D. 1074.
 Michael sent an ambassador to Solyman, son of Kutulmes, *Solyman*
 or Kotolmish, desiring his assistance against Nicephorus *assists Nice-*
 Botaniates, general of the armies of the East, who had *phorus Bo-*
 revolted; and being joined by Khrysofokules, a Turkish *taniates.*
 commander, who, in the reign of Diogenes, had taken
 part with the Romans, had marched from Phrygia into
 Bithynia, with a design to reduce the city of Nice. Soly-
 mân, being gained by the emperor, seized all the passes,
 and watched the motions of Botaniates, who having but
 three hundred followers, took bye-roads, and travelled by
 night to avoid the Turks, and reach that city before they
 knew of his march; but they, getting intelligence of it,
 sent a party of horse to harass his men. These, however,
 he repulsed; but fearing to be surrounded, he sent Khry-
 sofokules, who, for a small sum of money, prevailed upon
 them to retire, and leave the way to Nice open. When
 he approached that city, to his great surprize, he perceived
 a numerous army drawn up in order of battle before the
 suburbs, whom he took to be enemies; but his astonish-
 ment was redoubled when he found they had proclaimed
 him emperor¹.

Botaniates being in possession of the empire, raised A.D. 1078.
 forces to oppose Nicephorus Bryennius, who aspired to
 the throne; and having demanded succour of Masûr and
 Solyman, sons of Kutlumes, prince of Nice in Bithy-
 nia, they sent him two thousand men, and promised a
 stronger reinforcement; but after he had, by the conduct
 of Alexis Comnenus, who succeeded him, quelled the
 rebellions of Bryennius and Basilacius, he had likewise that
 of Nicephorus Melissenus to suppress. This lord, during
 the two former rebellions in Europe, declaring himself
 emperor, had assembled some Turkish troops in Asia Minor,
 with which he over-ran the country; putting all the towns
 he took into the hands of the Turks. By these means, in
 a little time, they became masters of all Phrygia and Ga-
 latia; in short, he reduced Nice in Bithynia, and struck
 terror through the whole empire². And thus, probably,
 that famous city came to be possessed by Solyman, who
 afterwards made it the seat of his new empire.

Botaniates, greatly alarmed at these successes, sent an *Turkish*
 army against the enemy under the command of John, an *possessions.*
 eunuch, who encamped near Fort Basileum, about forty

¹ Niceph Brien. in Mich. Ducam, cap. 15.
 Nic. Botan.

² Nic. Brien.

stadia from Nice; and marching along a lake, advanced to Fort St. George, which he took. He then determined to invest Nice; but hearing of the sultân's approach to relieve the place, the eunuch retired, and the Turks pursued and harassed him extremely.

We are informed by the princess Anna Comnena (K), that when Botaniates obtained the empire, the Turks were possessed of the countries between the Euxine Sea and the Hellespont, between the Ægean Sea and Sea of Syria, and between the gulfs which are along the coasts of Pamphylia and Cilicia. As he had gained the empire by help of the Turks, so he employed their power to overcome Nicephorus Bryennius, who aspired to the throne^u; but those adventurers, who were ready to join with any party to serve their own purpose, afterwards assisted his competitors, Melissenus and Alexis to dethrone him. At length he resigned the crown to Alexis in 1081. During these disputes the Turks took Cyzicum, and ravaged the country of Anatolia^w.

A.D. 1081.

*Nice the
royal seat.*

At the time when Alexis ascended the throne, Solymân, who commanded in Anatolia, had fixed his seat at Nice in Bithynia, and daily made inroads with his Turks as far as the Bosphorus, then called Damalis; but Amalis, by ordering armed barks to scour the coast, obliged them soon to abandon it. Pursuing his advantage by land, he retook Bosphorus, Thynia, and Bithynia; whereupon the sultân sued for peace; which was granted the Turks, on condition that they kept on the banks of the river Draco, without ever passing the borders of Bithynia.

But while Alexis was engaged in war with Robert and his son Boemund in Illyrium, Apelkassém (L), governor of Nice, in the absence of Solymân, ravaged the East, with the coast of Propontis and the sea.

Hejra 478.

A.D. 1085.

*Solymân
takes An-
tioch,
and is slain
in battle.*

The occasion of Solymân's leaving Nice was this: one Filaretus, an Armenian, who, for his courage and conduct, had been made grand domestic by Diogenes, was so affected at his master's hard fate, that he resolved to be revenged; and with this view seized Antioch; but not

^u Ann. Comnena in Alex. lib. i. cap. 3.
cap. 2. 5, & 8.

^w Ibid. lib. ii.

(K) Daughter of the emperor Alexis, who succeeded Botaniates, and wrote his life. (L) Perhaps a corruption of Aḡu'l Kassém.

being

being able to live in peace for the continual inroads of the Turks, he embraced Mohammedism. He had a son, who, because he could not divert him from his design, rode in eight days to Nice, and persuaded Amîr Solymân to come and take Antioch. Solymân, leaving Apelkassêm to govern in his absence, in twelve nights arrived at that city, and took it by assault; at the same time Karatice reduced Sinope, where he was told there were great riches *.

Sharfo'ddawla Ebn Korays, lord of Halep and Musol, advancing with troops to take Antioch from Solymân, was defeated and slain †. In the year following, soltân Hejra 478. Tajo'ddawla, lord of Damascus, hearing of Sharfo'd- A.D. 1085. dawla's misfortune, marched with his forces, accompanied by Ortok and Turk mân, to attack Solymân, who fought several battles with them under the walls of Halep, in the last of which he was slain, and his forces were routed.

This event is confirmed by the Greek historian Anna Comnena, though she differs in the manner of his death. She says that Tutuse (so the Greeks call Tatafsh, surnamed Tajo'ddawla), brother of the great soltân (C), who possessed Mesopotamia, with the cities of Jerusalem, Halep, and Baghdâd (D), having a great desire to be master of Antioch, advanced with his forces against Solymân; who being defeated, and finding he could not rally his troops, withdrew from the field; but the officers of the other party informing him, that his uncle Tutuse sent for him, and fearing to trust himself in his hands, he fell upon his own sword and expired. His soldiers, who had escaped from the battle, immediately joined the army of Tutuse ‡ (E).

But notwithstanding the majority of writers is against us in this point, yet we have very great reason to suspect their authority in favour of Ebn Amîd and Anna Comnena; if it be only considered that the historians whom D'Herbe- lot consulted, seem to have been very little acquainted with the affairs of the Seljûkians of Rûm; and that all that he has produced relating to the death in question, is a naked date, without any concurrent circumstances to support it; whereas Ebn Amîd, and Anna Comnena, not

* Ann. Comnen. in Alex. lib. vi. cap. 7. † Ebn Amîd. Hist. Saracen. p. 352. & seq. ‡ An. Comnen. in Alex. lib. vi. cap. 7.

(C) He was the brother of Mâlek Shâh, third soltân of Irân.

(D) A mistake perhaps for Damascus.

(E) This account, however, and particularly the date of his death, is contradicted by many historians both eastern and western.

only relate the manner of Solymân's death, but that event is connected with foreign transactions; which is the strongest proof that the date of it, given by the former, must be exact.

INTERREGNUM.

*Usurpation
of govern-
ors.*

Solymân, according to Khondemîr, and the other Persian historians, left for successor his son Dawd, (or David), surnamed Kilij Arslân (F), who ascended the throne in the year 500, immediately after his father's decease*. But it appears from the history of Anna Comnena, that the sudden and violent death of Solymân was attended with an interregnum, or usurpation of the governors in the dominions of Rûm; and that Khliziaftlan (as the Greeks corruptly name Kilij Arslân), was in Persia till about the year 1093, when he returned to Nice; in which case there must have been an interregnum of nine years.

As there has been nothing transmitted to us from the East, relating to the affairs of the Seljûkians in Rûm, from the death of Solymân to the decease of this warlike sultân, excepting his last expedition, in which he died, our sole recourse must be to the Greek historians, particularly the princess before mentioned; who has given a pretty full account of the proceedings of the Turks against the Roman empire during that period.

*Apelkassem
seizes Nice.*

When the news of Amir Solymân's death reached the ears of his governors in Asia Minor, they divided his territories among themselves. Apelkassem became lord of Nice, famous for the palace of the sultâns. He had before given Cappadocia to his brother Pulkas; but, being naturally active, he thought it unbecoming the dignity of sultân to sit idle, and made incursions into Bithynia as far as the Propontis. The emperor, finding he could not be brought to a treaty, sent a powerful army, under the command of Taticius, to besiege Nice, which encamped at a place twelve miles distant from that city.

The night following, a peasant brought advice, that Prosûk, sent by a new sultân called Barkiarok, was approaching at the head of fifty thousand men; Taticius, not able to resist such a force, retired towards Nicomedia. Apelkassem pursued and attacked him at Prenefte; but the French, who were in the army headed by Taticius,

* See D'Herbel. ubi supra.

(F) That is the *Sword of the Lion*.

couching

couching their lances with their usual alertness, fell on them like lightning, and, defeating them, gave Taticius leisure to retreat.

Apelkassê, with a design to conquer the islands, built ships, intending to take the city of Scio (G), seated on the sea side; but the emperor sent and burnt them in the harbour. At the same time Taticius attacked the Turks at Alykas, called also Cyparissium; and after skirmishing with them for fifteen days, at length totally defeated them. The emperor on this occasion, wrote an obliging letter to Apelkassê, desiring him to desist from his fruitless attempts, and invited him to come to Constantinople. That prince, understanding that Profûk had taken many lesser towns, and intended to besiege Nice, accepted of the invitation, and was received with extraordinary honours.

The politic emperor took the opportunity while Apelkassê was at Constantinople, to build a fort by the sea side, to secure Nicomedia, the capital of Bithynia (H); making the Turks, who would have opposed that design, believe that he had their sultân's order for it, whom all the while he amused with diversions. When the fortress was finished, he loaded him with presents, gave him the title of Most August, concluded a peace with him, and sent him home by sea. The sight of that fabrick in his passage gave him much displeasure; but he thought it better to dissemble his resentment than complain.

Profuk soon after besieged Nice; and, having attacked it vigorously for three months, Apelkassê solicited succour from the emperor, who sent him the flower of his troops, but with orders to act for his interest; both parties being his enemies. The Roman troops having taken the city of St. George, were admitted into Nice, and displayed their standards: hereupon Profûk, believing the emperor had entered the city, raised the siege, and retired^b.

It will be proper to observe in this place, that as soon as the great sultân (I), who reigned in Khorasân, was informed of the success of Tutus against Solymân, he was alarmed; and, fearing he might grow too powerful, sent a chaush to the emperor Alexis, to propose an alliance with him by way of marriage; offering, on that occasion,

^b Ann. Comnen. in Alex. lib. vi. cap. 7—10.

(G) Or Cium, in the bay was taken by the Turks.

of Maudania, miscalled Montanea, a port of Nice. (I) This was Mâlek Shâh, the father and predecessor of

(H) It became so after Nice Barkiarok.

to withdraw the Turks settled near the sea-coasts; to abandon a certain number of small towns; and furnish him with troops, in case of need.

The emperor, desirous to recover the places without the marriage, prevailed on the chaush to turn Christian; after which conversion, as he had a written order from the sultân, for the Turkish garrisons to quit all the maritime places as soon as the marriage was agreed on, he went to Sinope, and shewing the order to Karatik the governor, obliged him to depart without taking any thing away, and left it in the hands of Dalassenes for the emperor. Having by the like artifice removed the Turks out of other towns, and put in Roman garrisons, he returned to Constantinople, where he was baptized, and received the title of duke of Ankhialus, with considerable rewards^c.

Nice besieged again.

The sultân was exceedingly mortified when he understood these particulars; nevertheless, he sent a letter to the emperor, assuring him, that, provided he gave his daughter in marriage to his son, he would assist him with troops to prevent Apelkassém's incursions, and wrest Antioch out of his hands. At the same time he sent Pusan with forces against Apelkassém. The emperor wrote an answer, which, without granting his demand, flattered his hopes. Meanwhile Pusan attacked Nice several times; but being repulsed by means of the emperor's succours, retired to Lopadion, on the river Lampe. As soon as he was gone, Apelkassém, loading fourteen mules with gold, set out for Persia to obtain the sultân's confirmation in the government: but the sultân, who was then at Spaka (K), refusing to see him, ordered him to return to Pusan; saying, he would confirm whatever the other agreed to. After a long and fruitless solicitation he set out on his way home, but had not proceeded far, when he was met by two hundred men, who, by the sultân's order, strangled him. The ambassador who carried the emperor's letter, proceeded on his journey; but hearing, before he reached Khorassân, that the sultân himself was assassinated (L), he returned to Constantinople.

Relieved a second time.

Restored to the sons of Solymân.

After Apelkassém had departed for Khorassân, Pulkas, his brother, took possession of Nice; which the emperor,

^c Ann. Comn. lib. vi. cap. 8.

(K) Doubtless Ispâhân.

(L) This was Mâlek Shâh, as appears from the course of

time, as well as the mistaken account of his death, given in this place by our historians.

by

by large offers, tempted him to deliver up; but he still put him off, under pretence of expecting the return of his brother. While this matter was in agitation, the two sons of Amîr Solymân, escaping on the death of the murdered sultân, by whom they were detained in prison, arrived at Nice; where they were received by those who had most power with the people, and acknowledged by Pulkas, who delivered up the city into their hands. From this revolution or restoration (which, according to the course of the Greek history, happened about the year 1093), we date the commencement of the reign of Kilij Arslân I.

S E C T. III.

Reign of Sultân Kilij Arslân I.

NICE having thus, after an usurpation of several years, been restored to the heirs of Solymân, Kilij, or Klig Arslân the eldest, whom the Greeks call Khliziaftlan, or Kliziaftlan, assumed the reins of government. His first care was to repopulate the city, by recalling the wives and children of the old inhabitants, as he designed to honour it with the chief residence of the sultâns. Then, displacing Pulkas, he made Mahomet governor: after which appointment, he marched towards Melicene. What was the occasion of his departure, what part of his dominions he went to, or what he did for some time after, we are not able to explain; the Greek writers, to whom we are obliged for all this sultân's history, excepting the last transaction of his reign, treating no farther of the Turkish affairs than as they concerned themselves; for this reason the reader will not be surpris'd if he meets frequently with chasms in the history, and sometimes the matters abruptly introduced.

A.D. 1093.

Second sultân Kilij Arslân I.

The emperor Alexis, having been informed that Elkân, prince of the Satrapas (M), had taken Apoloniade and Cyzicum, maritime cities, and ravaged the sea-coast; sent Eupherbene, to besiege Apoloniade, and he reduced the exopolis, or out-town. The Turks defended the citadel vigorously till succours arrived; on which the Roman general withdrew, and put his men on board the ships: but Elkân having seized the mouth of the river and the bridge, they were forced to disembark, and most of them were

Elkân taken prisoner.

(M) Or Turkish governors; perhaps at Beglerbeg.

cut

cut off in battle. After this miscarriage, Opus, being ordered against him, took Cyzicum and Poemanenon by assault; then besieging Apoloniade, forced Elkân to surrender; who, being sent to the emperor, was very kindly received, and turned Christian^d.

Rise of
Tzakas.

While Alexis was engaged in war with the Patzinacians (N), he received advice that the son of Apelkassém, governor of Nice (called Satrapa by the old, and Amiral by the modern Persians (O), was inclined to besiege Nicomedia. At the same time Tzakas, a Turk, resolving to keep up a naval force, employed a native of Smyrna for that purpose; who having built him several vessels, and forty barks, he went and took Clazomene and Phoea, without much resistance; then sending a threatening message to Alopheus, governor of Mitylene, he fled: but Tzakas, finding the inhabitants of Metymne, a city of the isle seated very high, prepared to receive him, he passed on to the island of Khio, which he easily reduced.

He defeats
the Ro-
mans:

The emperor, on the receipt of this intelligence, sent a fleet against him, which was defeated: then he equipped another under Constantine Delassenus, his relation; who, desirous to retake Khio while Tzakas was absent, made a breach in the wall, which obliged the Turks to implore mercy: but while the general delayed taking possession, to prevent the soldiers from putting them to the sword, the besieged repaired the breach in the night. Tzakas arrived from Smyrna at the same juncture on the other side of the isle, and marched at the head of eight thousand men, attended along the coast by his fleet; then, going on board, he encountered the Greek ships in the night: his own being joined together by chains, so that they could not be separated. Opus, who commanded the Grecian fleet, surprised at this new sort of disposition, durst not advance.

Tzakas followed him slowly, and at length landing, began the attack. The French, on their approach, advanced boldly against them with their lances: but the Turks, having discharged arrows at their horses, obliged them to retire in disorder to the camp, and take refuge on board their ships. The Romans, dismayed by this defeat, fled likewise, and ranged themselves along the walls of the town. This success emboldened the Turks to go and seize some

^d Ann. Comnen. lib. vi. cap. 11. & 12.

(N) A Scythian nation, who (O) Rather Amîr, whence inhabited Podolia and Moldavia. comes our amiral, and admiral.

vessels;

vessels; but the sailors, cutting the cables, went and anchored with the rest at some distance from the shore. Mean time Delassenus retired to Bolissus, a town situated on a cape of the isle; and Tzakas, knowing his valour, sent to propose an accommodation.

Next day they met; and Tzakas demanded, that what the emperor Botaniates had given him should be delivered into his hands, and a marriage take place between his son and a daughter of the emperor; in which case he promised to restore all the islands he had conquered. It seems this Turk had been taken prisoner when young in Asia, and presented to Botaniates, who honoured him with the title of Most Noble, and with rich presents; on which he took an oath of fidelity to him, but thought himself not bound by it to Alexis. Delassenus referred him for an answer to John, the emperor's brother-in-law, who was expected with forces in a few days; but Tzakas, not caring to wait his coming, returned in the night with his fleet to Smyrna, in order to raise fresh forces for the conquest of the island. Delassenus afterwards took Bolissus, and the city of Khio itself*.

Mean time Tzakas, while the emperor was at war with the Scythians, increased his fleet with an extraordinary number of ships, collected from several ports, wherewith he resolved to plunder all the isles which refused to submit, and ravage all the western coasts. He endeavoured to excite the Scythians to subdue the Chersonesus, and to oblige the succours to return which came from the East; making great offers to engage the Turk to espouse his cause†. After these efforts, he assumed the name of king at Smyrna, which he made his regal seat; and fitted out a fleet to ravage the isles, and penetrate as far as the very capital of the empire.

At the beginning of spring the emperor sent an army and a fleet to Mitylene; the former under the conduct of John Dukas, and the latter commanded by Constantine Delassenus. The place was governed by Galabatzes, brother of Tzakas, who came also in person to defend it. Dukas battered the walls for three months, and often fought the enemy from morning till night without any advantage; but at last Tzakas thought fit to surrender the city, on condition that he might have liberty to return to Smyrna. This was granted him: but as he endeavoured to carry off the inhabitants of Mitylene, contrary to the

* Ann. Comnen. lib. vii. cap. 5. & 6.

† Ibid. lib. viii. cap. 2.

treaty,

treaty, Delassenus attacked him by sea, and took several barks; Tzakas himself with difficulty escaping in one of the smallest vessels. Dukas afterwards retook Samos, and the other isles which that Turk had seized.

*He is slain
by the sol-
tân.*

Tzakas, as soon as he returned to Smyrna, ordered barks to be built, and galleys of two and three tire of oars, besides other light vessels, with a design to send them out as corsairs. Hereupon the emperor dispatched Delassenus with a powerful fleet, and at the same time wrote letters to incite the soltân (P) against his son-in-law, whom he represented as aspiring to the empire of the Turks. The soltân immediately advanced with his forces, and was at Avido, which Tzakas had besieged, almost as soon as Delassenus. Tzakas having no ships with him (for his fleet was not yet equipped), and finding himself unable to oppose both the emperor and the soltân, resolved to meet the latter, not knowing how much he was incensed against him. The soltân received him with a great shew of friendship, and kept him to dine with him; but as soon as he found him overcome with liquor, drew his sword, and killed him with one blow.

*Care of
Alexis
to secure
Bithynia.*

The emperor was scarcely delivered from this enemy, before he found himself obliged to march against the Komâns, who continued to make incursions into his territories: mean while the Turks took that opportunity to ravage Bithynia. When the war therefore was over, he applied himself to secure the country inclosed by the sea between the river Sangarius and a place called Cele, which was exposed to their frequent incursions. Having found a deep canal, which had been formerly dug by the emperor Anastasius to drain the marsh of Baanom, he ordered it to be cleansed and extended; but considering that in time it might become fordable, he built on the side of it an exceeding strong citadel, thence called the Iron Castle, which served for the defence of Nicomedia.

A.D. 1096

The emperor had scarce rested from this fatigue, when Peter the Hermit, author of the crusade, or holy war, arrived at Constantinople at the head of eighty thousand men, devoted to the recovery of Jerusalem from the Turks. The emperor advised him to wait till Godfrey of Bulloin, and the other princes, arrived: but Peter, confident of his own success, passed the sea, and encamped

z Ann. Comnen. lib. ix. cap. 1 & 3.

(P) Kili Arslân, son of Solyman.

near a small city called Helenopolis. From hence ten thousand Normans, who were among them, made an incursion as far as Nice, committing the most horrible cruelties; but the garrison of that city falling out upon them, they were obliged to retreat. They afterwards took Xerigorda; but Elkan, being sent with some troops by the sultan, recovered that place.

That general, knowing the Franks to be very covetous, contrived a scheme for their destruction. He first laid his ambuscade; and then commissioned two artful persons to publish in Peter's army, that the Normans had taken Nice, and seized an immense booty. On this report they ran without any order toward that city; and falling into the ambuscade which had been laid for them near Dragon, were cut in pieces. The number slain on both sides was so great, that their bodies being heaped together formed a mountain. Peter retired with a small number of his men to Helenopolis, where the Turks besieged, and would have taken him, had not the emperor sent some troops to relieve the place ^b.

*Crusaders;
their cruelties justly
punished.*

Soon after the rest of the western princes arriving, all crossed the strait at Civitot, except Boemond, who marched through Bithynia towards Nice, which the confederates invested. The sultan sent some troops to annoy the Christians; but they were defeated, as was the next day the sultan himself; who, perceiving the multitude of enemies he had to deal with, allowed the inhabitants of Nice to act as they thought best for themselves. The emperor Alexis, who was encamped at Mesampele, near the town of Pelekane (for he did not care to join the Franks, whom he considered as a treacherous faithless people), finding that the sultan supplied the city with both men and provisions by means of the lake, he advised them to attack it on that side: and having provided proper vessels, for the purpose, the lake not being deep, filled them with men under the command of Bitumites, and put off from the side opposite to the isle of Khio.

A.D. 1097.

*They take
Nice;*

The Turkish commanders were so alarmed at this unexpected sight, the Franks making a general assault at the same time, that, on Bitumites promising a general pardon, with honours to the sultan's sister and his wife (said to be the daughter of Tzakas), they surrendered the city, and he sent off the garrison, by the way of the lake, to the emperor.

A.D. 1097:

*defeat the
sultan:*

^b Ann. Comnen. lib. x. cap. 4—7.

Presently

Presently after the army began its march for Antioch in Syria; and with it the emperor sent a body of troops commanded by Taticius. Being arrived in two days at a place called Leuka, they separated and allowed Boemond to proceed, as he desired. The Turks discovering him in the plain of Dorylaeum, vigorously attacked him, and killed forty of his best men; whereupon, being also himself dangerously wounded, he retreated to the army. As they advanced in companies, they met, near a place called Ebraik, the sultân Tanisman (Q) and Hassan, at the head of eighty thousand men. The battle was very obstinate, when Boemond, perceiving the Turks fought with more vigour than their enemies, fell with the right wing like a lion on the sultân Kliziaflân, or Kilij Arslân, and put them to flight. Soon after this encounter they met the Turks near Augustopolis, and defeated them a second time. Then they continued their march to Antioch without farther molestation.

*The emperor
recovers
Smyrna.*

The emperor thought this a good opportunity to recover other places from the Turks. Tzakas had seized Smyrna; Hangripermes was in possession of Ephesus; other robbers were masters of different places: Khio, Rhodes, and several other islands were in their hands, from whence they scourged all the adjacent seas. To prevent these depredations, he fitted out a large fleet, under the command of John Dukas, who carried with him the daughter of Tzakas, to convince the pirates that the city was taken. Being come to Avido, he gave the command of the fleet to Kaspaces, in order to attack Smyrna by sea, while he besieged it by land. The inhabitants immediately surrendered upon terms, and Kaspaces was made governor, but did not long enjoy his post; for having ordered a Turk, who had stolen a sum of money, to be brought before him, the fellow, thinking they were carrying him to execution, in despair drew his sword, and stabbed the governor in the belly. The soldiers and seamen were so enraged at this murder, that they put ten thousand inhabitants to the sword.

Ephesus.

From Smyrna Dukas marched to Ephesus, where, after a bloody battle which lasted the best part of a day, he defeated Tangripermes and Maraces. The remainder of the Turkish forces fled up the Mæander to Polybotum. Du-

(Q) The Greek historians nerals or great commanders, as give the name of sultân often well as to the brothers of the without distinction to all ge- sultân.

kas

kas pursued them, and in the way took Sardis and Philadelphia by assault: Laodicea submitted to him. Then passing by Kome, he forced Lampe. He found at Polybotum a great multitude of Turks, but defeated them entirely, carrying off much plunder and many prisoners.

In the mean time the emperor Alexis prepared to assist the Franks, who were besieged by the Turks in Antioch; and being arrived at Filomelion, cut in pieces a great number of their troops, and recovered several places out of their hands. But hearing that Ismael, son of the sultan of Khorassan, was advancing at the head of a great army, he thought it most prudent to return with his prisoners and plunder, after he had given notice to the inhabitants in and about Polybotum to provide for their safety. Ismael advancing, laid siege to the fort of Paipert, which the famous Theodorus Gaurus had taken but a little while before, with a design to observe the passage of the Turks, and make incursions upon them.

A.D. 1098.

About that time there arrived at Constantinople an army of Normans, one hundred thousand foot, and fifty thousand horse, commanded by the two brothers of Flanders. The emperor advised them to take the same road which the other Franks had followed; but their design was not, it seems, to join the confederates of the Crusade, but to march into the East, and conquer Khorassan itself. Having passed the Straits of Civitot, they reduced Ancyra. After they had crossed the Halys, they advanced to a little city belonging to the Romans; where the priests coming to meet them with the cross and gospel in their hands, they were so inhuman as to put them all to the sword. The Turks, who were well skilled in the art of war, took care to carry off all the provisions in the country through which they passed; and in the neighbourhood of Amasia, after defeating, hemmed them in so closely, that they had no opportunity to forage for their horses.

Army of
Normans,

The Normans in despair rushed upon their enemy; but the Turks, instead of engaging them at a distance with the bow or lance, came to close fight with their swords, and made a dreadful slaughter. Upon this they asked the count of St. Giles and Tzitas, whom the emperor had sent with them for their assistance, if there was not some country belonging to the empire near at hand, which they might retreat to; and being informed that there was, immediately abandoned their camp and baggage, flying to the maritime parts of Armenia and Pauraca. The horse leaving the infantry behind, they were all slain by the Turks,

slain by the
Turks.

MOD. VOL. III.

H h

excepting

excepting a few, whom they reserved as it were to shew in Khorassân. The count and Tzitas returned, with the horse which escaped, to Constantinople; from whence the emperor sent the count by sea to Tripoli in Syria, where he proposed to continue the siege, but died soon after he landed, leaving his possessions to his nephew William ¹.

A.D. 1106.

Rebellion of Gregory.

In the fourteenth indiction Gregory, governor of Trebizond, who had revolted two years before, intended to shelter himself in the castle of Kolonia, which was rendered impregnable, and to implore the protection of Tannisman, the Turk; but being pursued by John Comnenus the emperor's nephew, and his cousin, was taken and sent to Constantinople ².

We must now quit the Greek historian, to close this reign with an account of the last action and death of Kilij Arslân, which the Greeks were strangers to; and although it is the only matter relating to this sultan which has been communicated to us from the oriental authors, yet it serves to give us a greater idea of his power than all the transactions already recited.

Sellân takes Musol.

The inhabitants of Musol having been besieged by Al Jaweli, who had taken their prince Jagarmîsh prisoner, sent to offer Kilij Arslân, lord of Konia or Ikonium and Akfara, the possession of their city, in case he would come to their relief. Hereupon Kilij Arslân, hastening with his forces, took possession of Musol, Jaweli retiring on his approach. He pitched his camp in a place called Al Mogreka, where Jenji, son of Jagarmîsh, with his friends, repairing to him, he honoured them all with kaftans or vests. Then sitting on a throne, he ordered the name of sultan Mohammed to be suppressed in the pulpits, and his own to be mentioned in place of it.

Is drowned.

This ceremony being performed, he marched against Al Jaweli, who was at Roha; but being met by him at the river Khabûr, was put to flight. Kilij Arslân plunged into the river, with an intent to cross it; but while he defended himself with his bow against the enemy, his horse carrying him out of his depth, he was drowned. Some days after his body was found floating on the water, and buried at Al Shamfânia. This event is placed, by our author, in the year 500 of the Hejra¹, which answers to that of Christ 1106.

¹ Ann. Comnen. lib. xi. cap. 1—7.
² Abu'l-Faraj. Hist. Dynast. p. 245.

² Ibid. lib. xii. cap. 5.

S E C T. IV.

The Reign of Soltân Sayfan.

THERE is no mention of a sultân with the name of *Third sultân, Sayfan.* Sayfan among the Oriental historians; but with regard to this dynasty, there are sufficient grounds to believe that there were more princes in the succession than those of whom they give us the names. It is confessed also, that some of them reckon fifteen sultâns; and if so, the chronological chasm, which has been remarked between the reign of Kilij Arslân I. and Rocno'ddîn Solymân, leaves room for introducing one here. Although Abu'l-Faraj agrees with Khondemir in naming the first ten sultâns, yet, as he does not tell their number or rank in the succession, and but barely mentions some, and that only occasionally, so he may possibly have omitted the name of one or more, especially in the interval we are speaking of; which appears, from his dates of facts, to be very wide, at the same time that they help to fill up the chasm, by giving a much greater length of reign to the princes he mentions, than the other Oriental authors have assigned them. In this particular he agrees with those Greek historians whom we have chosen to follow in our account of the sultâns. In short, as the eastern historians afford us scarce any memoirs relating to the first sultâns of this dynasty, it is but just that we should be governed by the authority of the Byzantine writers, to whom we are almost wholly indebted for our materials.

It is true, we find Khliziaftlan or Kilij Arslân, spoken of by Anna Comnena, as sultân of Kogni or Iconium, till the very last action of this reign; but then the sudden transition, in the account of that action, from Khliziaftlan to Sayfan, as sultân of Kogni, shews that the historian was all the while speaking of the same person; for there could not be two sultâns of Kogni at the same time; nor do we find any farther mention of Khliziaftlan. It cannot be thought that by this latter is meant Kilij Arslân, the former sultân, according to the Greek custom of prolonging the reigns of princes, because he is said to be in the vigour of his youth; and as the same quality is ascribed to Sayfan, it is a farther proof that those two names are given to the same person. However that be, Sayfan must have been the son of the former sultân, since he is called the brother of Ma-

fût or Massûd, who was the son of Kilij Arslân, according to the unanimous consent of the Oriental historians.

Having premised these few remarks, which are necessary both to justify the innovation we have introduced, and obviate what at first sight appears to be a very great difficulty, if not a sort of contradiction, we shall proceed to the history.

*Greeks,
their barbarity;*

The coast of Asia having, by the late wars, been ruined, from Smyrna to Attalia, and those once populous and stately cities become heaps of rubbish, the emperor sent Filokales to restore them. That nobleman first rebuilt Endromit or Adromitium (which had been so totally destroyed by Tzakas, that there remained no signs of its habitations), and peopled it with peasants and strangers (A). Afterwards, being informed that the Turks were assembling near Lampis, he sent thither some troops, who cut part of them in pieces, and took a great number prisoners, using their victory so cruelly, that they boiled children to death. The Turks who remained put on mourning, and went over the country to excite their companions to vengeance.

A.D. 1106]

take Philadelphia.

At the same time Filokales reduced Philadelphia without any trouble; but soon after Hassan, one of the chief commanders, who governed almost absolutely in Cappadocia, hearing of the barbarities exercised by the Romans, came at the head of twenty-four thousand men, and besieged the place. Filokales, who abounded in stratagems, not having forces to take the field, forbade the inhabitants either to open the gates, appear on the walls, or make the least noise. Hassan having been before the town three days, and seen no person appear, concluded that the besieged had neither forces nor courage enough to make sallies: hereupon he divided his army, sending ten thousand men to Kelbiana, another party towards Smyrna, and a third towards Cliara and Pergamus, with orders to ravage the country; and he himself followed with another party. As soon as Filokales saw the Turks thus divided, he sent troops to attack them separately; they accordingly came up with, and defeated the two first detachments, killing a great number of the men; but could not overtake either of the others.

A.D. 1108.

*Sayfan
makes
peace.*

Some time after this event, Amîr Sayfan marched from the East, with a design to ravage Philadelphia and the maritime cities. The emperor, on this advice, sent

(A) The date of actions in hook, denotes being set at a the margin, when placed in a venture, or by guess.

a small

a small body of troops up the river Scamander to Endromit and Thrakesion, to wait his orders. Gauras commanded at that time at Philadelphia, with a strong garrison, and Monastras at Pergamus. The army sent by the sultân of Khorasân advanced in two bodies; one of them crossed Mount Sina, and the other marched into Asia Minor. Gauras went out to meet these latter; and coming up with them at Kelbiana, routed them. When the sultân, who had sent them, heard of this defeat, he dispatched ambassadors to the emperor; who, after he had put several questions to them concerning their master, concluded a peace.

He had not been long at rest, before he was alarmed with a new irruption of fifty thousand Turks from Anatolia, and even from Khorasân. The emperor, on this intelligence, passed the strait from Constantinople to Damalis; and, though afflicted with the gout, drove the chariot with his own hands. In three days he arrived at Aigyla, where he embarked for Civitot. As soon as he landed, he was informed that the commanders of the enemy had divided their forces into separate bodies; one was to scour the country about Nice; and Monolikus undertook to ravage the sea-coast: other parties had done the like about Prusa, Apolloniade, and Lopadion, and had taken Cyxicus by assault, the governor making no resistance. The two principal sultâns, Kontogma and Amîr Mohammed, were gone to Pœmanene, by the country of the Lencians, with an infinite number of women and children, whose lives they had saved: and Monolikus having crossed Barene, was turned towards Pareon, having passed by Avido, Endromit, and Cliara, with a great number of slaves, but without shedding blood.

Alexis ordered Kamitzes, governor of Nice, to follow the Turks with five hundred men, to watch their motions, but to avoid fighting. The governor came up with all the sultâns, and, forgetting his orders, attacked them with great impetuosity. The enemy having heard of the emperor's march, and concluding that he had fallen upon them with all his forces, betook themselves to flight; but being made sensible of their mistake by a prisoner, they rallied their forces; and having met with Kamitzes, who staid to divide the spoil, instead of getting into Pœmanene, attacked him at break of day: his soldiers all fled, excepting the Scythians, the French, and a few Romans, who fought valiantly; but most of them being at length slain, and his own horse killed, he set his back against an

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oak

A.D. 1109]

*New irruption of the Turks.**Attacked by Kamitzes.*

His bravery.

Defeated by Alexis.

Amir Mohammed worsted.

A.D. 1114]

Sneers of the Turks upon the emperor.

oak, and managed his sword so effectually, that he killed or wounded all who came within his reach. The Turks, surprised at his valour, and being desirous to preserve him, Amîr Mohammed alighted off his horse, and putting aside those who fought with him, said, "Give me your hand, and prefer life to death." Kamîtzes, unable to resist such a multitude, gave his hand to Mohammed, who ordered him to be tied on horseback, that he might not escape.

The emperor discovering the road which the Turks had taken, took another. He passed by Nice; then crossed Malagna and Basilicus, two very narrow passes of the mountain Olympus. He afterwards marched to Aletines, and thence to Acrocius, with design to get before the enemy. There being informed that they were incamped in a valley full of reeds, where they thought themselves in no danger, he fell upon them with his forces, killed a vast number, and took a great multitude prisoners. The rest thought to escape, by lying concealed among the thick reeds: the soldiers could not come at them for that reason, and the marshiness of that place: but Alexis having ordered the reeds at one end to be fired, the Turks flew from the flames into the hands of the Romans, who killed one half, and carried off the other.

Amir Mohammed, having been joined by the Turk-mâns, and some other people of Asia Minor, appeared at the same instant to give the emperor battle; and though Alexis opened a way for himself, by defeating those he pursued, yet Mohammed came up with the rear, commanded by Aphelas and Tzipureles, who running full speed against the Turks, Mohammed, who well knew how to make use of an advantage, finding them at a distance from their soldiers, shot at their horses, which falling, they were surrounded and slain. Nevertheless, his troops were put to flight by those left to guard the baggage and the horses; in which confusion Kamîtzes made his escape^m.

Not long after this event, soltân Solymân ordered its troops of Khorasân and Halep to over-run and plunder all Asia Minor. The emperor, in order to prevent these ravages, intended to carry the war to the gates of Kogni, or Koniayah, where Khliziaftlan commanded: but while forces were raising, he was seized violently with the gout, which hindered his design. Mean while Khliziaftlan ravaged the country in a most dreadful manner. The

^m Ann. Comn. in Alex. lib. xiv. cap. 1—3.

Turks,

Turks, who judged the emperor's disorder to be only a pretence, to cover his want of courage, ridiculed him over their cups, and acted comedies, wherein they represented Alexis lying in his bed, surrounded with physicians. The emperor at length, landing at Civitot, came to Fort St. George, near the lake of Nice; then proceeding three days march, he encamped near the bridge of Lopadion, on the rivulet of Karyceum. The Turks, who had ravaged the plain which is at the foot of the Leuciennian mountains and Kolerecia, on the news of his approach, retired with their plunder. The emperor followed them to Poëmanene, and then sent some light troops after them: these overtaking them at Kellia, killed many, and recovered part of the spoil.

Alexis returning, went to take the air at the pass of Malagna, on the top of mount Olympus, whither the empress came to him from the Prince's Isle (H): there being informed that the Turks were at hand, he marched towards Nice; but the enemy, without waiting for him, fled. However, being overtaken by two of his generals, who from the top of the Germinian mountains observed their motions, they were defeated.

*They renew
their in-
cursions.*

The emperor being arrived at Fort St. George, passed on to the town of Sagydeum, and thence to Helenopolis, where the empress waited for a wind to return to Constantinople. Presently news being brought of another irruption of the Turks, Alexis marched to Lopadion, and thence to Khio; where being informed that the enemy were at Nice, he retired to Miskura; but understanding afterwards that they were only flying parties, who appeared about that city and Doryleum, to observe his motions, and not thinking himself yet sufficiently strong to follow them to Kogni, he turned towards Nicomedia. The enemy judging, by this motion, that he had no design to attack them, took their former posts, and renewed their incursions; a circumstance which gave occasion to his enemies at court to reproach him with doing nothing, after having raised so considerable an army.

When the spring was past, Alexis judged it time to put his first design in execution, and march to Kogni: from Nice he passed to Gaïta, and the bridge of Pithicus; then having in three days advanced to Armenocaltra and Leucas, he arrived in the vast plain of Doryleum, where he reviewed his army, and contrived a new method of

*Manner of
fighting.*

(H) Near Chalcedon, in the Propontis, or sea of Marmora.

H h 4

drawing

drawing up his forces in order of battle. He found that the Turks did not fight like other people, joining their bucklers and bodies close together; but divided their troops into a main body and two wings, like three different armies: that when one was attacked, the others moved to its assistance with extreme order: that they did not make use of lances, like the French, but endeavoured to enclose their enemies, and kill them with arrows: that their usual way of fighting was at a distance; and, whether pursuing or pursued, they made use of the bow, which they drew with such force and dexterity, that they never failed to pierce either the man who attacked them, or his horse.

*Alexis's
new dis-
cipline.*

For this reason the emperor ordered his army to be drawn up in such a manner, that his soldiers should oppose their bucklers to the side, which was exposed to the Turkish arrows; and that others should direct their shafts to that side which the Turks uncovered in using their bows. Having arrived at Santabaris, he divided his forces, in order to execute several different designs. He sent Kamîtzes, with one party, to Polybote and Kedreum, where Pulkheas was governor; and Styteotes with another to attack Amerion. When Kamîtzes arrived at Kedreum, Pulkheas and his soldiers were fled; then marching to Polybotum, he slew the garrison, and retook the spoil. Styteotes had the like success at Pœmanene.

*Has re-
course to
divination.*

The emperor, being ready to march from Cedreum to Polybote and Kogni, was informed that soltân Solymân had set fire to all the forage through Asia Minor; and that another army of Turks was coming to oppose him: he consulted God, to know whether he should march towards Kogni, or give battle to the Turks, who were coming from Filomilion. Having written these two questions on two pieces of paper, he laid them in the evening on the altar, and spent the night in prayer. In the morning the bishop entered, and taking up the first paper which came to hand, unfolded it, and read it aloud, whereby he was determined to go to Filomilion. Mean time Bardas, having passed the bridge of Zompi, defeated a large body of Turks in the plain of Omorion; while another pillaged his camp. Being pressed hard afterwards by a third party, the emperor came up timely to rescue him. Alexis, having passed Mesonaçte, near the lake of Forty Martyrs, arrived at Filomilion, which he took by storm. From hence he detached divers parties to ravage the towns and villages about Kogni; these brought away a great number of
Turks,

Turks, and a prodigious quantity of plunder : they were followed by infinite crouds of peasants, who came to take refuge in the emperor's dominions.

The emperor returning, in order of battle, for a long time met with no Turks, although Monolykus kept on one side of him with some troops. But being arrived in the plain between Polybote and the above mentioned lake, the enemy appeared. Monolykus, who was a man in years, and of great experience, began the attack, and continued it all the day, without making any impression on the Roman ranks. Next day sultân Khliziaftlan arrived ; and though he was no less surpris'd at the new disposition of the Roman army than Monolykus, yet being in the heat of youth, he reproached that old man with his pusillanimity. At the same instant the sultân attacked the rear, and sent two bodies to fall on the van, and one of the wings.

Turks attack him.

The Turks fought with great intrepidity. Andronicus Porphyrogenitus, the emperor's son, who commanded the left wing, was killed. Nicephorus Bryennius, who was at the head of the right, fearing the van would be defeated, advanced to its assistance ; upon which the Turks, with sultân Khliziaftlan, turned their backs, and reascended the hills. As those who escaped fled different ways, the sultân, with his cup-bearer, got into a chapel, upon a mount planted with cypresses, where they were followed by three Scythians and a Greek, who took the cup-bearer ; but Khliziaftlan, not being known to them, had the good fortune to escape. In the night the Turks assembled on the tops of hills, lighted a great number of fires, and howled like dogs.

Sultân's narrow escape.

Next day the baggage, women, and children, being placed in the middle, the army marched towards Amprus ; but on the way, the sultân, having assembled all his forces, inclosed, and attacked them courageously ; however, he could not break their ranks, which stood as firm as a wall. Being vexed and ashamed that he was not able to obtain any advantage against the emperor, he held a council in the night, and at break of day sent to treat of peace.

Proposes a treaty.

Alexis, who was then in the plain between Augustopolis and Aoronium, caused his army to halt, and went to the place of interview, with his relations and chief officers, guarded by some soldiers. The sultân came presently after, accompanied by all his officers, with Monolykus at their head ; who, as soon as they came in sight, alighted

Peace concluded.

alighted and saluted the emperor. The sultân would have done the same, but Alexis prevented him; however, when he was near, he alighted, and kissed the foot of that prince, who presented him his hand, and ordered a horse to be brought for him; then, taking off his mantle, he put it on the sultân. After this ceremony, entering on the subject of peace, Alexis agreed that he should remain in possession of all the territories which the Turks possessed before the reign of Diogenes, and the battle in which he was taken prisoner. Next day the sultân and his officers signed the treaty, and the emperor made them rich presents.

A D. 1116]

*Masut con-
spires
against his
brother,*

While this affair was transacting, Alexis having discovered that Masut had conspired to assassinate sultân Sayfan (O), his brother, he advised him to stay with him till the plot was blown over; but trusting in his own power, he resolved to return, nor would so much as accept of a guard to escort him to Kogni, although he had been disconcerted by a remarkable dream: he thought a great swarm of flies surrounded him while at dinner, and snatched the bread out of his hand; and that, when he went to drive them away, they changed into lions. Next morning he asked a Roman soldier the meaning of his dream; who told him, that the insults of the flies and lions seemed to denote a conspiracy of enemies. Nevertheless, the sultân would believe nothing, but continued his journey with more obstinacy than before.

*who is be-
trayed and
slighted.*

However, he sent his spies abroad, who indeed met with Masut at the head of an army; but having espoused his interest, they went back, and told Sayfan that they had seen nobody on the road; so that the sultân, proceeding without any mistrust, fell into the snare. As soon as he came in sight, Gazi, son of the commander Hassan Katuk, whom Sayfan had put to death, set spurs to his horse, and gave him a stroke with his lance, which Sayfan snatching out of his hands, said, with an air of contempt, "I did not know that women carried arms." Pulkheas, who was in his train, and held a correspondence with his brother Masut, pretending great zeal for his service, advised him to retire to Tyganion (P), a small city near

(O) Here is a sudden transition from Khliziafân to Sayfan; whom, for the reasons already alleged, we take to be the same person: although he is introduced in such a man-

ner, that at first sight he seems to be a different sultân.

(P) Where was his army? where was Monolykus, the great sultân as he is called, and the other sultâns who were with him

near Filomilion, where he was very kindly received by the inhabitants, who knew he had made peace with the emperor, under whose obedience they were.

Mafût came presently after, and invested the place, on the walls of which Sayfan appeared, and reproached his subjects with their perfidiousness; threatening them with the approach of the Romans, and a punishment suitable to their crime. These menaces were supported by the vigorous resistance made by the besieged. It was then that Pulkheas discovered his treachery; for, coming down from the wall, on pretence of encouraging the inhabitants to defend the place, he assured them, that there was a powerful army on the road to assist the besiegers, and that they had no other way to prevent being plundered than to surrender at discretion. The citizens, following his counsel, delivered Sayfan up to his enemies; who having had no instrument with them fit for the purpose, made use of a candlestick, made red-hot, which was held before his eyes till he was deprived of sight. When he was brought to Kogni, he declared to his foster-father that he could see. The foster-father told this circumstance to his wife, who kept the secret so well, that it became public in a few days; so that coming to the ears of Mafût, it put him in such a rage, that he forthwith ordered Elgam, one of his commanders, to go and strangle his unhappy brother^b.

Although this account of Sayfan is but lamely introduced, and, for want of some distinguishing marks, he may seem to be a different person from Khliziaftlan, yet, from the circumstances of the whole, we presume, that they appear clearly enough to be the same sultân, under two different names; or rather that, through inadvertence in compiling from two different memoirs, the name of Khliziaftlan has been put in some places for that of Sayfan.

This event happened about the year of Christ 1116, so that this sultân must have reigned ten years.

^b Ann. Comn. in Alex. lib. xv. cap. 1-7.

him the day before? Did they confidence in Pulkheas than any
all desert him in this time of of them?
danger? or did he put more

S E C T. V.

The Reign of Soltân Massûd.

Hejra 613.

*Fourth
soltân Mas-
sûd, begins
his reign.*

ALthough D'Herbelot, in his table of soltâns, taken from Khondemir, places Massûd as the third soltân, yet in the article under his name, or rather another prince of the same name ^a, he says he was the fourth. This assertion is conformable to the author of the Nighiaristân, who makes the number of soltâns to be fifteen, contrary to the general opinion of the Persian historians: these historians connect the beginning of Massûd's reign, as the third soltân, with the year of the Hejra 500, or of Christ 1106: but in case he was the fourth, it must fall lower of course: and on a supposition that he succeeded his brother Sayfan, after putting him to death, according to the testimony of Anna Comnena, his reign will commence in the year of Christ 1116.

D'Herbelot has imparted nothing more from the Oriental authors than the single circumstance inserted above, which serves only to contradict the system he has adopted, and support ours. Nor has Abul-Faraj mentioned more than two facts relating to this prince: but the Byzantine historians have supplied us pretty well on their side with materials for a history of his reign.

A.D. 1120.

*The em-
peror takes
Sozopolis;*

The emperor John Comnenus, who succeeded Alexis, finding that the Turks instead of keeping their treaties made with his father, sacked several cities of Phrygia, marched against, and defeated them; after which action, he took Laodicea, and inclosed it with walls; then returned to Constantinople; but soon after departed, in order to recover Sozopolis, in the same country. As the city was defended by a strong garrison, and surrounded with precipices, he ordered some troops to hover at a distance, and shoot at the inhabitants. This stratagem drew them into the plain, as the emperor expected, and while they pursued the Romans who fled, they were cut off by an ambuscade; by which means the city fell into his hands. He reduced likewise a fort called the Spar-hawk, and several other lesser places, which the enemy had seized ^b.

A.D. 1122.

*also Kasta-
mona;*

Some time after this event, he marched into Paphlagonia, and took Kastamona: but, upon his return to Con-

^a D'Herb. p. 563. art. Massoud, fil. de Mohammed, at the end. ^b Nicetas in John Comnen. cap. 3.

stantinople,

stantinople, Tanisman, a Turk of Armenia, mentioned in the former reign, who commanded in Cappadocia, recovered it, and put the garrison to the sword. On this advice the emperor took the field again. When he came before the city, he was informed that Tanisman was dead, and that Mohammed, who was at variance with Massûd, governor of Kogni, was in possession of it. Hereupon he made an alliance with Massûd, and having received a reinforcement from him, marched against Mohammed: but the latter, by his persuasions, prevailed on the sultan to withdraw his troops; so that the emperor was obliged to make use of his own forces. With these he retook Kaftamona, and then besieged Gangra, a very powerful city of Pontus, which had been subdued not long before by the enemy. Having battered the walls for some time in vain with his engines, he removed them to a little eminence, which commanded the place: and, by beating down the houses, obliged the inhabitants to surrender: then leaving two thousand men in garrison, he returned with many prisoners to his capital.

A.D. 1124]

and Gangra.

Invades Armenia,

A.D. 1130]

He had not been long at home before he marched against Leon, king of Lesser Armenia (A), who had taken several places, and besieged Seleucia. The emperor gained the pass into that country without opposition; and not content with reducing Adana and Tarsus, resolved to conquer the whole kingdom. He took, either by force or capitulation, a great many forts; and, among the rest, Boka, strongly situated on a steep rock. Then he proceeded to Anazarba, a very populous city, and inclosed with strong walls. After battering the first wall, and entering by the breaches, much blood was spilt in forcing the second wall; the principal Armenians, who had fled there for refuge, making a very vigorous defence: but the place was taken at last.

and Syria.

After this exploit, he marched into Syria, where he took Pifa on the Euphrates, Serap, Kaferda, and Istria; but was obliged to raise the siege of Sezer, and return to Antioch. From thence he marched back, in order of battle; and, in the way, sent part of his army to ravage the country about Kogni, in reprisal for invading his territories during his absence.

* Nicetas in John Comnen. cap. 5. & 6.

(A) It contained the eastern Syria, with some part, perhaps, part of Cilicia, joining upon of Cappadocia.

A.D. 1135]

*Defeats the
Turks in
several
battles.*

The emperor, in the sequel, crossed over into Asia, and dispersed the Turks, who ravaged the country adjoining to the river Sangarius. He then marched to Armenia, to put a stop to their incursions in that province, and curb the insolence of Constantine Gauras, who had seized on Trebizond, and erected a kind of tyranny. Mohammed, before mentioned, at that time commanded at Cæsarea; and, having reduced Iberia, with part of Mesopotamia, was grown very rich. He boasted of being descended from Arsaces, and the modern family of the Tanisimans, who were the greatest enemies the Romans had in the East in that age. The emperor suffered great inconveniences in the enemies country, from the severe cold, and want of provisions, which destroyed most of the horses in his army. Of this disaster the Turks took advantage; but being at length repulsed, the emperor returned to Neocæsarea, where he had several skirmishes with them, but did not recover that city; a miscarriage, which was owing, in a great measure, to John Comnenus, his brother Isaac's son; who, resenting that his uncle should order him to give one of his horses to an Italian, who had lost his own, joined the Turks, and changing his religion, married, as it was said, the daughter of Massûd, at Kogni.

*Recovers
some places.*

In the course of the same year he marched into Phrygia, to Attalia, a famous city (B), in order to repress the incursions of the Turks, who had, amongst the rest, seized the Palus Pugusianus. This is a lake of vast extent, with many isles in it; whose inhabitants, by trading with the enemy, had become so much their friends, that they joined in opposing the emperor. But by means of vessels, and engines, with which he battered the isles, he reduced them at last, though not without the loss of some barks and men^d.

Hejra 537.
A.D. 1142.*Massûd
takes Ma-
latiyah.*

While these things happened in the West, it may be presumed that Massûd was extending his dominions in the East; but we are informed of none of his exploits on that side, but one, by Abu'l-Faraj, who tells us, that, in the year of the Hejra 537, Mohammed, son of Danishmand, lord of Malatiyah, and of the borders, dying, king Massûd, lord of Koniya and Akfara, took possession of his territories^e.

It is now necessary to return to the affairs of the Greeks: John Comnenus dying in 1143, was succeeded by his son

^d Nicetas in John Comnen. cap. 9, 10. ^e Abu'lf. Hist. Dynast. p. 255.

(B) On the coast of Pamphylia.

Manuel. One of his first cares was to march against the Turks, who ravaged Thracè, and attempted to take the fort of Pithecana. Having put them to flight, he crossed Lydia, and freed the cities of Phrygia, near the Meander, from their fears. Near Filomelion he engaged the enemy, and was wounded in the heel by a soldier whom he had pierced with his lance; for he exposed himself to danger even more than his father. From thence he pushed on directly for Cogni, at which time Massûd was gone to encamp at Tazara, formerly called Colonia (F). When he encamped before the city, the wife of John Comnenus, before mentioned, spoke very ably from the wall, in behalf of her father Massûd. The emperor retired, after having reconnoitered the place, and was forced to fight several battles on the road, and open a way back for his army.

A.D. 1143.

A.D. 1144.

Emperor
Manuel in-
vests Ko-
niyah.

In the year 1146, Conrade, emperor of Germany, and other Christian princes who had taken the cross, arrived at Constantinople, in their way to Syria, intending to pass through Lesser Asia. The Greeks were in such haste to get rid of them, that their whole marine was employed to convey them over. The emperor Manuel took some care about their subsistence; but, at the same time, ordered ambuscades to be laid for them in the difficult passes; by which means a great number of them perished. The inhabitants of cities in their march, instead of receiving and supplying them freely with provisions, shut their gates, and extorted from them exorbitant prices for such provisions as they thought fit to supply, in baskets lowered down from the top of their walls. There were even some, who spoiled the flour, and mixed it with lime. But our author is not positive that all this was done by the emperor's order, as was pretended; although it was certain that he had commanded base silver to be coined, to pay them for the goods they sold. In a word, there is no mischief which Manuel did not contrive against them; that their posterity might, by the misfortune of their ancestors, be deterred from ever setting foot on Roman ground.

His evil
dealing to-
wards the
crusaders.

The Germans and French had not marched far into Asia, before they were met by the Turkish army, commanded by one Pamplan; who, excited by the letters of Manuel, and animated by his example, attacked and defeated them. They afterwards appeared at the Meander,

A.D. 1147.

The Turks
slaughter.

(F) To the north-east of Iconium, or Kogni.

to

to oppose their passage; but Conrade, spurring his horse into the river, his army followed; and passing over, fell on the Turks with such fury, that scarce any escaped. The slaughter might be judged by the vast mountains of bones in that place, which our author Nicetas had himself beheld with astonishment. The same historian tells us, that, after this glorious victory, the Germans met with no enemy to oppose them, during the remainder of their march. But we are acquainted by the western writers, who are best informed, that the disappearance of the enemy lasted only till the Franks came to Iconium, the capital of the Turkish dominions in Lesser Asia. This city they closely invested; but it was so strongly fortified both by nature and art, as well as bravely defended by the Turks, that though they lay a long time before the place, they made no progress in its reduction. At length provisions failing in their camp, such a mortality ensued among the soldiers, that the emperor Conrade was glad to raise the siege, and return home. The cause of this mortality, and miscarriage of the whole expedition, is generally ascribed, by the said writers, to the treachery of the Greeks, whom they charge with having betrayed the designs of the Christians to sultân Massûd, or Mahmûd^f.

*Koniyah
besieged.*

*Conrade
returns
home.*

A.D. 1151.

*Death of
Massûd.*

These are all the transactions mentioned by the Greeks, during the reign of Massûd: to which we have only one more to add, from Abu'l-Faraj, namely, that, in the year of the Hejra 546, Juslîn (G), having taken Nuro'ddîn's armour-bearer prisoner, sent him to Massûd, who was Nuro'ddîn's father-in-law, with a threatening message. This fact is of little importance, but as it serves to settle the length of this sultân's reign; which is thus brought down with certainty to this period; and, from circumstances that may be produced from the Byzantine historians, it is probable that he lived two or three years longer.

^f Nicetas in Manuel, lib. i. cap. 2, 5, & 6.

(G) That is, Joscelin, count of Edessa.



END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.





